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## **MODERN HISTORY**



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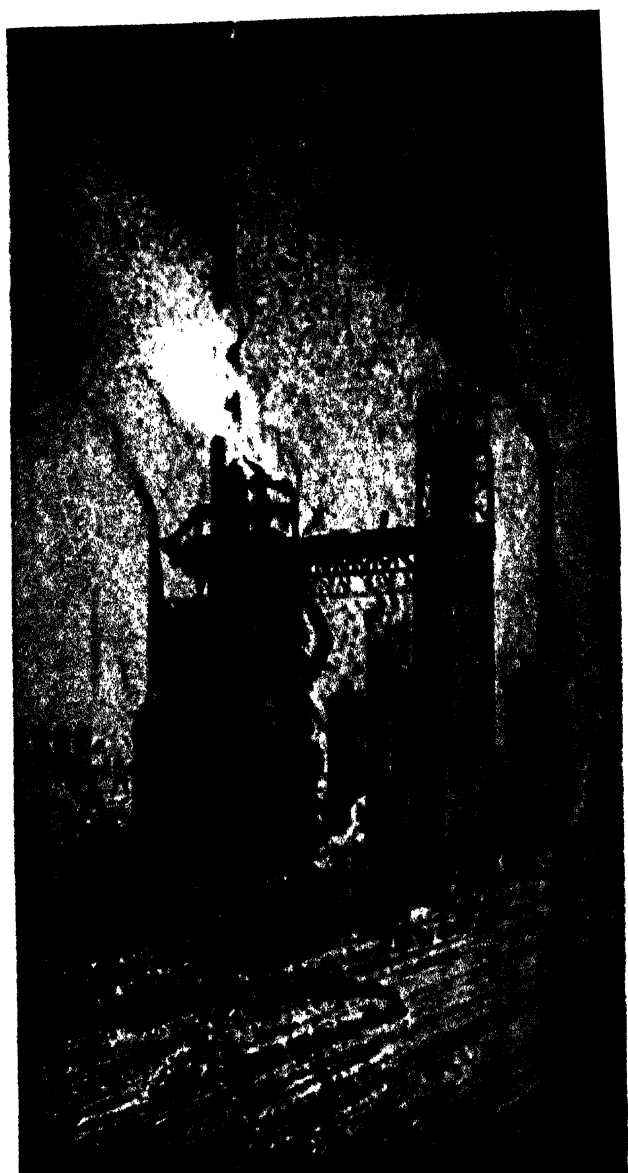
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### THE AGE OF COAL AND IRON

. O ye, the wise who think, the wise who reign,  
From growing commerce loose her latest chain,  
And let the fair white-winged peacemaker fly  
To happy havens under all the sky,  
And mix the seasons, and the golden hours,  
Till each man finds his own in all men's good,  
And all men work in noble brotherhood . . . . "

—Alfred Tennyson, *Ode sung at the opening of the  
International Exhibition (1862)*



# MODERN HISTORY

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## PREFACE

This volume has been written directly and immediately as a text for courses in Modern European History in secondary schools. First and foremost, we have endeavored to tell the story in a style that will be interesting and clear to high-school students. As regards subject matter and point of view, we have attempted to make this book thoroughly representative of the latest results of historical research and scholarship; and at the same time we believe that we have successfully met the requirements of college entrance examinations, and of the useful syllabi recently issued by national and state educational bodies. The material is organized in such a way that it may be used, as it is intended, for the standard course in Modern European History, or adapted easily for courses in World History. It may also be used, in conjunction with its companion volume, *Ancient and Medieval History*, for more comprehensive courses in World History.

Secondly, we have been enabled and impelled, in the light of the Great War and of the New Europe of to-day, to tell a new story of the last four hundred years. For example, we have described the wars of Louis XIV in the seventeenth century and those of Napoleon in the nineteenth with an eye to the campaigns of Marshal Foch in the twentieth; we have discussed the partition of Poland in the eighteenth century with our minds on its restoration in the twentieth; and we have explained the work of Bismarck and Cavour in the nineteenth century with some thought of the recent undoing of the one and completion of the other. Similarly we



have endeavored to show the continuity of modern imperialism from the first overseas explorations of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century to the downfall of the German colonial empire in the twentieth century; and it has been possible to illustrate the rise of nationalism and democracy by reference not only to the French Revolution and the unifications of Italy and Germany, but also to the Russian and German Revolutions and to the half-score of newly independent national republics in Europe. The Great War has already furnished a new perspective for the old history. Of this fact our entire text takes account.

In telling the story, we have employed mainly a topical treatment, in which chronological essentials have been preserved; such a treatment not only has the advantage of clarity and simplicity, but also lends itself more easily to the project method of teaching. In the first chapter we briefly review certain earlier civilizations — “prehistoric,” ancient, and medieval. For students who have had no ancient and medieval history, this introduction will explain the heritage of the distant past to modern times and put modern history in its proper perspective; for those who have previously studied ancient and medieval history, it will serve as a valuable review and a connecting link. Then follow four chapters, each treating a single topic chronologically from about 1500 to about 1750 — one on economic and social changes, a second on scientific developments, a third on religious changes, and a fourth on the rise of national states and national patriotism. All four deal with the foundations of modern civilization.

Next come four chapters on the dominant political and social features of the “Old Régime” of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries — the autocracy of the English Stuarts and French Bourbons; Peter the Great’s autocratic achievements in Russia; Frederick the Great and the flowering of “enlightened” autocracy in Prussia; the vogue of autocratic mercantilism and the resulting world conflict over colonies and trade. Then we proceed with five chapters on the revo-

lutionary movements which destroyed the Old Régime and created the New: the English Revolutions of the seventeenth century; the American Revolution of the eighteenth century; the great French Revolution; the revolutionary influence of Napoleon Bonaparte on the Continent; and the mighty Industrial Revolution in England.

Our treatment of the hundred years from 1814 to 1914 is divisible into two unequal sections: the first consists of one chapter, showing primarily the efforts of Metternich to stem the tide of political and social progress, and secondarily the swift, silent oncoming of the Industrial Revolution in Continental Europe. The second section comprises six chapters on the growth of nationalism and democracy from the middle of the nineteenth century to the Great War, one chapter being devoted to France, a second to Italy, a third to Germany, a fourth to Russia, a fifth to the "subject nationalities" in Turkey and Austria-Hungary, and a sixth to England, Ireland, and the British Empire. There follow two chapters on the development of European imperialism since 1850 and its effects on Asia and Africa.

Finally, the era of the Great War is discussed under six topics: the causes of the conflict; the conflict itself; the peace-settlement; the Russian Revolution; the outstanding features of contemporary civilization; and the latest trends in world politics.

Such an outline conforms well, we think, with the several helpful syllabi which have recently been published as guides for secondary-school courses. A few of these syllabi, however, are so cumbersome and so crowded with inconsequential details that in the interest of coherence and straightforwardness we have departed from them in certain respects. It is less important that the secondary-school student should nod at a large number of isolated persons and things than that he should thoroughly know really significant facts and people; and it is vastly more important that he should get a clear picture of the whole landscape than that he should gather vague impressions of fleeting fences and telegraph poles.

In fashioning the content of the book, we have been influenced by the vital significance of democracy in modern times, so much so that the rise of democracy may be said to be our central theme. Nevertheless, while giving much attention to politics, we have not neglected social and economic factors. Not a chapter in the book, however political its title may appear, is devoid of some social interpretation; and certain chapters (notably I, II, IX, XIV, XV, XXIII, and XXVIII) constitute in sum a more extended treatment of the economic and social progress of modern Europe than can be found in any other book of like grade.

We have taken special pains to equip the text with the best and most up-to-date "helps" for student and teacher — illustrations which really illustrate, and which are not too hackneyed; plentiful maps, a majority of which are colored plates; and, appended to each chapter, a set of reflective "Questions for Review," some pertinent "Special Topics," a few "Additional References," and certain titles of "Historical Fiction" (These have been selected with unusual care and thoroughness and will help, we hope, to bridge the imaginary gulf between History and Literature.) We have also prepared a short separate pamphlet containing a syllabus, bibliographical material, and other features, for the use of teachers; this innovation, it is hoped, will contribute to the more effective teaching of the text and will serve the needs of progressive teachers, especially in localities not plentifully supplied with books and other paraphernalia of historical study.

We gratefully acknowledge the advice and assistance which we have been fortunate in obtaining from capable and experienced high-school teachers of history. In particular are we obligated for constructive criticism to Miss Jessie C. Evans of the William Penn High School for Girls in Philadelphia, to Mr. R. V. Harmon of the Westport High School, Kansas City, Missouri, and to Mr. William J. Cooper, Superintendent of Schools at Fresno, California. The kindly and unselfish interest of such exponents of the highest ideals in historical

## PREFACE

teaching is the best augury of the teachable usefulness of this book.

For permission to reproduce the picture of "Russian Colonists" from *The New World* by Dr. Isaiah Bowman, we are indebted to Dr. Bowman and to the World Book Company of Yonkers, N. Y. We wish to express also our appreciation of the courtesy of other authors and publishers, from whom permission has been received to reproduce copyrighted maps or illustrations, and to whom credit is given in the text.

C. J. H. H.  
P. T. M.



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## **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**



# MODERN HISTORY

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

**The Value of History.** — Why study modern history, or any history at all? Such a question is quite natural and right on the part of the boy or girl who is confronted with an eight-hundred-page history. It is a question that should be answered at the very outset, because no one can study any subject with much interest or benefit unless he or she understands clearly just what it is that makes the subject worth studying.

**Historical Allusions.** — First, all educated men and women are supposed to be familiar with certain names and historical events which are constantly referred to in books, in newspapers, or in conversation. How often do we hear or read such words as "Napoleon," "Magna Carta," "serfdom," "Holy Alliance," "medieval," "divine right of kings," "Covenant," "Industrial Revolution," etc.? A knowledge of history enables us not only to understand such references but to enrich our own speech by their use. This advantage, however, is only one of the by-products, not one of the main purposes of history.

**History and Present Problems.** — One of the greatest benefits that can be derived from history is a better understanding of the present.

Place yourself for a moment in the position of a business-man who as a result of some accident has suddenly lost his memory. You would not know how to get to your office or even where the office was situated. Your past knowledge and experience would be entirely lost. You would have to start all over again. Now history is to the human race what memory is to the individual. It explains what we are doing and why



we are doing it. For example, if you ask why the United States rules the Philippines, or why the Senate is elected by the States, or why Great Britain has such an enormous empire, or why China is "backward," or what the Monroe Doctrine is and for what purpose it exists, you must turn to history for the answer.

**Unity of History.** — The questions just asked cannot be answered by American history alone. For example, the Monroe Doctrine, one of our national traditions, was called into existence by the fact that certain autocratic European rulers were planning to overthrow the newly established Spanish-American republics. These rulers were hostile to republicanism because their thrones had recently been endangered by the French Revolution. And so we are led back to European history. Or, to give another instance, if some one should ask whether it would not be wise for the United States to adopt a strongly centralized form of government, such as that of France, we naturally would wish to know whether the French have been satisfied with their government, and whether conditions in America have been different from those in France. We also need to find out, if possible, whether the original reason for limiting the powers of the federal government in the United States exists nowadays, and in order to discover that reason we shall have to go back to the history of English rule in America during the colonial period, and to the history of the political theories which prevailed in Europe and America at the time our Constitution was drawn up, and again we shall find ourselves consulting European history. In the same way, a European student asking why France is a republic would have to turn to American history for part of the explanation.

History, we shall conclude, cannot be divided into watertight compartments. For the sake of convenience we may devote our chief attention at one time to the study of American history and at another time to the study of European history, but we should always remember that the two are really bound together inseparably.

**Continuity of History.** — Similarly, it is a mistake to think that we may draw any hard and fast line at a given date, such as 1500 A.D., or 1600 A.D., or 1815 A.D., and say that we care nothing about what happened before that date. To explain why England has a House of Lords while we have none, we must go back to the Middle Ages. To learn why Latin is taught in our schools, we must go back to medieval history, and still farther, to ancient Rome. Just as what happened to a man in his childhood often explains many things in his later life, so what happened in the early ages of history often throws light upon the present day. One might well say that we of the present day are the heirs of countless ages: our inheritance consists of ideas, institutions, knowledge, civilization; and some things in it come down to us from very distant ancestors, while others are almost new. Each generation adds its contribution of good or evil to this inheritance. Human progress is like a great river, in which the water that has come down from distant mountains mingles with the water that each new branch pours in. This is what we mean when we speak of the "continuity of history."

**The Scope of This Book.** — In this book our attention will be devoted almost entirely to *modern history*. In other words, we shall be concerned more with the new streams that have flowed into the river of civilization in modern times than with the distant sources of the river itself. In order, however, that we may see the newer contributions in some perspective, we shall first take a bird's-eye view of the progress of civilization in past ages.

**The Social Viewpoint.** — Another idea should be borne in mind by the student who reads this volume. We are going to deal with social, economic, and political history as parts of one story, not as separate stories. If we should try to explain the politics either of our own day or of past generations without analyzing the social and economic conditions which influence and have always influenced politics, we should be making a sad mistake. Nothing is more necessary for good

citizenship than to have a firm grasp on the fact that political problems are, and always have been, bound up with economic and social problems. Some historians, a few generations ago, tried to tell the story of how kings succeeded one another, how battles were won or lost, how laws were passed, and how nations rose or fell, without telling us anything about the common people. Such writers seemed to believe that history was a mere recital of the names of kings and the dates of battles. It was a very dull and very superficial kind of history. Historians to-day, however, are able to tell us how the common people earned their living in the past, why they were willing for a long time to submit to the rule of kings, and why they are no longer willing to obey monarchs and titled lords.

*Democracy.* — The feature of history that is most interesting and vital to us to-day is the growth and development of democracy. The idea that the people should govern themselves through parliaments or congresses or assemblies is an idea that has been slowly developing for centuries; it is an idea for which brave men have given their lives in many a revolution and many a war. Against tremendous odds it has made headway. Gradually it has triumphed in one country after another, in North and South America and in Europe. In recent times it has won footholds in Asia and in Africa. On the other hand, there are still a number of backward countries which have not won their struggle for freedom and self-government. There are also dictators, who defy democracy, in southern and eastern Europe, in Asia, and in several Latin-American countries. Moreover, even in countries which have achieved a large measure of political democracy there are often restrictions on the franchise or other limitations. In some cases the outworn forms of feudalism or of divine-right monarchy are still to be seen. Above all, most democracies face the problems of improving the efficiency of government and of pursuing the wisest policies in dealing with social, economic, and international questions. In other words, it is not enough to win democracy; there is still the problem of how best to use and

maintain it. A monarch may give his subjects worse government than they deserve, or better. A democracy, however, depends upon the quality of its citizens, because the citizens make the government. Democratic government in our modern world will be as wise and as beneficent, or as shortsighted and as corrupt, as we make it. If we are to accept this responsibility and carry it with intelligence and honor, we shall need whatever help history can offer toward a better understanding of our civilization.



**PART 1**  
**BACKGROUND AND BEGINNINGS**



# PART I

## BACKGROUND AND BEGINNINGS

### INTRODUCTION

Have you ever asked yourself how the modern world in which we live differs from the world of Richard the Lion-Hearted, or of Charlemagne, or of Caesar, or of Pericles, or of Moses? What advantages do we possess, when our civilization is contrasted with that of the Middle Ages, or of ancient times, and what novel problems and difficulties do we have to face?

In the following chapters we shall first sketch in rough and rapid outline the state of civilization in various epochs of the past; we shall gain a glimpse of how different our lives would have been had we been born 10,000 years ago among the cave men, or 5000 years ago in China, or 4000 years ago in Egypt, or 2300 years ago among the ancient Greeks, or 1900 years ago in Rome, or 1400 years ago among the barbarian invaders, or even 600 years ago in medieval Europe. Such a sketch is necessary in order to provide a perspective for modern history.

Then we shall take up, one by one, a few of the most significant changes which have occurred in social and political life since the Middle Ages and which have made modern civilization different in certain respects from all that went before. These changes may briefly be stated as follows: (1) We live in an age of big business with large-scale production and extensive world commerce, whereas, before modern times, there was no world-trade and both agriculture and manufacturing were conducted on a small scale and by comparatively simple methods. (2) The most important social class to-day is



made up of bankers, manufacturers, lawyers, and businessmen — the “middle” class, or bourgeoisie — whereas in earlier times the clergy and landowners were relatively more influential. (3) Ours is a mechanical age in which we, unlike our distant ancestors, utilize scientific observation and speculation for practical purposes and harness the forces of nature to do our work and to promote our bodily comfort. (4) In religion and morals individuals are generally allowed to follow their own opinions to a much greater extent than at the beginning of modern times. (5) National patriotism, which plays so large a part in peace and war at the present time, is another modern development, for a few centuries ago there were tribes and city-states and empires, but no National States. (6) And finally, and perhaps most significant of all, we live in a “democratic” age, in a time when we condemn oligarchy, autocracy, and hereditary privileges of every sort, and when we affirm that all human beings are equal in civil and political rights and that all should participate on the same footing in the conduct of public affairs.

The above list is not complete, but it indicates the most characteristic and fruitful elements in modern history. As such, it is well worth studying in some detail.

## CHAPTER I

### A REVIEW OF EARLIER CIVILIZATIONS

#### BEFORE THE DAWN OF CIVILIZATION

**Prehistoric Men.** — If Robinson Crusoe, when he was shipwrecked alone on a savage shore, had lost his memory of how civilized men lived, and if he had forgotten that there were such things as tools, fire, houses, and clothing, he would have been in almost as bad a predicament as the men who lived back in the dawn of human existence, thousands of years ago. Perhaps it was twenty thousand years ago, perhaps it was as much as five hundred thousand, for all science can certainly tell us, that the first men walked upon this earth. Very little can ever be known about them, for they wrote no books and they left few traces behind them. For this reason they are called "prehistoric" men; they left no histories to tell us about their achievements. A few bones that seem to be human or nearly human have been found deep in the ground in various countries. Some scientists believe that these bones are the remains of men or of creatures closely resembling men, and that such creatures existed anywhere from twenty thousand to five hundred thousand years ago. There is a great deal of argument and guesswork about them. We do not need to concern ourselves much about these doubtful cases.

What we do know, with a greater degree of certainty, is that real human beings lived from ten to fifty thousand years ago. We know this from the discovery of quite a large number of skulls, bones, and even some complete skeletons, in various parts of Europe, especially in France and Spain. That they were human beings, with brains like ours and with some primitive civilization, is attested by the nature of the skeletons

and the other relics found with them. These early human beings are called "cave men," because some of their most significant remains have been discovered in caves; but it should be remembered that many similar relics have been found in the open and that possibly the so-called cave men were not cave dwellers at all.

**How the Cave Men Lived.** — If we are willing to put two and two together, in the same way as a detective pieces scraps of evidence together, we can form some sort of a mental picture of the men whose remains have been discovered in European caves. Some of them, certainly, were tall and strong, with large and well-shaped heads; they were just as human as you or I. They must have possessed a high degree of intelligence as well as great patience and skill; otherwise they could never have made the stone weapons and tools which are found in their caves. For example, one of the cave men's most popular weapons or tools was a "fist-hatchet," a piece of flint neatly chipped until one side was thinned down to a sharp edge. Men continued to use flint tools and weapons for thousands of years. This period is therefore called the "Stone Age." But in addition to their stone tools, the cave men made arrowheads and spear-tips of bone, and cooking utensils of clay. With their spears and arrows they hunted wild animals, such as the reindeer, the horse, the hippopotamus, and the mammoth. On the floors of their caves we find the bones of these animals, and on the walls are painted pictures of them — pictures which all through the thousands of years have kept their freshness of color and clearness of line. Undoubtedly the cave men found wild fruits and vegetables to supplement their diet of meat. About tilling the soil, however, and about domesticating animals, they seem to have known little or nothing. When they discovered the use of fire for cooking and the method of lighting fires, no one can tell; but it is easy to imagine how dreary must have been the long centuries before men made these great discoveries. In conclusion, let us remember that any description of the cave men's life must be based mostly on guesswork.

We must keep our minds free from prejudice on this subject. Some day, perhaps, more facts will be known about it.

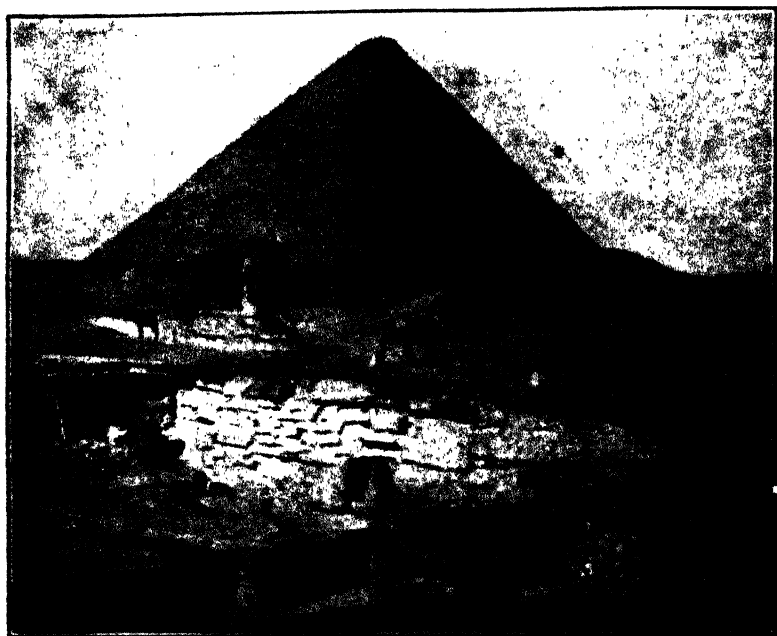
**The Dawn of Civilization.** — In the epochs that followed the age of the cave men, several tremendous advances were made which marked the beginnings of civilization. As long as man lived by hunting, he could not progress very far above savagery. But in course of time it was discovered that animals could be tamed or domesticated. The dog, the cow, and the horse are some of the oldest as well as the most faithful friends of mankind. People living along rivers or by the shores of lakes and seas learned how to fish, using hooks and spears and nets with great skill. It was also found that plants useful for food could be cultivated, and a crude kind of agriculture was begun by people who lived in fertile regions; but the methods employed were of the most primitive kind, and only a rude hand-hoe, made of wood, or a sharp stone fastened to a stick, was used to till the soil. When men could till the soil and fish and raise domestic animals they could begin to live in settled communities, and civilized life could develop. Much later, the important discovery was made that when copper and tin were melted together, they formed a hard metal (bronze) which was better than stone for tools and weapons. Then the "Stone Age" gave way to the "Age of Bronze."

#### ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS

**Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia.** — River valleys seem to have offered the most favorable conditions for the progress of civilization in very early times. The reason is fairly obvious. In a fertile river valley large numbers of people could live by agriculture and trade, whereas in a forest or on a plain or among mountains only a scanty population could support itself. And so we find that the rich valley of the Nile gave birth to ancient Egypt, while the Tigris-Euphrates valley produced a rival civilization.

Our records of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia go back to more than five thousand years ago. The economic basis of

life in both cases was very much the same. Most of the common people were slaves engaged in raising grain and other food products, and possessing very few rights. There were blacksmiths, stonecutters, masons, carpenters, weavers, dyers, and traders of various sorts, but manufactures and commerce



THE SPHINX AND ONE OF THE PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT

Observe their size in comparison with the camels. For what purpose were the pyramids built?

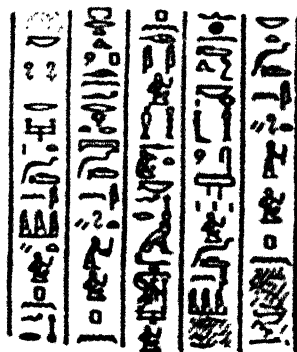
played no such important rôle as they do in modern life, and the social position of the people who engaged in industry and trade was very low indeed. An Egyptian scribe who lived almost four thousand years ago described the lot of the workman in these words: "The stonecutter who seeks his living by working in all kinds of durable stone — when at last he has earned something and his two arms are worn out, stops. But if at sunrise he remains sitting, his legs are tied to his back."

Many of the workers were actually slaves. This is one of the most important facts about ancient history. When civilization began, the common people, the working people, were found in a position of inferiority; they lived and toiled in order to support the emperors, the priests, and the warriors or aristocrats. Democracy was a thing of the distant future.

On the other hand, the life of the man who was fortunate enough to be born a member of the upper classes, or an heir to the throne, was much more to be envied. His palace was adorned with massive sculpture. Servants and slaves were at his beck and call. No manual labor soiled his hands. He was well supplied with food, with richly dyed robes, with perfumes, and with jewelry of gold and precious stones. His deeds in war were recorded in inscriptions, or sometimes in pictures, carved upon stone. The pyramids of Egypt were nothing else than gigantic tombs, monuments to the memory of hard-hearted monarchs (Pharaohs). They were built, not by fond relatives or grateful subjects, but by unwilling toilers, who were driven to work by the whip.

Undemocratic as they certainly were, the ancient river-valley empires of Egypt and Mesopotamia contributed much to civilization. Their architecture and sculpture, their systems of writing, their elementary knowledge of geometry and astronomy, their ideas of the gods and of a future life, their commerce and manufactures, provided models upon which later peoples could improve still further.

**Ancient China and India.** — In China and India, as well as in Egypt and Mesopotamia, civilized states were formed in very ancient times. Five thousand years ago, men were living



From Bateford's "Ancient World"

EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC  
WRITING

in the fertile river valleys of China, practicing agriculture and raising cattle, founding cities, and developing a remarkable culture. The Chinese built up a civilization and a great empire while Europe was still a land of savage tribes. The first Chinese Emperor is supposed to have ruled about twenty-seven centuries before the first of the ancient Roman Emperors. The great Chinese sage and moral philosopher, Confucius, wrote his wise sayings five centuries before Christ. Similarly in the warm, rich valleys of India civilization flourished long before the time of Christ. The celebrated folk-song called the *Rig Veda*, which tells how the ancestors of the modern Hindus settled in India, was composed more than three thousand years ago. Yet in spite of their early start, these ancient Asiatic civilizations were destined to be overtaken and outstripped by the younger civilization which sprang up in Europe.

**Hellenic Civilization.** — If a visitor from Mars had taken a survey of the world about the fourth or fifth century before Christ, he would have found the state of civilization in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in India, and in China not so very much different from what it had been a thousand or two thousand years previously. Northern and western Europe were wildernesses, peopled by barbarians. The American continents, unknown to the Old World, were inhabited by Indian tribes in varying stages of savagery, though in some regions there may have been empires more or less like that of the Egyptians. But the center of civilization and progress was the Aegean Sea, on the shores of which dwelt the Hellenes or Greeks.

**Greek Life.** — Most of the ancient Greeks were city dwellers. Athens was a city of over a hundred thousand inhabitants; Corinth was almost as large; Sparta had between forty and fifty thousand; and there were many smaller cities, scattered over the Greek peninsula and along the Asiatic coast of the Aegean Sea and in Sicily. Each city had its temples where the people could worship the particular gods or goddesses who were supposed to be especially favorable to that city. The citizens

were held together not only by a common religion, but by ties of kinship; persons of alien descent were always regarded as outsiders, as foreigners, and excluded from citizenship, regardless of how long they had lived in the city.

If the citizens of Athens had been compelled to support themselves by their own efforts, perhaps Athens would never have made her priceless contributions to art, literature, philosophy, and government. But a great deal of the labor of tilling the soil, making clothes, building houses, hewing stone, and working metals<sup>1</sup> was left to slaves. Enemies captured in war were either enslaved or killed. Some of the poorer Athenian freemen worked with their hands, but were looked down upon by their wealthier neighbors for doing so. The more well-to-do citizens lived in leisure while their farms were cultivated by slaves. Trade and commerce were carried on by aliens, who had no civic rights. Consequently, there was a large class of Athenian citizens who did not engage actively in farming, industry, or business, and therefore had leisure for political life, literature, art, gymnastics, and warfare. Sparta likewise had a leisure class, but Sparta devoted so much attention to war and to military training that she never produced great literature or art.

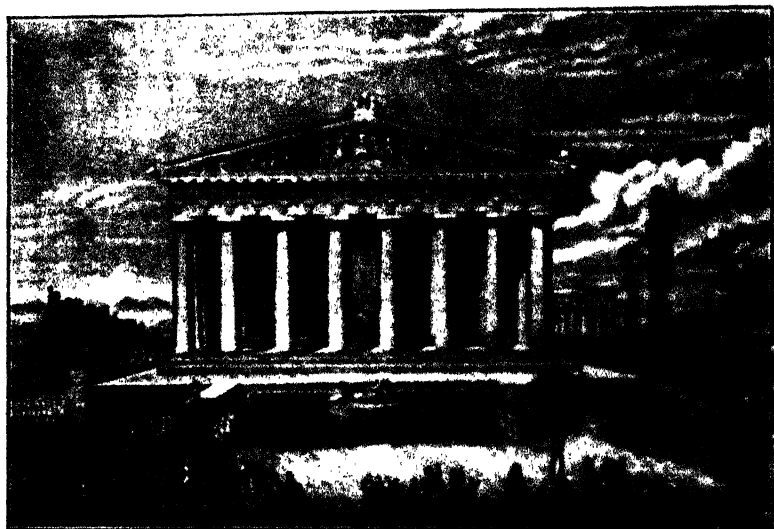
*Greek Culture* — No better illustration of the continuity of history can be found than the fact that although twenty-three centuries have elapsed since the golden age of the Greek city-states, we have only to look about us to discover that their civilization is still preserved as a part of the culture of to-day. We use Doric and Ionic and Corinthian columns in our architecture, many of our buildings are modeled after Greek temples, and copies of Greek statues are everywhere to be seen. In our libraries one finds the writings of Plato and Aristotle, who are still regarded as two of the world's greatest philosophers. Dramas written by Sophocles, or by Euripides, or by Aeschylus, to please Athenian audiences almost twenty-four centuries ago, are still performed by modern actors, or read by

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks used iron as well as bronze.



lovers of good literature. How much of our art and literature and philosophy we owe to the inspiration of Greek masterpieces would be hard to say. We know, at any rate, that the debt is very great.

In the fields of science, industry, and religion, the Greeks made no such valuable contributions to progress. To be sure, they made some advance in mathematics, but we have far



A GREEK TEMPLE

The Parthenon at Athens, built in the fifth century *b.c.*, in honor of the goddess Athena. To-day the temple stands in ruins.

surpassed them in that branch of knowledge. Their ideas of physics, of astronomy, of physiology and biology, and, in short, of all natural science, were so elementary that they would be laughed at to-day. They had neither microscopes nor telescopes. Of electricity and of chemistry they were entirely ignorant. Similarly, in industry, their elementary methods of hand manufacture cannot be compared with modern factories and machinery. As regards religion, also, we have inherited little or nothing from the ancient Greeks.

They believed in many gods and goddesses, who were supposed to be immortal beings, more powerful than men, but like men in their appearance as well as in their passions. Even Zeus, the greatest of the gods, was supposed to fall in love, now and then, with mortal maidens, and was swayed by anger, hatred, pride, and praise, for all the world like the commonest man.

*Greek Political Ideas.* — Greek political ideas, however, have exerted more influence. To Greece, and to Athens in particular, democracy owes much. At different periods of its history, Athens had almost every conceivable form of government — monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, tyranny. At one time Athens was a democracy. Laws were passed by the vote of its citizens; officials were elected or chosen by lot; criminals were tried by jury; war and peace were made by the will of the people. But slaves and aliens were excluded from political rights. In many respects Athenian democracy was quite different from modern forms of democracy. Nevertheless, the idea that democratic government had once been tried successfully by the most civilized people of ancient times was a powerful inspiration to men in modern times in the struggle for liberty. It is interesting to observe that the Greeks believed democracy could be applied only to small communities. Aristotle said a democratic state should never include a larger number of citizens than could come together within the sound of an orator's voice. Aristotle also thought that democratic governments were not likely to be stable; he had seen so many revolutions in Greek city-states that he believed forms of government naturally went around in a circle, from monarchy to democracy and back again. The absence of printed newspapers among the ancient Greeks and the lack of universal education gave weight to Aristotle's arguments.

One other fact about Hellenic civilization is important. Though they spoke the same language and worshiped the same gods and had many customs in common, the Greek people never united to form a nation. There was no great

river valley to bind them together. On the contrary, nature seemed to have divided them by mountains. Instead of uniting, the city-states cherished their independence and were almost continually at war with one another. That is one reason why they were subsequently conquered and engulfed in the Roman Empire. The Greeks had intense civic pride, but they had no national patriotism. The latter is essentially modern, not ancient.

**The Roman Empire.** The Greek city-states had flourished in all their glory from the fifth to the third century before Christ. After the third century B.C., and until the fifth century A.D., the center of the stage was occupied by Rome.

*Territorial Extent* - Rome can best be regarded as an overgrown city-state. Both Rome and Athens were originally small cities ruled by kings; both became republics; and both engaged in wars of conquest. But Rome, thanks to a better form of military organization, was able to expand her possessions until she ruled over all the lands that bordered upon the Mediterranean. At the height of its power, in the second century A.D., the Roman Empire included the Italian peninsula and Sicily, Iberia (Spain and Portugal), Britain, Gaul (France, Belgium, and the part of Germany west of the Rhine), Helvetia (Switzerland), the whole Balkan peninsula, Dacia (Rumania), Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and the southern coast of the Mediterranean.

Some of the conquered provinces became pretty thoroughly Romanized. To this day, the inhabitants of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Rumania are often referred to as the "Latin peoples," since they speak languages - the so-called "Romance languages" - derived in large part from Latin, the language of Rome. Some of the other conquered regions, such as Egypt, were never Romanized; they were merely held as possessions. But for all the provinces, Roman rule meant internal peace, since they were all kept in order by Rome. There was no need of a League of Nations in those days. This *Pax Romana* ("Roman Peace") enabled the countries

which were under Rome's sway to develop their commerce and to interchange ideas as never before.

In spite of her vast empire, Rome was just an overgrown city-state. The empire was ruled by the little city-state of central Italy, and existed for its benefit and glorification. Since Rome exacted heavy tribute from the provinces and enslaved many captives, her citizens no longer had to work on their farms outside the city, but could devote themselves to war and politics, culture and amusement. Many of the more aristocratic Roman families acquired great estates which were cultivated partly by slaves and partly by tenant-farmers. Of course some of the members of the lower classes in Rome still worked with their hands; in fact, we know that there were numerous organizations somewhat like trade unions among the workingmen. But the ruling class consisted of wealthy men of leisure, and it was among this class that literature, art, and philosophy, as well as political oratory, were cultivated.

*Roman Culture.* — When the Romans first began to pay attention to the finer arts of life, they could do little more than imitate the Greeks, because the latter had set so high a standard in culture. In course of time Rome was able to make contributions of her own. In architecture, for example, she imitated Greek models, but Roman builders invented and used the round arch and the dome, which had been unknown in Greece. In literature and philosophy, also, Rome produced much that was worth while. Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Tacitus, Ovid, Epicurus, Marcus Aurelius, and Seneca were not mere slavish imitators. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Rome did borrow heavily from Greek culture, and perhaps it was fortunate for the world that she did so, because through Rome Greek culture was handed down to later ages.

*Roman Political Ideas.* — Roman political institutions and ideas have great interest for us at the present day, because they have had so powerful an influence over the whole course of European history. Oddly enough, believers in democracy and



SOME OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN ANCIENT ROME

This picture, by a modern artist, shows how the central part of the ancient city probably appeared. The buildings with columns and triangular pediments are patterned after the Greek style of architecture. The curved arch, however, was a new feature used by the Romans.

likewise believers in autocracy have found inspiration in Roman history and literature. Champions of democracy in the time of the French Revolution of the eighteenth century, and in the time of the American Revolution, and on many other occasions, have remembered the government of Rome as it was from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D. In that period Rome was a republic, governed by representative assemblies and elected magistrates. From the speeches of the statesmen of the Roman republic, one can quote many an eloquent argument against tyranny and in favor of democracy. Brutus, who assailed Caesar,<sup>1</sup> and the Gracchi, who upheld the interests of the common people, provided examples for democratic leaders in later ages to follow.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that from the first century A.D. until the time of its destruction the Roman Empire was a monarchy, the greatest monarchy the world has ever seen. And ever since Roman days, believers in autocracy have said that a great empire could be ruled only by a monarch, an Emperor. It has been hard to abandon the idea that all civilized countries should be united under the supreme rule of an Emperor. All through the Middle Ages and in modern times we find this idea cropping out. Charlemagne, the King of the Franks in the eighth century, assumed the title of Roman Emperor and attempted to rule over most of Europe. Otto the Great, a German King, revived the tradition in the tenth century, and his successors maintained a "Holy Roman Empire"—a feeble copy of the real Roman Empire—until the nineteenth century. The very title of Emperor, which the British monarch still uses, is derived from the Roman word *imperator*; similarly the German word for Emperor, Kaiser, is derived from Caesar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Julius Caesar was a great Roman general who made himself dictator of Rome. Many politicians feared Caesar intended to overthrow the republican form of government and establish a monarchy. Brutus was one of the conspirators who assassinated Caesar.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian title, "Czar" or "Tsar," meaning Emperor, is also derived from Caesar.

*In order to rule their enormous empire the Romans had to develop a remarkable system of administration and law. The affairs of the central government were conducted by the Emperor's ministers, who might be compared to the cabinet officers of a modern state. The local government was in the hands of officials representing the central government. This "bureaucracy," or system of officials, served as a model for rulers in medieval and modern states. We can understand the difficulty of the task of the Roman officials when we remember that each conquered people had its own ideas of law and justice, as well as its own language and its own social institutions. Notwithstanding this difficulty, the officials gradually built up a system of laws which could be applied to all. The Emperor Justinian, in the sixth century A.D., ordered the law to be collected and written down in a book or code. The work was so well done that "Justinian's Code" has been studied by lawyers from that time to this, and the legal systems of most civilized countries to-day are based in part upon Roman law.*

*Christianity* -- The most important contribution of the Roman Empire to modern civilization did not originate in Rome at all, but in Palestine. It was during the reign of the Emperor Augustus that Jesus, the Founder of the Christian religion, was born in Bethlehem in Judaea, at that time a province of the Roman Empire. The Romans, it must be remembered, worshiped many gods, as the Greeks had done; even the Roman Emperor was regarded as a god, and every one was compelled to worship him. Consequently, when the Christians refused to worship the Emperor they were persecuted with a cruelty which we can hardly understand to-day. Thousands were slain, or tortured, or fed to wild beasts, or burnt alive. In Rome itself, the Christians took refuge in underground tombs or catacombs. But in spite of persecution, the new religion spread rapidly from one part of the empire to another and gained converts by the million, until finally it triumphed and became the religion of the European world.

The influence of Christianity upon social conditions was powerful and far-reaching. (One of the changes brought about by Christianity was the adoption of a new attitude toward women.) Pagan peoples, even the highly civilized Greeks and Romans, seem to have had little respect for women or for moral purity. To an Athenian, a wife was not a companion, to be loved and idealized. Of the Romans, the same was true. But Christianity placed woman on a higher plane, made marriage sacred, and insisted upon purity of life.

Another great change concerned the working people. Hitherto, those who toiled with their hands had been looked down upon as inferiors. A large proportion of the working class consisted of slaves. (The Christians, however, believed that rich and poor were equal in the sight of God; all had immortal souls; and the poor man might be a better Christian than the rich man. Jesus had worked as a carpenter. The Christian doctrine of human equality was one of the great factors in destroying the institution of slavery,) which had been the basis of Greek and Roman economic life, (and in promoting a more democratic spirit. Furthermore, by teaching that work was not a disgrace, but a wholesome and honorable way of earning a livelihood, Christianity did much to establish the dignity of labor. Many of the Christian monks set an example by engaging in manual toil. It was a lesson that was much needed, for the poorer people of Rome had been learning to demand free bread from the government and to live in idleness.

(A third way in which the influence of Christianity was shown was the campaign waged by the early Christians against the luxury and vice and cruelty which characterized the Roman Empire.) To give but one illustration, the Roman gladiatorial combats, in which slaves were forced to kill one another for the amusement of the idle crowds, were denounced as immoral. To be sure, vice, luxury, and cruelty were never wholly abolished; but they were diminished to a considerable extent.

This short discussion of the social influence of Christianity



in Roman times does not exhaust the subject. It is, however, enough to suggest the importance of the new religious element which came into the civilization of the Roman Empire.

**The Barbarian Invaders.** — (The history of civilization has not been always the history of progress.) At certain periods, society has gone backwards toward savagery, instead of advancing. One of these periods was the age of the barbarian invasions, from about the fifth to the eleventh century.

The "barbarians," as they have usually been called, were uncivilized tribes which had formerly inhabited the forests and wild plains of northern Europe, outside the bounds of the Roman Empire. Perhaps more warlike tribes expelled them from their homes, or perhaps they were seeking a country where it was easier to gain a living. At any rate, during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, tribe after tribe migrated southward and entered the Roman Empire. Some of the first-comers were permitted and even encouraged to enter freely; some of those who arrived later had to fight their way. These invaders marched through the country in hordes, living by pillage and plunder, until they found a region to their liking.

One group of tribes, known as the Vandals, came down through France and Spain into northern Africa. The Lombards occupied northern Italy. The Franks and Burgundians settled in Gaul (France), and the Visigoths in Spain. The Angles and Saxons, who probably came from northern Germany, established their home in England. After this first deluge of invasions, there came a second wave in the ninth and tenth centuries. The new invaders came from Scandinavia. The invasion of England by the Danes, the occupation of northwestern France (Normandy) and Sicily by the Norsemen, and the voyages of the Vikings to Greenland and North America were all part of this second wave of migration.

All of these invading tribes belonged to the Teutonic branch of the white race; that is to say, they spoke Teutonic languages (German, Dutch, Danish, etc.). Physically, they were tall, blue-eyed, fair-haired people.

Two other races also migrated during this period of great migrations. (1) The Magyars came into Europe from the East; from them the Hungarians are descended. (2) The Slavs, who were probably natives of east-central Europe, spread out into Russia and down into the Balkans; their descendants are



THE BATTLE OF TOURS, 732 A.D.

In this famous battle, almost twelve centuries ago, Mohammedan invaders of France were decisively defeated. Observe the instruments of warfare in that age of the barbarian invasions.

the Russians, Lithuanians, Poles, Czechoslovaks, and Yugoslavs of to-day, and some of their blood doubtless flows in the veins of the Greeks, Bulgarians, and Rumanians.

The barbarian invaders were little better than savages. In many ways their habits resembled those of the North American Indians. The men engaged in fighting, gambling, hunting,

and drinking, while the women did the household work and cultivated a little wheat. Little did they know of cities, or of architecture, or of sculpture, or of industry, or of literature (they could not even write), or of the other things that constitute civilized life.

The effect of the barbarian invasions was what one might naturally expect. Most of the cities which had flourished in Roman times now disappeared. All except the most essential and rudest industries were abandoned. There was no commerce on any large scale. One good illustration of this economic collapse is the fact that although coal had been used by the Romans in Great Britain, its use was abandoned or forgotten during the period of the barbarian invasions, and the English did not begin to burn coal again until the twelfth or the thirteenth century.

During the turmoil of the invasions, orderly government was next to impossible. The old officials could no longer assert their authority. In fact, all western and central Europe broke away from the Roman Empire, and dozens of petty kingdoms were set up by the barbarian chieftains. At one time there were seven kings in England alone. In France, with the incessant wars between rival chieftains and with the danger of fresh invasions, there grew up a class of professional warriors, who performed no work except that of fighting, and who lived on the fruits of the labor of the common farmers. The warriors we shall soon recognize as feudal nobles; the farmers are the "serfs" of the Middle Ages.

Roman society and government had thus apparently been thrown into chaos. Civilization had sunk to low depths. Literature and learning were almost destroyed. Hence the period from the fifth to the eleventh century — the earlier part of the Middle Ages — has been called the "Dark Age."

During the Dark Age the Christian Church performed great services to civilization. First of all it converted the barbarian invaders to Christianity. Gradually it succeeded, to some extent, in civilizing them. The priests and the monks still

preserved the arts of reading and writing; they preserved some of the great books of Roman literature in their libraries; and they taught and preached.

#### MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION

**Our Debt to the Middle Ages.** — The Dark Age was followed by an epoch of wonderful achievements. (One might truly say that the Dark Age was a melting pot in which Roman culture, Christianity, and the Teutonic barbarians were all stirred together.) The combination resulted in a vigorous new civilization, which flourished in the latter part of the Middle Ages (from about the twelfth through the fifteenth century), and is therefore called "medieval." There is no sharp dividing line between medieval and modern history. In fact, a surprisingly large number of our present-day institutions, ideas, and problems can be traced straight back to the Middle Ages. (The modern world is veritably the child of the medieval world,) and therefore the study of modern history ought to begin with the question, What did the child inherit from the parent?

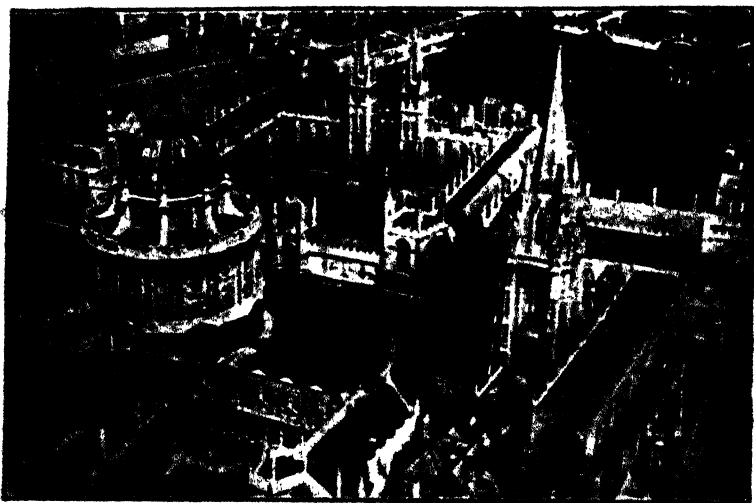
(1) *Education.* — Let us begin with education and learning. (Our schools and universities come down to us from the Middle Ages. The schools established during the Middle Ages by the clergy provided the starting point for our modern school system. The first universities were founded in the Middle Ages.) These medieval schools and universities did a great deal to promote the study of philosophy, theology, law, medicine, mathematics, and other subjects. The value of this contribution can hardly be emphasized too strongly, for knowledge and education are the wheels on which civilization moves forward.

(2) *The Classics.* — (Medieval lovers of literature and learning revived the study of classical (that is, ancient Greek and Latin) masterpieces.) Many ancient writings that had

<sup>1</sup> This revival of ancient culture is sometimes called the "Renaissance." The scholars who studied ancient literature were called "humanists," and love of the classics was called "humanism."

previously been forgotten or lost were rediscovered in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. (Classical literature became an important part of higher education; Admiration for the classics was carried so far that the worth of less ancient literature was often underrated.

(3) *Vernacular Literature*. — (The beginnings of modern literature went side by side with the revival of the classics.)



PART OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Oxford University was established in the twelfth century. A number of the college buildings erected in the Middle Ages are still used.

In the Middle Ages the language of learned men was Latin, but the common people spoke English, French, Italian, German, or Spanish, according to the country in which they lived. In these "vernacular" (that is, popular) tongues, medieval minstrels composed ballads and romances which are read and loved even to this day. These were the first works of what we call modern literature.)

(4) *Art*. — Medieval achievements in the realm of art and architecture were especially brilliant. We owe the Gothic style of architecture to the medieval builders who, without

machines or steam engines, were able to erect tall cathedrals of marvelous beauty. Neither the ancient Greeks nor the Romans knew how to construct the slender spires, the graceful pointed arches, the high vaulted ceilings, the flying buttresses, the exquisite stained glass windows, that one finds in the medieval churches and public buildings. Westminster Abbey, Notre-Dame of Paris, the Rheims cathedral, and hundreds of other splendid edifices still stand as matchless examples of the medieval builder's art. The churches and cathedrals were richly adorned with carvings and statues. In the art of sculpture such rapid advance was made that by the close of the Middle Ages, sculptors were beginning to rival the masterpieces of the ancient Greeks. Painting, which had been practically a lost art during the Dark Age, was also revived, and toward the close of the Middle Ages a series of great Italian painters produced pictures which are now treasured as priceless works of art. The same medieval love of beauty led to the invention of the pipe organ and the composition of melodious church music. The history of modern music, as well as of modern painting, begins in the Middle Ages.

(5) *Inventions*. — A number of medieval inventions should be included in our list. Among them, the most important were the printing press, which made books infinitely easier to produce; the compass, which made long sea voyages possible; and firearms, which revolutionized the art of warfare. They will be discussed in later chapters.<sup>1</sup>

(6) *Religion*. — The Christian Church, which was founded in Roman times, was passed on to the modern world by medieval Europe. In the central and western parts<sup>2</sup> of medieval Europe, all Christians were members of the Catholic Church. The Church was regarded as the one road to salvation, the guardian

<sup>1</sup> See especially Chapter III.

<sup>2</sup> Most Christians in eastern Europe belonged to the Orthodox (or Greek) Church, which, though resembling the Catholic Church in most respects, rejected the Pope's headship. The separation of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches occurred in the ninth century.

of men's souls. It was also the patron of education and art. The schools and the universities were offshoots of the Church. The finest work of the painters, sculptors, and architects was done for the Church and inspired by religious ideas. The hospitals and charities of the Middle Ages were conducted by the Church. In law, in politics, in business, in everyday life, the influence of Christianity was everywhere at work, teaching ideals of justice and charity. Abuses and corruption crept into the Church, and even some of the medieval popes fell short of Christian standards of morality and spirituality, though others were very saintly. But notwithstanding the human weaknesses of its members, the Christian Church was the most important factor in transforming the rough barbarians of the Dark Age into the civilized Europeans of the Middle and Modern Ages.

(7) *Social Classes.* — Still another heritage from the Middle Ages was the division of society into four social classes — the clergy, the feudal nobility, the peasantry, and the bourgeoisie. About the last three classes some further explanation is needed. The nobles ("dukes," "counts," "earls," "barons," etc.) were originally professional warriors. Such a class grew up naturally because the common people could not spend their time learning how to wield the lance and the sword, nor could they afford to buy suits of armor, expensive swords and lances, good horses, and the other equipment of medieval fighters. In the course of time, these professional warriors gained more and more power and wealth. They were an hereditary aristocracy, living at the expense of the common people. Each nobleman was the "lord" of one or more districts, varying in size from a village to a county. The peasants in his district had to pay him certain taxes and do a certain amount of work for him so that he might live without manual labor. When he was not fighting, he spent his time hunting, or feasting, or taking part in tournaments (sham battles). He had servants, lackeys, and soldiers at his command. His castle towered in lordly style above the humble thatch-roofed cottages of his

peasants. So proud was he of his social position, that to marry a person not of noble birth was considered a disgrace. The privileged position of the feudal nobles was one of the great problems which modern democracy had to solve.

(The *peasantry* was the largest social class. It included all people who tilled the soil. Some of the peasants were free men, like modern farmers. In most countries, however, many of the peasants were "serfs." They could not be bought and sold like slaves, nor could they be deprived of their right to earn a living from the soil. But on the other hand,



MEDIEVAL DANCERS

This medieval picture suggests the brighter side of life in that age.  
Notice the musical instruments.

they were not really free, inasmuch as they were "attached to the soil", in other words, they were bound to stay and work on the land, unless they succeeded in running away or in purchasing freedom. Besides, they had to work two or three days a week for their respective feudal "lords," and fulfill various other burdensome obligations.) All in all, the peasants were poor, oppressed, and ignorant, if we judge them by the standards of the prosperous American farmer.

(The fourth social class mentioned above was the *bourgeoisie*. The word means, literally, "town dwellers." The bourgeoisie consisted of merchants, lawyers, brewers, bakers, shoemakers, and artisans generally, who lived in towns and occupied a sort of middle position in the social scale, above the peasantry but below the nobility.) At first this class was comparatively weak, because the towns were few and small; but as the towns grew



rapidly, the bourgeoisie became very influential. This class took the lead, in modern times, in overthrowing the feudal nobility and establishing democratic government.

(8) *Agricultural Methods.* — The system of agriculture inherited from the Middle Ages will receive attention later in this narrative<sup>1</sup>. For the present, we need simply to note the fact that our medieval ancestors practiced very crude methods of farming. The land was divided into long narrow strips; there were no fences between the fields; the plows were made of wood, and often did not have even iron points;



MEDIEVAL REAPERS

This medieval picture shows how grain was then harvested.

there were no machines; and the farmer got a comparatively small reward for his labor. The improvement of agricultural methods was one of the important achievements in modern history.

(9) *Industrial Methods.* — In industry, the Middle Ages witnessed a steady development. But there were no machines, no factories, no engines. Manufacturing was done entirely by hand, with hand-tools, and on a very small scale. (The people who earned their living by manufacturing were organized in societies called "craft guilds.") In any large town you would find a shoemakers' guild, a brewers' guild, a bakers' guild, a blacksmiths' guild, a tanners' guild, and perhaps many others. Each guild endeavored to guarantee fair and honest

<sup>1</sup> See the next chapter.

methods.) For example, the weavers' guild would punish any one who tried to make cloth of poor materials or of inferior quality. (Any one who wished to enter a trade was required to serve an "apprenticeship" (that is, a definite period of instruction and practice).) Thus a boy who wished to become a blacksmith had to work a certain number of years as an apprentice or learner in the shop of some "master" blacksmith who knew the trade thoroughly. During his apprenticeship, the boy received no wages, but lived at the home of the "master" and had board and clothing free. After he had learned the trade, he became a "journeyman" and worked for wages until he had saved enough to marry, establish a home of his own, and open his own little shop. Then he himself became a "master" and could take apprentices and journeymen.) Every master could participate in the election of guild officials and the transaction of guild business. Under the guild system at its best, industrial democracy and equality of opportunity went hand in hand. Every apprentice could expect to become a master in the normal course of events. Masters worked side by side with their apprentices and journeymen. If any master attempted to "profiteer" by charging more than the "fair price" set by the guild, or by making his apprentices and journeymen work at night, or by using inferior materials, he would be reported by the guild's inspectors and punished. Among the artisans in the medieval towns there was probably a nearer approach to social and industrial democracy than the world has ever known before or since.

(10) *Political Institutions.* — Finally, a few words must be said about the political ideas and institutions which modern Europe inherited from the Middle Ages.

(a) One of the most characteristic features of medieval government was feudalism, that is to say, the existence of a class of feudal nobles who had a considerable amount of political authority.) Each duke, count, earl, and baron was, in a way, the ruler of his own little dominion. (He had his own court, his own army, his own banner, and, although he might

be subject to some higher noble or to a king or an emperor, he wished to be as independent as possible.) One can form a mental picture of feudal government by imagining the situation that would arise if the governors of our states and the mayors of our cities were hereditary noblemen, incessantly quarreling with one another, often conducting local wars, and obeying the national government very seldom unless it happened to suit their fancy. To carry out the comparison, you and I should not feel that we owed any allegiance to the nation as a whole but only to our town or county.

(b) While feudalism was essentially opposed to unity, there was nevertheless an idea, inherited from the Roman Empire, that all Christendom ought to be united under the supreme rule of an Emperor. The idea was never realized in practice. The so-called Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages was a loose-jointed, ramshackle affair, including little more than Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, and Belgium.) This was one of the things inherited from the Middle Ages which was discarded in modern times.

(c) More important, in the long run, were the national kingdoms, such as England, France, and Spain, which sprang up in the Middle Ages. These became extremely important in modern times. The ideas of national patriotism and of autocratic monarchy, which played such great rôles in modern history, grew out of these national kingdoms.

(d) In addition, the ideas of representative government, of trial by jury, of written charters or constitutions safeguarding the liberties of the people, and of the right of the people to rebel against tyranny and injustice, may also be counted among the debts which we moderns owe to our medieval ancestors. As the later chapters of this book will explain, these principles of liberty were not fully developed in the Middle Ages; they had to be won and defended in modern times at the cost of many a freedom-lover's lifeblood; but, they grew out of medieval institutions as the oak grows out of the acorn.

The foregoing list is not absolutely complete. Many other things, such as the ideal of chivalry or the custom of illustrating books or the use of rhymes in poetry, might be added if there were space. But the ten items on our list are the most important and had the greatest influence on modern history. We shall need to refer back to them many times in our explanation of modern progress and modern problems. Just as the traits and features of a father reappear in his children, so the institutions and ideas of the Middle Ages may be seen cropping out in the world of to-day.

[NOTE:—The foregoing chapter is not intended as a complete or comprehensive summary of ancient and medieval history, but as an introduction, the purpose of which is twofold:—1. to provide a brief but necessary explanation of certain ideas and institutions which must be referred to in later chapters;—2. to give the reader just a few glimpses of the interesting and important background that lies behind modern history. In other words, while for very good reasons we emphasize modern history in this book, nevertheless we cannot entirely separate it from ancient and medieval history.]

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why is it impossible to know very much about the people who lived in the Stone Age?

2. How long ago are the cave men supposed to have lived? What kind of tools did they use? Did they have any domestic animals? Agriculture? Art? Metals? Pottery?

3. Did you notice any similarity between what we said about the cave man's weapons, etc., and what you know about the American Indians in the old colonial days? Try to find out whether the Indians had any weapons or tools of which the cave men were ignorant.

4. In what countries did civilization develop in very ancient times, even before the days of ancient Greece and Rome? Can you see any reason why civilization should have sprung up in these countries first?

5. Was the condition of the common working people better or worse in ancient times than at the present time?

6. Did the ancient Greeks and Romans believe in slavery?

7. What do we owe to the ancient Greeks? To the Romans?

8. Do you think we can learn much about democracy by studying ancient history?

9. As an experiment; make a list of the things you use every day and try to find out whether the Greeks and Romans had such things. For example, pencil, paper, electricity, etc.

✓ 10. What changes did Christianity make in the life of the people?

11. What were the results of the barbarian invasions?

✓ 12. How did the medieval style of architecture differ from the Greek and Roman? Compare the pictures on pp. 18, 22 and 30. Do you know of any buildings that are copied after the ancient or medieval styles?

13. In what language were most books written in France in the Middle Ages? In Italy? In England?

✓ 14. What were the four chief social classes during the Middle Ages? Do they still exist?

15. What was an "apprentice"? How did a "master" differ from a "journeyman"? How did a "master" differ from a present-day employer?

16. What are some of the things that we owe to the Middle Ages?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Prehistoric man.** BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, 1-34; VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 3-16.

**Early civilization in Egypt.** VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 17-28; BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, 35-49; BOTSFORD, *Ancient World*, 6-20.

**The pyramid age in Egypt.** VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 22-28. BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, 49-67, 68-73.

**Athens at her height.** BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, 350-376; BOTSFORD, *Hellenic History*, 248-257 (chs. xvi-xvii are also valuable); VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 59-82; BOTSFORD, *Source Book*, 180-209.

**Julius Caesar.** BOTSFORD, *Ancient World*, 433-442; BOTSFORD, *Source Book*, 442-449; BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, 586-596; VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 109-118.

**Slavery in ancient times.** BOTSFORD, *Ancient World*, 15, 28, 198, 481, 517-518, 521; SEIGNOBOS, *Ancient Civilization*, 140-141, 255-261; WARDE FOWLER, *Social Life at Rome*, ch. vii.

**The barbarians.** BOTSFORD, *Ancient World*, 524-538, 539-546; BOTSFORD, *Source Book*, 544-557; THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, 38-56 (72-91 also valuable); POLLARD, *History of England*, ch. i; ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 89-102.

**The friars.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 101-103; THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, 427-431; JESSOP, *Coming of the Friars*, esp. ch. i.

**The medieval universities.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 175-188; WALSH, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, 18-32; THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xx, esp. pp. 371-374.

**Medieval art and architecture.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 104-118; THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xxii; WALSH, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, chs. vi, viii.

**The medieval guilds.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 50-73; THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xvii, esp. pp. 314-319; WALSH, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, ch. vii.

**Medieval town life.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 42-57, 74-84; MUNRO, *The Middle Ages*, ch. xxix; BEARD, *English Historians*, 185-203.

**Feudalism.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 119-131; MUNRO, *Middle Ages*, 311-316, 336-337; THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xiii.

**The peasants in medieval England.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 10-24.

**Life in the middle ages.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 25-41, 132-147.

#### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 175-177; ABBOTT, *Expansion of Europe*, chs. i-ii; VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 3-250; ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*; WALSH, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*; THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*; WELLS, *A Short History of the World*.

#### HISTORICAL FICTION

NEALE, *The Egyptian Wanderers*; RYDBERG, *The Lost Athenian*; DAVIS, *A Victor of Salamis; A Friend of Caesar*; LYTTON, *Last Days of Pompeii*; RIENZI, *The Last of the Tribunes*; SCOTT, *Ivanhoe*; HENTY, *The Lion of St. Mark*; READE, *The Cloister and the Hearth*; SIENKIEWICZ, *Quo Vadis*.



*from an old engraving*

#### A CITY IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

Compare it with our cities. Observe the surrounding wall and moat, and on the extreme right the citadel. The cathedral, town hall, guild halls, and churches are the most prominent buildings, but there are no factories or tall office buildings.

## CHAPTER II

### COMMERCE AND FINANCE OUTGROW MEDIEVAL RESTRICTIONS

#### BUSINESS IN ANCIENT TIMES

**Importance of Economic Changes.** — If to-day we differ from our ancestors, the difference is due not so much to any battle or treaty or political revolution as to profound economic changes, which have been brought about gradually and silently, without the blare of trumpets or the rattle of drums. [The economic changes which began in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries resulted in an almost revolutionary transformation of people's everyday existence, their occupations, their ways of gaining a living, their clothing, and their food.] These same changes also affected politics, society, religion, art, and education. In short, they were so important that they may properly be taken as the beginning of modern history. In order to understand them, it will be necessary to glance at conditions in ancient times, and then come on down through the Middle Ages and into modern times.

**Conditions before the Invention of Money.** — If we look far back into history, we shall discover that there was a time, several thousand years ago, when no such thing as money existed, and there was no buying or selling of goods, or making of loans and investments. In those early days, each family ordinarily produced most of the food, clothing, and other simple necessities that it required. If a man wanted a sword or some iron or something else he could not grow or make, he would exchange some of his own grain or cattle for it. This simple method of direct exchange is known as "barter."



**Origin of Money.**— Before there could be much commerce or business of any kind, some form of money had to be invented. For a long time our ancestors experimented with different kinds of money. One of the first experiments<sup>1</sup> was the use of cattle as a standard of value. Thus a man would exchange a sword for a number of cattle and then perhaps he would exchange the cattle for other things. But cattle were not very easy to carry around when one was making purchases; a man could not put ten cows in his pocket when he went to buy something. Iron, which was considered very valuable in ancient times, was a little more convenient and was substituted for cattle in some countries. The ancient Greeks, so history tells us, used iron money at first and then later on substituted silver and gold for iron. Using this form of money, they were able to do a considerable amount of buying and selling. The Athenians, about twenty-five hundred years ago, built up quite an extensive foreign trade. They bought most of their grain from foreign countries and exported manufactures in return. Wealthy Athenian merchants began to lend money, and thus a simple form of banking grew up. Business was still an infant, but it was growing.

**Progress and Poverty in the Roman Empire.**— In the Roman Empire the development of business methods was carried still farther. Great commercial companies were organized to conduct industry and trade. Millionaire families bought up most of the land and purchased slaves to cultivate it. Unfortunately, while a few families acquired gigantic fortunes, many of the common people had to mortgage or sell their farms and become paupers or even slaves. This condition, according to some historians, was one of the chief reasons for the final collapse of the Roman Empire.

#### HOW BUSINESS WAS RESTRICTED IN THE MIDDLE AGES

**New Business Principles.**— As Chapter I told you, the Roman Empire in western Europe fell apart in the fifth cen-

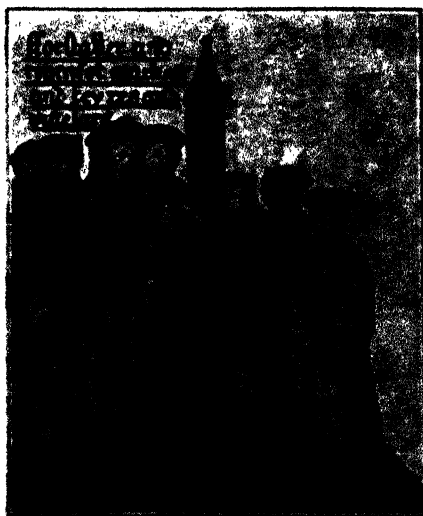
<sup>1</sup>Sea-shells were another early form of money.

tury, barbarian invaders swept through the country, many cities disappeared from the map, and industry and trade in this part of the world slipped back almost to the starting point. Roman methods of doing business were forgotten and an entirely different set of business principles was adopted.

(1) The taking of interest on loans was known as "usury" and was considered un-Christian and immoral. (2) There was no such thing as absolute personal ownership of land. (3) Industry was organized on the guild basis.<sup>1</sup> (4) Instead of permitting prices and wages to be settled by bargaining, the medieval guilds adopted the principle of the "Just Price" and the "Just Wage"; they established fixed rates of prices on manufactured goods as well as on different kinds of labor, and punished any one who tried to charge more or buy for less. Since prices were fixed, the guilds also had

to guarantee that goods should be worth the price, and so they enforced standards of quality and insisted on good materials and thorough workmanship.

This medieval system of business principles and restricted property rights came into existence partly because the Roman



(From an old picture reproduced in Truitt's "Social England." By courtesy of Cassell, London, and Putnam's Sons, N. Y.)

#### A "FORESTALLER" IN THE PILLORY

A forestaller was a merchant who purchased goods before they came to market, in order to resell them at a higher price. This was considered a serious offense in the Middle Ages, and was sometimes punished in the very effective manner shown in the picture.

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter I, pp. 34-35.

system had led to such abuses, partly because the barbarian invaders brought with them new ideas about property, partly because industry and commerce were conducted on such a small scale that not much capital was needed, and partly because the people of the Middle Ages believed that Christianity forbade them to collect interest, or charge excessive prices, or take unfair advantage of their fellow citizens in business.

**Revival of Roman Principles.** — (Towards the close of the Middle Ages, that is, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, several factors were at work, undermining the medieval economic system and serving to create the modern system which we call "capitalism." One of these factors was the revival of Roman law, which had been abandoned in the earlier part of the Middle Ages. The revival started in Italian universities, where professors began to give lectures about the Roman codes of law. The Roman law codes had been so carefully worked out, and seemed so clear and reasonable, that they were greatly admired by lawyers. The substitution of Roman for medieval ideas of law was promoted by kings and emperors, with the idea of making their own power more absolute, because the Roman law contained many principles which were favorable to absolute monarchy. Gradually the rulers of the various countries modeled their laws more and more after the Roman codes. Now this revival of Roman law had a very direct bearing on economic matters. Roman law had been created in a capitalistic age, and its spirit was capitalistic. It permitted the lending of money for interest, it sanctioned the practice of making profits by buying cheaply and selling dearly, and it recognized the principle of absolute private ownership of land as well as of other property.)

**Private Property in Land.** — (The principle of absolute ownership of land was particularly advantageous to feudal nobles. Under the manorial system the noble had no right to dispossess the peasant-tenants on his estate or even to demand from them more than was customary. According to the Roman law, however, it was argued that the peasants had

no real right to the land they tilled, and the noble was absolute owner. In England, a few noble landlords began to appropriate the "common" lands for their own private use, and enclosed them as sheep pastures. As sheep-raising was more profitable than ordinary agriculture, these lords soon became wealthy. Here we have a beginning of capitalism in agriculture.

*Changes in Industry.* — After a time capitalism appeared in industry also. Wealthy landlords began to hire people to spin and weave wool into cloth, in competition with the guilds. Wealthy merchants, who wished to gain greater wealth, likewise began to compete with the guilds, and hired women and unskilled workers, at low rates of wages, to spin yarn and make cloth, which could be sold at a profit. Such work was usually done in the country, where it could not be prevented by the guilds, which existed only in the towns. The guilds were not destroyed at once, but they gradually found it impossible to enforce their rules about well-made goods, just prices, and standard wages. In some of the guilds, the wealthier masters caught the fever of making money by the work of others, and tried to keep their apprentices and journeymen in the position of wage-earners, instead of allowing them to become masters. The guilds grew oppressive and corrupt as they grew weaker.

*Rise of Money-lending and Banking.* — Still another factor that contributed to the growth of capitalism towards the end of the Middle Ages was the development of money-lending and banking. It had been considered immoral for a Christian to engage in what was then called "usury," that is, to take money for the use of money. The money-lenders were usually Jews. But as trade grew more extensive, merchants were more frequently in need of loans. Extravagant noblemen were also good borrowers. Clergymen, too, often needed large loans for the building of churches. So great was the demand for loans, that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Christians began to compete with Jews as money-

lenders, at first in Italy, the chief business center of Europe, then in Germany and in other countries. Banking, however, was still in its infancy, and the morality of lending money at interest was still a matter of dispute.

#### THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION (1450-1650) EXPANDS TRADE AND STIMULATES CAPITALISM

We are now ready to discuss the great historical event which is usually considered as marking the beginning of modern times, an event which suddenly stimulated the growth of capitalism and still further undermined the medieval system. That event is the Commercial Revolution of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

**A Change in Trade Routes and Trade Methods.** — Just as a political revolution consists in the substitution of a new ruler or a new government for the old one, similarly, the Commercial Revolution consisted in the substitution of new commercial routes for old ones, and of new commercial methods for old methods. (The Commercial Revolution at first affected only the trade and the trade routes between Europe and the East (Asia and the East Indies). (Under the old conditions, this trade was carried on almost entirely by Arabs<sup>1</sup> and by merchants of the Italian city-states such as Venice, Genoa, and Florence. Arab caravans and Arab ships brought goods from Asia and the East Indies to various ports at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and Black Seas; thence Italian ships conveyed the goods to Italy, and from Italy they were distributed, chiefly by German merchants, to other parts of Europe.

**Medieval Trade Routes Monopolized by Italians.** — The fact that all the important routes from the East went through the Mediterranean and came together in Italy made Italy the center of the Eastern trade, and enabled the Italian city-states to become exceedingly prosperous. The things im-

<sup>1</sup> The Arabs are a Mohammedan people whose home is Arabia; they were great traders and conquerors in the Middle Ages.

ported from the East were high-priced luxuries. Pepper, cinnamon, ginger, cloves, and other spices, which were grown only in Asia and the East Indies, were in great demand, because the Europeans were very fond of highly seasoned foods and wines. Expensive diamonds, rubies, pearls, fine silk



*(From an old engraving)*

#### VENICE IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

clothing, and beautiful rugs were brought from the East and sold to European kings, noblemen, and rich merchants.

**Explorers Sent out by Rival Nationalities.** — The Italian city-states made such large profits from Eastern trade that the people of other states naturally desired a share. For several reasons which it would take too long to explain, it was impossible for Spaniards or Englishmen or any other nation to use the same trade routes as the Italians; therefore, it was necessary for them to discover new routes. And so we find



Portugal could find a way to the East she might bring about the conversion of the pagan peoples of the East to Christianity. Inspired by these motives, Prince Henry devoted his life to the task of discovering a new route to the East. Africa, he believed, did not extend very far to the southwards; it would therefore be easy to sail south around Africa and so to reach the East Indies. No medieval sailor had ever tried this route; in fact, the map-makers of Prince Henry's time had to rely on their imagination when they drew the map of Africa (see page 48).

The first ships sent out by Prince Henry did not get very far. Each expedition went a little farther than the preceding one, and then turned back. When Prince Henry died, in 1460, the Portuguese had gotten only about half-way down the western coast of Africa. But the work was continued after



VASCO DA GAMA

The first European to sail around Africa  
to India.

his death. In the year 1488 Bartholomew Diaz reached the continent's southernmost tip, which he called the "Cape of Storms," because he encountered such storms there. When Diaz returned, and told his story, the King of Portugal said that the Cape of Storms should be rechristened the Cape of Good Hope, because success was at last within reach. And his optimism was justified, for nine years later, in 1497, another Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, sailed around the Cape, and continued up the east coast of Africa to Malindi, where he found an Arab pilot who showed him the way across the Indian Ocean to India. When he landed at Cal-



icut, in India, Vasco da Gama erected a marble pillar as a memorial of his discovery of a new route to the Indies. He then returned to Lisbon in 1499 with a cargo of Eastern goods worth sixty times the cost of his expedition. After that, Portuguese merchant fleets sailed regularly to the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope, carrying European products to the East and returning with rich cargoes of spices, silks, and jewels. The Portuguese went as far as Nanking, in China, and the Spice Islands, in the East Indies. By right of discovery, they claimed a monopoly of the new trade route as well as the coasts of Africa, India, and the East Indies.

*Spanish Explorations: Columbus and the Westward Route.*—Meanwhile, Spain had entered the field. A decade before Vasco da Gama's famous voyage, an Italian navigator who was at that time employed by the Portuguese King had asked permission to try the bold experiment of sailing straight westward across the Atlantic. Learned men believed that the earth was spherical in shape, and that Asia and the East Indies formed the western shores of the Atlantic Ocean. No one dreamed that the continents of North and South America lay in the way. The plan seemed reasonable enough in theory but difficult in practice, because the tiny sailing vessels of those days were not well suited for long ocean voyages. The Portuguese King considered it much wiser to continue his efforts to discover a route around Africa. Keenly disappointed, the Italian navigator—who was none other than Christopher Columbus—left Portugal and endeavored to gain the support of a rival monarch, Queen Isabella of Castile. Just at this time, Queen Isabella and her husband (King Ferdinand of Aragon), who between them ruled most of what we call Spain, were much more interested in fighting the Mohammedan state of Granada, in southern Spain, than in expeditions to the East. But when Granada was conquered, early in 1492, Isabella finally consented to aid Columbus. Thanks to her help, Columbus was able to set out in August, 1492, with one hundred men and three

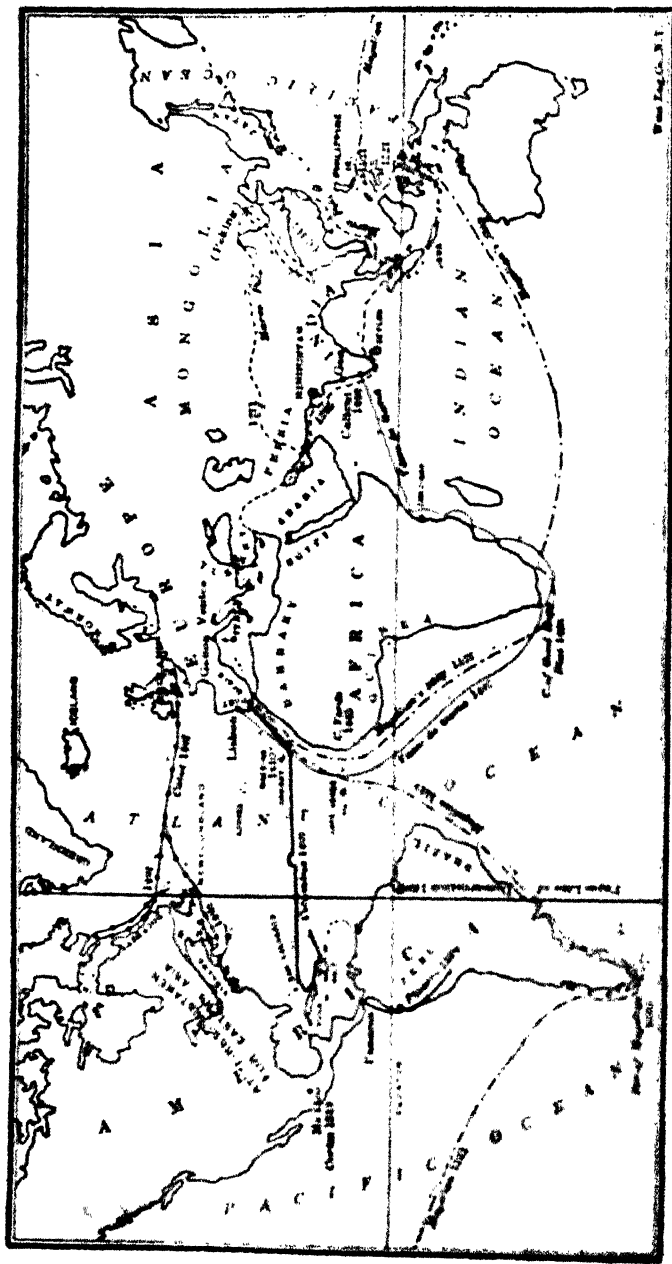
ships, and with a letter of introduction to the Great Khan, or Emperor, of "Cathay" (China). Few adventures have required more courage and perseverance. Imagine crossing the Atlantic in a sailing vessel about one two-hundredth the size of a modern ocean liner! Week after week Columbus sailed westward; his men lost faith and grew mutinous; a month passed, and still the trackless ocean stretched out before them. Never despairing, Columbus held fast to his purpose until at last, on October 12, 1492, the glad cry of "Land, Land!" rang from the lookouts. He landed, gave thanks to God, and claimed the land for the King and Queen of Spain. Had he been told that he was discovering a new world, America bitter indeed would have been his disappointment. Little did Columbus dream that the island on which he landed was San Salvador, in the Bahamas. He believed he had reached one of the islands off the coast of Asia, and he returned home to report that he had found "the Indies." Three times Columbus returned to America (in 1493, 1498, and 1502), and searched for the island of Japan, the empire of China, and the islands where spices grew; but he found no spices or silks, and the coasts he explored were those of the Caribbean Sea, Venezuela, and Central America, rather than of Asia and the real "Indies.")



(From Sympie, "A Book of Discovery," by permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

#### THE "SANTA MARIA"

This was the ship in which Columbus crossed the ocean. It was about 63 feet long and 20 feet wide.



# VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

Observe the land-route followed by the famous Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, the first European who penetrated into China (thirteenth century). Trace the Portuguese voyages, noting that at the Cape in 1486 and Vasco da Gama at Calicut in 1498; also follow Columbus on his voyage of 1492, Cabot in 1497-1498, and Magellan's great circumnavigation of 1519-1522.

*Other Discoverers of America: Cabot, Cabral, and Amerigo.* — Columbus was the first known European to cross the Atlantic,<sup>1</sup> and he justly deserved full credit for his exploit. But if he had failed in courage, or if he had perished in mid-ocean, America would probably have been discovered. In 1497 John Cabot, an Italian mariner, employed by King Henry VII of England, sailed across the Atlantic to the North American coast. Three years later, a Portuguese fleet commanded by Cabral was sailing down the African coast, expecting to follow Vasco da Gama's route to India, when strong winds and currents carried the ships so far west that they came to Brazil instead of to India. In this way Portugal accidentally acquired a claim to Brazil. About the same time (1499-1500) an Italian by the name of Amerigo Vespucci made a voyage to Brazil and wrote a little book about "the new world" which to-day bears his name — America.)

Very slowly the truth that America was a new world dawned upon the people of Europe. They persisted in calling the new lands the "Indies" and their inhabitants "Indians." Even after Balboa discovered (in 1513) another great expanse of water beyond the Isthmus of Panama, it was thought that it was only a few days' voyage to China. Not until Magellan had sailed from Spain in 1519, passing through the straits that bear his name, and had crossed the Pacific, was this notion dispelled. Magellan was killed by savages in the Philippine Islands, but one of his ships succeeded in returning to Europe in 1522, thereby completing the first voyage around the world.

**Spanish Conquests in the New World.** — The New World was not the "Indies," but it was discovered to be worth conquering and possessing. In 1519 a reckless Spanish adventurer, Hernando Cortez, invaded Mexico with a mere handful of soldiers, overthrew the native ruler, and seized enormous treasures of gold and silver which the natives had dug out of

<sup>1</sup> Vikings from Scandinavia probably discovered North America four centuries before Columbus, but their voyages had no practical results.

their rich mines. Another Spanish conqueror, Pizarro, won even greater booty in Peru, a few years later (1531). The natives were compelled to work in the mines of Mexico, Peru, and other parts of America, in order that shipload after shipload of the precious metals might be sent to Spain. Another source of wealth was found in agriculture. Sugar, tobacco, and other products could be cultivated by the enslaved natives, and sold at a handsome profit in Europe. Furs, rare kinds of timber, and many other products were also exported.) Greed for gain, however, was not the only motive for conquering America. Love of adventure and thirst for glory likewise played their parts. In addition, the Spanish explorers and conquerors were often inspired by missionary zeal. Wherever they went they were accompanied by priests, who baptized the natives, built churches, and established schools. The religious spirit of the Spaniards is shown by the names they gave their settlements, such as San Francisco (St. Francis), San Salvador (Holy Saviour), Santa Fé (Holy Faith), and Saint Augustine.

The Spaniards gradually brought a large part of South America,<sup>1</sup> Central America, and Mexico under their rule; they also claimed all of North America. In 1580 King Philip II of Spain seized the throne of Portugal, so that in addition to the Spanish conquests in America, he now possessed the Portuguese colony of Brazil, the Portuguese trade route around Africa, and the Portuguese claim to exclusive rights in Africa, India, and the East Indies.

**Dutch Participation.** — Just at this time, the Dutch provinces of the Netherlands (Holland), over which Philip II also ruled, happened to be in rebellion. The Dutch rebels managed to obtain information about the Portuguese route to the East Indies, which had been kept secret, and in 1595 they began to send their own ships to the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch captured hundreds of Spanish ships; they seized the Portuguese forts and trading posts in

<sup>1</sup> Brazil was colonized by the Portuguese, who had first discovered it.

Brazil,<sup>1</sup> in the East Indies, and on the coasts of India and Africa; they founded a colony in North America on the Hudson River (1621). By the time their independence was officially recognized (1648), the Dutch had won a large colonial empire at the expense of Portugal and Spain, and had secured a large part of the valuable trade between Europe and the East. In 1640 Portugal became independent of Spain once again, but most of the Portuguese colonies had been taken by Holland.)

**French Participation.** — France, like Holland, was unwilling to see the new lands and new trade routes monopolized by other countries. French explorers in the sixteenth century cruised along the North American coast, discovered the St. Lawrence River, and claimed the St. Lawrence Valley for their King. French colonists settled in Acadia (now called Nova Scotia) in 1604, and at Quebec in 1608. Adventurous French missionaries, fur traders, and explorers traveled into the interior by way of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes; one of the boldest of these, La Salle, paddled down the Mississippi and proclaimed the whole Mississippi Valley to be a French possession. During this same century, France acquired some islands in the West Indies and founded trading posts on the coasts of Africa and India.

**English Participation.** — England, though she is now the greatest of all colonial and commercial nations, was very backward in entering the field and at first did not compete very seriously in the struggle to acquire colonies. In the sixteenth century several attempts were made to found English colonies in North America, which the English claimed by right of John Cabot's explorations; these attempts, however, were tragic failures. Many English sailors made famous voyages of exploration, trying to discover a "North-West Passage" around America, or a "North-East Passage" around

<sup>1</sup> Portugal regained Brazil in 1654 as the result of an uprising of Portuguese colonists. The Dutch retained a foothold in Guiana, just north of Brazil.

Norway, to the East-Indies, but in these efforts also England failed. Other English sea captains of the sixteenth century found it more profitable to capture Spanish treasure ships and loot Spanish towns in America.

(Not until the seventeenth century did England establish any colonies. After a beginning was made in Virginia (1607) and Plymouth (1620), other colonies soon sprang up, and before the close of the century England was mistress of the American coast from Maine to Carolina, as well as of several islands in the West Indies. These colonies grew very rapidly, because there was so much civil strife, religious persecution, and poverty in England that thousands of people fled from the mother-country, hoping to find better conditions in the New World. It was likewise during the seventeenth century that the English obtained their first footholds in Africa and in India. Here they had no intention of settling as colonists. In India they had only a few warehouses, for the purpose of trade.) Similarly in Africa they contented themselves with establishing forts and warehouses at a few ports, where they could obtain negro slaves, gold, ivory, and other articles of commerce.

In this way England, France, and Holland obtained their shares in the results of the great Portuguese and Spanish discoveries. The centuries that followed witnessed a long succession of wars between the rival nations, especially between England and France, for the possession of colonies and for a larger share of world-commerce.

**Old Trade Routes Supplanted by New.** - (While the national states of western Europe were opening up new trade routes and new continents, the Italian city-states were losing their grip on the old trade routes.) (It had always been expensive and difficult to transport Eastern goods over the old routes, because part of the journey had to be made by land, across desert regions infested by bandits, and the goods had to be transferred from ships to camels, then back again to ships. But a still greater difficulty arose. (The regions through

which the old trade routes passed were disturbed by a series of wars. The whole territory from the Black Sea to Egypt was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, a warlike Mohammedan race, who despised merchants, hated Christians, and hindered the Italian traders in many ways. Turkish ships and Mohammedan pirates became a menace in the Mediterranean, attacking Italian vessels and making raids on Italian seaports.) As if this were not enough, another half-civilized race, the Mongols, swept down from central Asia and invaded the Turkish Empire, thus making commerce still more dangerous. The result was that the Italian city-states lost most of their commerce, and the old trade routes fell into disuse, while the commerce between Europe and the East was carried on by the new all-water route south of Africa. The Italian city-states never made any serious effort to use the new route, perhaps because they were too small and too weak, perhaps because their geographical situation was unfavorable. Venice, Genoa, and Florence, once envied by Europe for their wealth, slowly but surely declined.

The German cities, which in the old days had formed a very powerful league (the Hanseatic League) and had carried on the commerce between Italy and northern Europe, shared in the misfortune of the Italian cities. Their commerce declined, their League fell to pieces, and civil wars in Germany during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries added the finishing touches to their ruin.

**Summary of the Commercial Revolution.** — We are now in a position to summarize the essential features of the Commercial Revolution. (1) The old trade routes, which passed through the Mediterranean, were replaced by new trade routes, one of which passed across the Atlantic to America and the other around Africa to Asia and the East Indies. In other words, the Mediterranean Sea was superseded by the Atlantic Ocean as the great pathway of world-commerce. (2) The national states on the Atlantic seaboard of western Europe replaced the city-states of central and southern Europe as the





**THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS**

This is how a master artist imagined the scene.

leaders in commerce, and commercial rivalry was transferred from city-states to national states.)

The results of the Commercial Revolution were so far-reaching that they are seen in all modern history. The most important are:

(1) *The Europeanization of the World.*—The discovery of new trade routes led immediately to the founding of colonies in America. The colonists from Europe brought European languages, customs, and institutions to the New World, with the result that to-day North and South America are inhabited by nations whose civilization resembles that of Europe. The process of Europeanization was not so rapid or so complete in the case of Africa, Asia, and the East Indies, chiefly because these regions were either too unhealthy or too thickly populated for extensive European colonization. Nevertheless, (in course of time Africa, the East Indies, and most of Asia were visited by European explorers, missionaries, and merchants, and brought under European rule. The result has been that these continents are becoming more and more European in their manners, dress, institutions, ideas, and business methods.) Thus the petty states of the smallest continent in the world have become the Powers of to-day, dividing Africa, Asia, and the East Indies among themselves, and spreading their civilization over the whole world.

(2) *Changed Nature of Commerce.*—As a result of the Commercial Revolution commerce underwent a remarkable change, as regards both the quantity and the kind of goods carried. Now that they were making voyages across the Ocean, instead of across the Mediterranean, the Europeans built larger and stronger ships. Since transportation by water was generally cheaper than by the old land routes, heavier and bulkier goods, such as timber, grain, and meat, could be carried greater distances. (Many new products came into use, such as coffee, tea, cocoa, chocolate, cane sugar, molasses, rum (made from molasses), potatoes, "Indian corn," rice, and whale oil. Large quantities of fur, fish, and timber were



COLONIAL EMPIRES



shipped from America to Europe. Since there were so many new and important articles of commerce, in addition to the older ones, trade branched out and expanded marvelously. And it is especially important to note that (since the colonies and newly-discovered lands had chiefly raw materials to send to Europe, and needed to import manufactures rather than food, European countries began to make larger quantities of manufactured articles for export.

(3) *Increase of Wealth and Luxury.* — The expansion of commerce brought wealth to European merchants, manufacturers, and bankers. And with greater wealth there was greater luxury. The goods of every continent were brought for the enjoyment of the European who could afford them — Persian rugs for his floors, Chinese silks and Indian cotton goods and American furs for his wardrobe, Indian ebony for his table, Mexican silver for his fork, coffee from the East Indies sweetened with sugar from Cuba.

(4) *Increase of Knowledge.* — The discovery of the New World and the exploration of Africa and Asia gave Europeans such interest in geography that they will never be content until every nook and cranny of the world has been investigated. Moreover, European explorers met with so many strange races and customs, so many varieties of plants, so many unfamiliar animals, that they took new interest in the comparison and study of the different races of men and their customs and of the different species of animals and plants.

(5) *Growth of Capitalism.* — Commerce became so much more extensive and commercial transactions were conducted on so much larger a scale, as a result of the Commercial Revolution, that great alterations took place in business methods. These changes are especially important in the history of the development of capitalism, and will presently be discussed at greater length.

(6) *Rise of the Bourgeoisie.* — Finally, the Commercial Revolution, by increasing the amount of commerce and stimulating business generally, added greatly to the wealth and

influence of the bourgeoisie, that is, of the middle classes, or business men.) The growth of the bourgeoisie, as we shall see, was one of the chief factors in the political and social history of modern times.

#### THE FINANCIAL REVOLUTION (1450-1650) FURTHER STIMULATES CAPITALISM

**Meaning of "Financial Revolution."** — In the Middle Ages most business was carried on by individuals, who did not need a very large amount of "capital" and supplied what they did need by using their own savings instead of borrowing from banks or selling shares of stock to others. Goods were usually paid for in gold or silver, or in other goods, instead of being purchased on credit or being paid for by check or bill of exchange. In a word, modern methods of financing business had not yet been introduced. The introduction of modern methods — that is, of banking, credit, bills of exchange, and stock companies — is what we mean by the Financial Revolution.

(This Revolution had begun even before the Commercial Revolution.) Lending money out at interest was beginning to be recognized as a regular business even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although it was only on a small scale and was still condemned by many people as an immoral way of earning a livelihood. (The Commercial Revolution did not cause the Financial Revolution but promoted it.)

**Increase of Borrowing.** — After the Commercial Revolution, merchants who engaged in trade with America, Africa, or Asia, had to be very wealthy in order to equip ships and purchase cargoes to be exchanged for overseas products. Sometimes several years elapsed before the ships returned and before the merchant could realize on his investment. The more money a merchant had, the more ships he could own, and the larger profits he could make. (Naturally, therefore, merchants were willing and eager to borrow money and to pay interest for it. The medieval belief that the

taking of interest was immoral was still further weakened by the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century, as Chapter IV will explain. And so banking, or money lending, came to be regarded more and more as a business necessity, rather than



A BANKER IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

The money is stacked in bags on the shelves. The banker is weighing coins, because in those days there were so many kinds of coins and the value of a coin depended on the amount of gold or silver in it. Were such methods suitable for large business transactions?

as an immoral practice which ought to be shunned by good Christians.

*Increase of Lending.* — At the same time, there was more money to lend, partly because the rich mines of America poured a flood of gold and silver into Europe, and partly because this money came into the hands of rich men who had no use for it unless they lent it out at interest or invested it for profit. The men who owned mines or plantations in the New World could easily acquire huge fortunes, because the mines and plantations were worked by slaves, without wages. Merchants engaging in foreign trade accumulated riches at which their grandfathers would have gasped in amazement. Instead of storing their money away

in treasure chests, many of these men found it convenient to deposit their money with bankers, who would pay interest on it; the bankers in turn would lend money, at a higher rate of interest, to merchants or to kings, or to any one who wished to borrow. This is the basis of banking — the banker receives money from the depositors at a low rate of interest and lends it out at a higher rate.

*Rise of Banking.* — (Bankers also served another useful purpose in business, by inventing bank notes and checks. Business-men no longer had to pay their debts to each other in bags of gold; the gold remained in the bank, while a check or a bank note served the purpose of gold.) Every one knew that (by presenting the check at a bank one could get gold or silver if one wanted it.) (Governments as well as banks adopted the practice of issuing paper certificates to be used in place of gold and silver. As a result, checks, bank notes, and paper money have almost completely replaced gold and silver for all large payments.) This gives the banks a very important position in business life; every great city has dozens of banks, and even a small village usually has at least one. The business-man regularly deposits his surplus money in a bank, so that he can pay his debts by check. And the banks, having great sums of deposited money, make large profits by lending money out at interest. (Thus banking has been one of the chief factors in the growth of capitalism.)

*Rise of Stock Companies.* — (The development of banking was the leading feature of the Financial Revolution;) but there was another feature which deserves mention, namely, the formation of the first stock companies. After the Commercial Revolution, societies or companies were formed in each country for trade with the newly discovered lands. For example, in England a number of noblemen and wealthy business-men formed an East India Company (1600), to which Queen Elizabeth gave a charter, permitting the company to trade with India, to build forts for the protection of their warehouses, to make war on the natives if necessary, to hire clerks, soldiers, and sailors, and to exclude all other English merchants from trading with India.) Similarly, there was a company for African trade, another for Turkey, a third for Russia (or Muscovy). Holland and France likewise had their East India and other companies.

(At first, the merchants in these "chartered companies" continued to act as individuals, providing capital and buying



and selling goods on their own account, as the merchants in the medieval guilds had done.) (Not many years passed, however, before some of the companies were reorganized on a new basis. Each member contributed a share of "stock," or capital, to the company, and the "joint stock," or collective capital, was managed by the company's officials. At the end of each year whatever profit was left after paying all expenses was divided up among the stockholders. Thus stockholders might receive profits for the use of their money, without taking any active part in carrying on trade. Moreover, stockholders could sell their shares to others, if they so desired. Thus a landowner or a banker might buy shares in a joint-stock company and receive profits, although he had nothing to do with commerce. For a long time there were comparatively few of these joint-stock companies, and they were formed usually for the management of colonies or for trade with distant countries, rather than for manufacturing and ordinary domestic trade. But the formation of the first joint-stock companies, in the seventeenth century, may be regarded as an important step in the development of modern capitalism. These companies are the ancestors of the "corporation" of to-day, the chief form of capitalistic organization in all kinds of large business enterprises.

#### GROWING IMPORTANCE OF CAPITAL IN AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

**New Business Principles.** — The events which have been narrated so far might easily be summed up in the simple statement that medieval business principles were gradually giving way before a new set of business principles which were to make possible our modern civilization. This new set of principles is called "capitalism" because it is based on "capital." Since capital and capitalism play such an important and useful part in modern life, we should know what they are. "Capital" is defined by economists as wealth which is used for the purpose of producing more wealth. For practical purposes,

we might say that it is wealth which is invested or utilized in the production of goods. For example, when a factory is started, certain persons provide the money necessary to build the factory, to purchase raw materials, and to pay workmen until the products can be sold. The persons who provide the money are called "capitalists" and the amount they invest is the "capital." All big business enterprises to-day require a large amount of capital. Even farming requires capital for the purchase of land, stock, and tools.

In order to make the nature of this modern system clearer, and at the same time to fix



A BAKER'S SHOP IN EARLY  
MODERN TIMES



BUTCHER'S SHOP IN EARLY  
MODERN TIMES

more firmly in our minds the different nature of the medieval system, four points of contrast between the two systems may be summarized as follows: (1) People nowadays believe in the principle that there should be an income from capital. That is to say, an investor who puts his money into land, gains rent; if he lends it, he gains interest; if he puts it into stocks or uses it in business, he gains profits. In the Middle Ages, on the contrary, interest was not generally regarded as justifiable;

rent was restricted; and (there was no widespread practice of investing money for profit except in one's own business.) (2) The owners of property are much freer nowadays than they were in the Middle Ages to do what they wish with their own property. (3) Nowadays, in most business enterprises, the men who furnish the capital also have the right to control and direct the business and to hire or discharge the employees who work for wages or salaries. In other words, capital employs labor. But in the Middle Ages there was not such a sharp line between capital and labor. The ordinary workingman owned his own tools, managed his own shop, and did some of the manual labor himself, with the help of a few apprentices and journeymen. (4) Finally, in modern business the principle of bargaining is recognized. That is, manufacturers and merchants are free to dispose of their goods as advantageously as possible to anyone who will buy. Landlords usually charge as much rent, and tenants pay as little, as supply and demand permit. Similarly, workingmen may make as good bargains with their employers, about wages, as they can. In the Middle Ages, on the other hand, people thought there ought to be a "Just Price" for goods and for work, as we have seen, and landlords were not supposed to raise rents.

In short, the modern principles regarding the use of property and capital are: (1) the right to an income from capital, (2) the right of individual control over one's own capital or property, (3) the employment and management of laborers by capitalists, and (4) bargaining about prices, rents, and wages. When, henceforth, we speak of the growth of capitalism, we shall mean the growing use of capital and the gradual introduction of the four above-mentioned business principles, which are favorable to the use of private capital.

From another viewpoint, what the growth of capitalism meant in European history was a tremendous expansion in business activity, industry, and trade. The medieval system meant small production and hand work. The new system was a step toward large-scale production and modern methods.



#### THE PEASANT AND THE NOBLEMAN

The peasant is bringing a basket of fruit and vegetables, a sack of grain, and a bag of money, to pay his dues to the nobleman.

**Effect of Commercial and Financial Revolutions on Agriculture.** — One of the greatest lessons to be learned in history is that events are connected in a relationship of cause and effect. There cannot be an important change in commercial or financial methods without resultant changes in industry, agriculture, politics, and social life. This principle is remarkably illustrated by the effects of the Commercial and Financial Revolutions.

*Absentee Landlordism* — These revolutions hastened the destruction of the medieval system of agriculture. In the old days, the income of a nobleman was in the form of farm produce, which generally was consumed by himself and his household. After the Commercial Revolution, however, there was a larger amount of gold and silver in circulation, and money-rent was substituted for the former contributions of labor and farm produce. A lord who wished to live in the city could hire an agent to collect the rents for him, or sell the farm produce for money. Usually such an arrangement was unfavorable to the peasants, because the "absentee" landlord was constantly urging his agent to wring more money from the peasants, and rarely saw the suffering caused by his greed. The old medieval system had been based on mutual rights and duties. (Absentee landlordism struck at the very heart of the old system, inasmuch as the absentee landlord escaped all his duties (such as protecting the peasants, administering justice, etc.), and no longer respected the rights of the peasants.) Not all noblemen were absentee landlords; but there were enough absentees to make the situation very serious. Like gaudy butterflies these absentee landlords fluttered in the sunshine of court society at the capital, spending money recklessly on gorgeous clothes, coaches, horses, servants, extravagant entertainments, and luxuries of every description, while their agents exacted larger and larger rents from the peasants.

*"Enclosures" in England.* — In England, the medieval agricultural system was undermined not only by absentee landlordism but also by the "enclosure movement." In the

**Middle Ages** the agricultural land was not enclosed by fences, but was treated more or less as common property. Lord and peasant alike had the right to use a certain number of scattered strips in the grain fields and to share in the use of common pastures and meadows. In the fifteenth century, however, a number of English landlords — not very many as yet — enclosed some of the fields with hedges and used them as private pastures for sheep, because there was then a great demand for wool. The process of enclosing the land continued in the following centuries. Sometimes the land enclosed by the lord for his own use had been merely waste land. But often an unscrupulous lord enclosed parts or all of the common pastures, the common meadows, or the grain fields. In such cases, the peasants were either deprived entirely of their rights to the soil, or given small plots of land insufficient for their needs, or else were paid money which was soon spent. For thousands of such peasants there was nothing left to do unless they hired out as wage-earners, got work in the towns, became beggars, or emigrated to America. If we could picture the degradation and dull despair that came into the lives of thousands of former peasants, perhaps we should call the enclosure movement one of the most tragic events in all history. On the other hand it is equally true that the restrictions of the old manorial system of agriculture had to be broken down if there was ever to be much economic progress. The old system was a barrier to advancement in methods of stock-breeding and crop-rotation, as well as to large-scale farming. The age of large-scale production was at hand, and agriculture was affected first. The new agriculture was to prove not only more profitable, but also more productive, than the earlier system.

**Effect of Commercial and Financial Revolutions on Industry.** — In industry, likewise, a great economic change was promoted by the Commercial and Financial Revolutions and the enclosures. The Commercial Revolution, by opening up new markets for manufactures, made the production of larger

quantities of manufactured goods really profitable. The Financial Revolution made it easier for business-men to borrow capital for the purchase of raw materials and the hiring of labor. The enclosures drove thousands of former peasants away from their farms, as we have seen, and thus provided a large supply of workmen who could be employed by capitalists in manufacturing industries. As a result, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the hiring of workmen by capitalist employers grew increasingly common, and industries became not only more extensive but also more capitalistic.

*The "Putting-out" System.* - This was particularly true of the woollen industry in England. It was not unusual for



THE TAILOR'S SHOP IN EARLY  
MODERN TIMES

a great capitalist in the seventeenth century to employ several hundred persons. He bought the raw wool in large quantities, hired women to spin it into yarn, then employed weavers to weave the yarn into cloth, and finally sold the cloth for as much as it would bring. This arrangement was called the "putting-out" system, because the capitalists "put out" the raw materials to be manufactured by workmen in their own homes.

*The Medieval Guild System Undermined.* - The "putting-

out" system was directly contrary to the rules of the craft guilds and was conducted by capitalists who did not belong to the guilds. Besides cloth-making, other industries also escaped from guild control or sprang up outside the guilds. For instance, coal-mining and iron-smelting were capitalistic

from the beginning. Thus during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the guilds were losing their grip. The weaker they grew, the more selfish and corrupt they became. The guild system, like the medieval agricultural system, was crumbling away to make room for capitalism.

**Effect of Commercial and Financial Revolutions on Society and Politics.** — One of the most significant results of the economic changes which have

been described in this chapter was the growth of the bourgeoisie. As we have seen, the bourgeoisie was the social class consisting of business-men, lawyers, doctors, professors, etc. This class was tremendously strengthened by the growth of commerce and industry, for the simple reason that the more business there was, the more business-men. The growing importance of the bourgeoisie was shown in many ways. Wealthy merchants and bankers built stately mansions, and decked their

wives with silks, furs, and jewels that a duchess might envy. They had no titles of nobility, to be sure, but otherwise they were almost the equals of nobles. Many an impecunious nobleman, who needed money as well as a wife, sought the hand of some merchant prince's daughter. Some members of the bourgeoisie obtained titles in reward for special services. Furthermore, noblemen frequently invested their money in business, and in this way the social barrier between aristocracy and bourgeoisie was partly broken down. The result was



HOME OF A PROSPEROUS MEMBER  
OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN GERMANY  
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



that the bourgeoisie became more and more ambitious to win a position of equality with the nobility.

In politics the rise of the bourgeoisie explains a great deal of modern history. Because of its wealth, intelligence, and ambition, the bourgeoisie desired to have a hand in government. Business men wished to have laws adopted in favor of commerce and industry; and even about matters not directly concerned with business they had ideas which they hoped to carry out. The desire of the bourgeoisie to obtain a share in government led to many a reform and many a revolution. The later chapters of this book will show how the bourgeoisie, with the help of the lower classes, struggled against feudal nobles and against autocratic monarchs until finally, after centuries of effort, political democracy was established.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What were the chief trade routes between Europe and Asia in the Middle Ages?
2. Why did Prince Henry wish to find a new route?
3. Why was the voyage of Vasco da Gama important?
4. Would it be true to say that Columbus discovered America unintentionally or accidentally?
5. What regions did Portugal claim, "by right of discovery," in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? What did Spain claim? Were any other "new" lands discovered?
6. How did Holland gain the Dutch East Indies?
7. What language is spoken in Brazil? Why not Spanish?
8. What was the Commercial Revolution?
9. What part did England and France play in the Commercial Revolution?
10. What was the effect of the Commercial Revolution on the German and Italian cities?
11. What were the chief results of the Commercial Revolution?
12. What is the connection between the Commercial and Financial Revolutions? Define the latter.
13. How did banking begin?
14. When and how were the first stock companies formed?
15. What is meant by "capital"? "Capitalism"?

16. Explain the reasons for "enclosures" and for "absentee landlordism."

17. How were the guilds affected by the "putting-out" system?

18. What is meant by "bourgeoisie"? How was the bourgeoisie affected by the Commercial and Financial Revolutions?

19. See if you can find out how a modern business corporation differs from a medieval guild.

20. What kinds of food and clothing and what other articles would Europeans have to do without, if the Commercial Revolution had not occurred?

21. If you had your choice, would you prefer to be a medieval serf or a modern farmer? Why?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Medieval knowledge of the world.** BOLTON AND MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, 1-4; CHEYNEY, *European Background*, ch. iii; WAUSH, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, 392-414.

**The Norsemen's discoveries.** HART, *American History*, I, 28-34.

**The old trade routes and the Turks.** VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 198-205; HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 43-49, 52-53; CHEYNEY, *European Background*, ch. ii.

**Prince Henry the Navigator.** BOLTON AND MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, 4-5; ABBOTT, *Expansion of Europe*, 82-92; CHEYNEY, *European Background*, ch. iv; BEALEY, *Prince Henry the Navigator*.

**Columbus.** MUZZEY, *American History*, 4-8; VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 224-240; ELSON, *History of the United States*, I, 9-31; HART, *American History*, I, 35-40, 44-48.

**Cortez in Mexico.** BOLTON AND MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, 32-34; ABBOTT, *Expansion of Europe*, 165-169; HART, *American History*, I, 49-53; PRESCOTT, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (3 vols.).

**Pizarro in Peru.** ABBOTT, *Expansion of Europe*, 225-228; HART, *American History*, I, 53-57; PRESCOTT, *Conquest of Peru*, esp. I, 483-510.

**Decline of guilds and progress of industry.** TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*, 348-351; HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 38-52, 399-400; CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I, 441-447.

**Financial Revolution.** TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*, 358-371; DAY, *History of Commerce*, ch. xvii; CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, part one, 142-161.

**Development of agriculture.** TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*, 230-239, 329-339.

**The bourgeoisie.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 69, 393-394, 402-403; VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 174-190; CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I, 381-387.

**ADDITIONAL REFERENCES**

MUZZEY, *American History*, 3-24; HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, ch. ii, 395-403, DAY, *History of Commerce*, chs. xv-xvii; ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, ch. xii; ABBOTT, *Expansion of Europe*, ch. iii; CHEYNEY, *European Background*; J. T. ADAMS, *Founding of New England*.

**HISTORICAL FICTION**

KINGSLEY, *Westward Ho!* COOPER, *Monarchs of Castile*.

## CHAPTER III

### SCIENCE ADVANCES

#### NATURAL SCIENCE BECOMES MORE PRACTICAL IN LATER MIDDLE AGES AND MODERN TIMES

**Backwardness of Natural Science in Ancient Times.** — If you were able, by some magical power, to transport yourself back into the world of the cave men, or even into the world of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and then ask yourself what was the greatest difference between our civilization



A SCHOOL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

and theirs, you might perhaps hesitate. Our religion is different; our form of government is different; our manners and customs are different. But probably the most striking difference you could observe would be this: that our scientific knowledge enables us to build great bridges and tunnels, to talk with people across thousands of miles of space, to harness steam and electricity to our cars and ships and machines, to do a thousand things that would have seemed like feats of witchcraft to Caesar or Cleopatra. Deprive us of these things, and we should have to go back to primitive ways of tilling the soil; all our manufactures would have to be made by hand; horses would take the place of automobiles

and trains; slow sailing vessels and galleys rowed by slaves would replace our steamships; we could have no newspapers, telegraphs, or telephones; we should fight our wars with lances, swords, and arrows. The victories of famous military heroes like Alexander the Great and Napoleon Bonaparte shrink into insignificance beside the effects of the development of natural science. About a subject of such practical importance as this, has history anything to teach us?

*Reasons for Ancient Backwardness.* — The first question that naturally suggests itself is why applied science made so little progress in ancient times. Of course it is easy to understand why our uncivilized ancestors in the Stone Age, long before the existence of Greece and Rome, could not make rapid headway; we should not expect the cave men to demonstrate propositions in geometry or perform experiments in electricity; in fact, we wonder how they were ever able to discover the method of making their weapons and tools out of metal instead of stone. When, however, we come to the age of Greek and Roman history and see wonderful genius displayed in classical art, philosophy, and literature, we cannot help asking why similar achievements were not made in science. Three reasons may be given:

(1) (The Greeks and Romans were handicapped by their lack of scientific instruments. The telescope, the microscope, the compass, the thermometer, the barometer, and, indeed, most of the instruments on which modern scientists depend, had not yet been invented, and, furthermore, the ancients were probably too unskilled in craftsmanship to make good instruments if they had known what to make.) (2) The fact that industry and agriculture were largely carried on by slave-labor led the educated classes to regard labor with contempt, so that they scorned to utilize labor-saving devices or to take much interest in mechanical matters. (3) (The Greeks and Romans had almost no appreciation of the value of applied science.) The Romans, in fact, were remarkably indifferent to science, perhaps because they were so busy

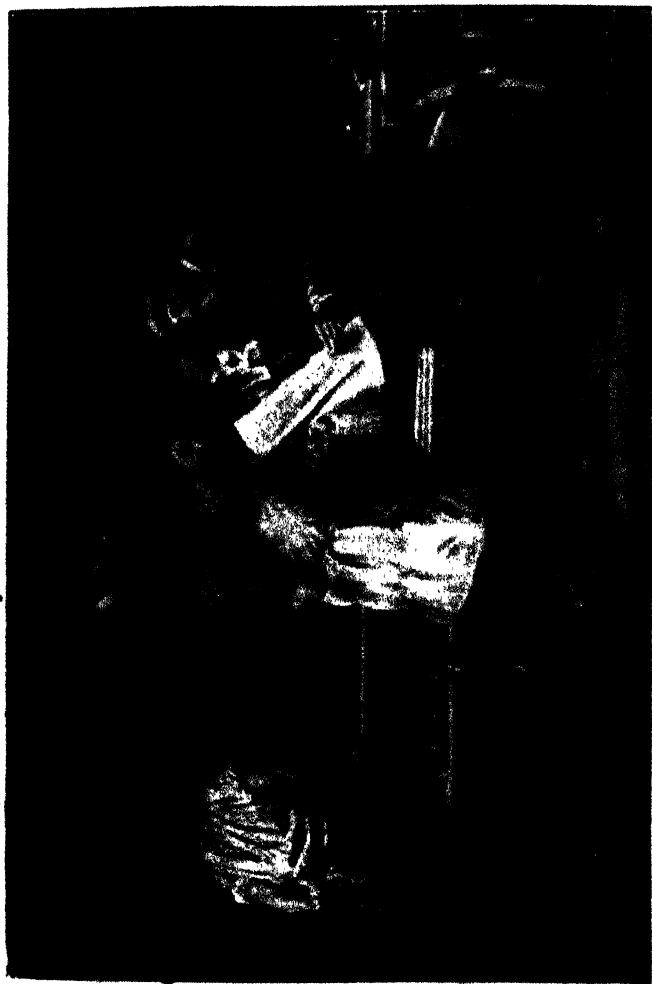
with war and politics. (The Greeks took a keener interest in science, but from a philosophical and theoretical rather than a practical point of view.) A few illustrations will make this clear. The elementary rules of geometry, such as the construction of right angles and the measurement of the areas of oblongs, triangles, etc., had been discovered and used in a very practical way by the ancient Egyptians, who had to resurvey their land and mark out the boundaries of the farms every year, because the Nile River annually overflowed its banks and washed away all fences and landmarks. But when the Greeks took up the study of geometry, they made it a subject for philosophers rather than for surveyors, and every rule had to be proved by abstract logic. The famous textbook of geometry written by a Greek named Euclid (upon whose work most modern textbooks of geometry are based) contained only abstract proofs of theorems. Similarly, the Greek philosophers thought they could discover hidden mysteries and philosophical truths in arithmetic, but they disclaimed commercial arithmetic. Plato said that the study of arithmetic had "a very great and elevating effect," because it trained the student's mind to deal with abstract ideas.

*A Few Practical Scientists among the Ancients: Hippocrates.* — Remembering the old adage that the exception proves the rule, we must admit that there were some exceptions to the statement that ancient science was theoretical and impractical. (The science of medicine, which is perhaps the most practical of all sciences, owes so great a debt to Hippocrates, a Greek who lived twenty-three hundred years ago, that he is often called the "father of medicine.") It was he who insisted that disease should be cured by natural means, rather than by magic, and that doctors should carefully observe the structure and workings of the body, the symptoms of disease, and the effect of remedies.

*Archimedes.* — Another exception was Archimedes, who lived in Sicily twenty-one centuries ago, and who demon-

strated some of the practical uses to which a knowledge of mathematics and physics might be put. For example, when his native city, Syracuse, was attacked by the Romans, Archimedes showed his fellow citizens how to construct machines with levers that would throw great stones into the enemy's ranks. On another occasion, by means of a system of pulleys and cog wheels, Archimedes single-handed drew a large ship out of her dock, much to the astonishment of all who saw the feat. Archimedes, however, never applied his genius systematically to the problem of inventing machinery which would make men's labor easier or more fruitful.

**Useful Inventions, Medieval and Modern.**—In the Middle Ages and modern times a more practical attitude was adopted, an increasingly large number of practical inventions were made, and science was applied to the service of man. Starting with the Middle Ages, we find the glasses, used for spectacles, first made in the thirteenth century and were improved in the fourteenth. To the same century we owe the first really good compass. In the fourteenth century we find the first appearance in Europe of the printing-press, the first use of gunpowder, the first blast-furnace, the first automatic hammer. The thermometer and several other instruments were invented in the sixteenth century. We are indebted to the seventeenth century for the telescope, the clock, the barometer, the air-pump, the method of smelting iron with coal. Before the close of the seventeenth century more than one scientist had begun to apply his knowledge of physics to the problem of constructing a steam-engine; in fact, a crude sort of steam-engine was invented, and the first steamboat was launched, before the year 1700. The remarkable inventions of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, which will be dealt with in later chap-



**A PRINTING PRESS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY**  
The large screw was used to press the type firmly against the paper.



ters,<sup>1</sup> may be regarded as the sequel to this long series of inventions starting in the thirteenth century.

Some of these inventions were of epoch-making importance. 'The printing-press, for example, accomplished an intellectual revolution; without it, books would still be luxuries for the rich, newspapers would be unknown, and universal education impossible.'<sup>2</sup> 'The invention of the compass, to give another example, contributed to the discovery and colonization of America; without a compass few mariners would have dared attempt a voyage across the Atlantic. Imagine how different modern history would have been, had the compass never been invented. America never discovered, the Commercial Revolution never started!

Hardly less important was the invention of firearms. 'Gunpowder had been used to some extent by the Chinese and by the Arabs. The Europeans discovered the secret about the fourteenth century, and learned how to construct bronze cannon from which large stones could be shot. Bronze cannon and stone cannon balls were soon replaced by iron cannon and iron balls. Hand-guns or muskets were also invented. The use of cannon and muskets spelled the destruction of feudalism, for feudal castles were no longer impregnable, and feudal lords, armed with lances and clad in shining armor, were no match for common men armed with guns. The days of chivalry and knighthood passed away, as the age of gunpowder dawned.

In the light of such facts, we are justified in concluding that frequently the inventor deserves a larger place in history than any statesman or general can claim.

**Growth of Scientific Knowledge in Middle Ages and Modern Times.** — Not only in mechanical inventions but also in general scientific knowledge the Christian nations of Europe have made greater progress in science and in the application of science to practical purposes during the last eight centuries

<sup>1</sup> Chapters XIV and XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 86-87

than was made by all the peoples of the world in the thousands of years that went before. This fact is more amazing when we remember that for a long period, from about the fifth century to about the eleventh, these same Christian peoples of Europe possessed even less scientific knowledge than the Greeks and Romans. How, then, can we explain the marvelous development of science since the twelfth century A.D.?

(1) In the first place, during the later Middle Ages, between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, the Europeans were able to obtain many of the ancient scientific books with which they had been unfamiliar, such as Euclid's geometry and Ptolemy's astronomy. Some were obtained from the Mohammedans, who had translated them into Arabic. Others were brought to Italy from Constantinople, in the original Greek text. Consequently, the Europeans were able to advance from the point where the ancients left off.

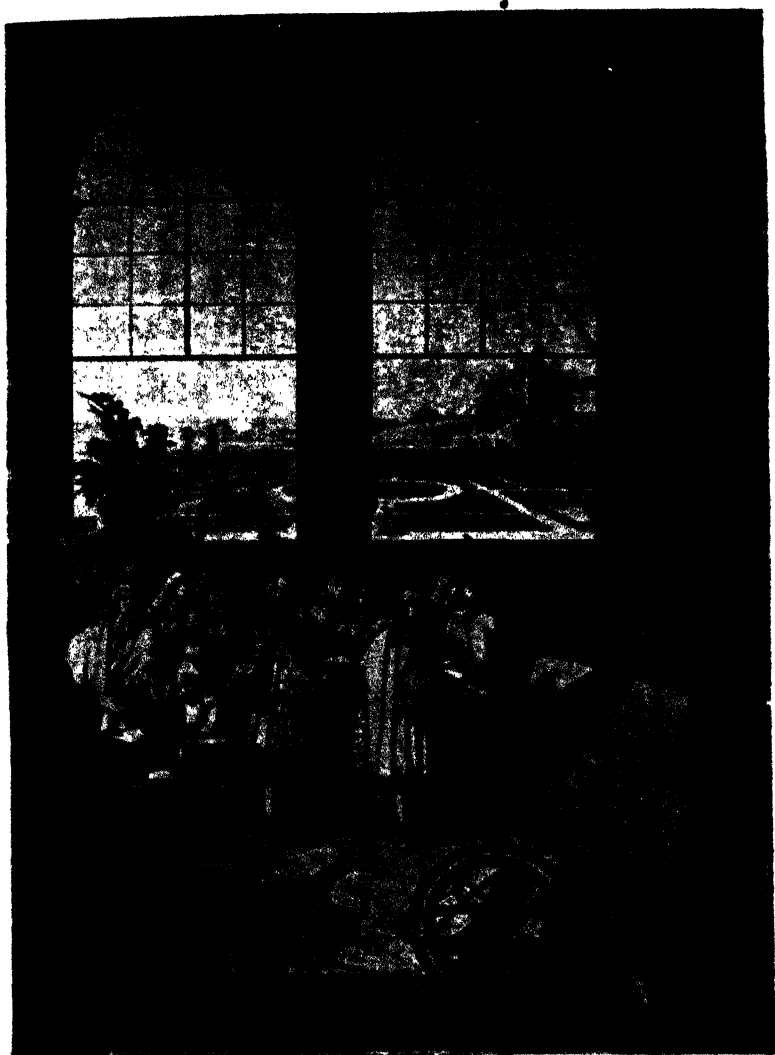
(2) (Secondly, the medieval Europeans were more practical than the ancients in their attitude toward science. The ancient philosophers scorned manual labor as the business of slaves, and commerce as the business of vulgar traders.) They were too much inclined to feel that science should be kept up in the clouds, far removed from any contact with mechanical contrivances and practical uses. (But the medieval Christians, having no slaves, and believing in the dignity of labor, were quite willing that science should come down to earth. Geometrical knowledge was needful to architects; astronomy was useful to navigators in steering their ships according to the positions of heavenly bodies, as well as to the Church in correcting the calendar; arithmetic and algebra were valuable for business calculations; chemical knowledge was helpful in preparing medicines and dyes.)

*New Attitude Shown by Roger Bacon.* — (The new attitude toward science was well expressed by Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar who taught at Oxford University in the thirteenth century,) and who wrote several books for the Pope, explain-

ing the methods and uses of science. By discovering the secrets of Nature, he said, scientists would be able to predict the course of events, and to invent machines of wonderful power, so that ships could be propelled swiftly without sails or oars, and carriages without horses. In order to achieve such results, scientists would have to depend less upon wordy arguments, and more upon mathematical demonstrations and actual experiments. You might argue forever about the question, "Does fire burn?" whereas you could prove it quickly and certainly by putting your hand into the fire, that is, by experiment. Roger Bacon was not the only scientist of his day who held such opinions. Nevertheless, there were many others who still relied on what Aristotle and other ancient writers had said, rather than upon experiments. Gradually Roger Bacon's ideas gained influence.

*New Attitude Championed by Francis Bacon.* — (In the early part of the seventeenth century the newer attitude was stated even more clearly and forcibly by another Englishman named Bacon — Lord Francis Bacon) — who occupied a very high judicial office as England's lord chancellor and was celebrated as a philosopher. (Lord Bacon pointed out how foolish it was to accept the authority of ancient writers in scientific matters, and how necessary it was to depend upon experiments and the careful observation of facts at first hand.) In one of his books he described an imaginary island, "New Atlantis," where scientists were constantly at work in great laboratories, conducting experiments and making useful inventions. This was the example he wished his own country to imitate. History has proved the value of the methods described by Roger Bacon and Francis Bacon. To-day we have the scientific laboratories, the horseless carriages, the swift ships, which these men prophesied.

(3) *Improved Technical Equipment* - (Another reason for modern scientific progress is the fact that we have better technical equipment than the ancients possessed.) The improvements in industry have made it possible to construct



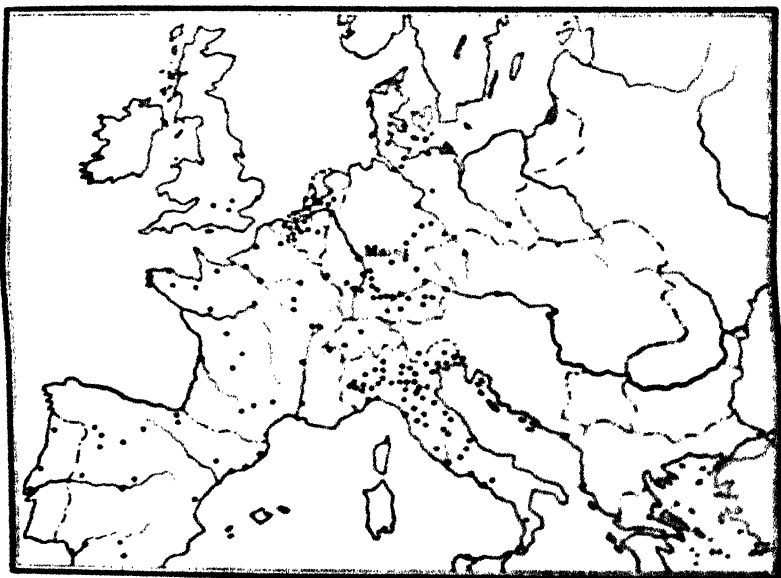
**LOUIS XIV VISITING THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

This was toward the close of the seventeenth century, when science had become popular and was patronized by the greatest kings. Notice the scientific instruments, skeletons, etc.

better scientific instruments, to build better laboratories and observatories.

(4) *Popularity of Science.* — (Then, too, a larger number of people have become interested in science.) (This is partly due to the fact that the universities gave instruction in science on a much larger scale than was done in ancient Rome or Greece.) It is partly due, also, to the fact that, from the Middle Ages on, the bourgeoisie took great interest in science. Moreover, kings, emperors, and legislators have fostered science and invention.

**Invention of Printing.** — (The most important factor in increasing the number of people interested in science was the



**SPREAD OF PRINTING DURING THE FIFTY YEARS FOLLOWING ITS INTRODUCTION INTO MAINZ (1480)**

The boundaries are of 1900.

invention of the printing-press.) Before the fifteenth century, all books had to be written or copied by hand, and therefore books were very scarce. About the year 1450, however, a

Dutchman named Lourens Coster hit upon the idea of making a large number of small metal blocks, each having on one face a raised letter, so that the blocks could be arranged in the form of words, set in a holder, covered with ink, and pressed on paper. Once the blocks of type were arranged, any number of copies could be made with comparatively little trouble. And then the type could be rearranged to print another page or another book. Within a few years, printing-presses were set up in Germany, in Rome, in Venice, and, in fact, all over Europe. Bibles, prayer books, papal letters, the writings of classical authors, and all kinds of books were turned out by the thousand. When a new book was written, it could gain wide circulation almost immediately, instead of waiting to be copied and recopied by slow and patient penmen. Now this was a tremendous advantage for science. (The scientist who made a new discovery could publish his conclusions for the benefit of the whole continent; and others, reading of his discovery, were spurred on to make new efforts themselves.) Thousands of people were able to buy books and inform themselves about the latest scientific theories. With so many people taking an interest in science, the chances of progress were much greater than when scientists had been few and far between, working alone and with little encouragement.

#### SCIENCE MAKES MARVELOUS PROGRESS

The scientific achievements of the period from the twelfth to the eighteenth century which ushered in our modern age of science were mostly in the fields of geography, medicine and physiology, mathematics, mechanics (or physics), and astronomy. Let us consider each of these subjects in turn.

**Geography.** — Ancient geographers believed the earth to be a sphere, but were familiar with only a very small part of its surface. They knew only the regions surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. (North and South America, Asia, most of Africa, the five great oceans, and even the northern part of

Europe were either entirely unknown or else unexplored.) A schoolboy of to-day could put the most learned ancient geographer to shame.

During the early part of the Middle Ages, many Europeans believed that if there were any countries on the opposite side of the earth, no people could live there without falling off into space. Gradually, however, the amount of geographical knowledge was increased. (In the thirteenth century several European travelers visited China and brought back information about central and eastern Asia. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) as we learned in Chapter II, (other explorers sailed around Africa, crossed the Atlantic, discovered America, and circumnavigated the globe) (As a result of these discoveries, it was possible for the first time to make maps showing all the great continents) Thenceforth, no one could say that there were no people living on the "under" side of the globe. Much of the world remained to be explored, but the main facts had been discovered, and Europeans could know at least a little about the shape, climate, inhabitants, and products of the other continents.

**Medicine and Physiology.**—(In medicine and physiology the Middle Ages inherited a certain amount of knowledge from the Greeks and Romans, and some from the Arabs, but this knowledge was mixed with absurd errors.) Even a well-informed Roman like Cicero thought that arteries were air-tubes. It was generally believed that health consisted in a correct mixture of different kinds of juices, such as blood and bile, in the body, and that the stars had some mysterious influence over the mixture. Another popular idea was that some preparation of gold or other materials might be discovered which would prolong human life. It was only little by little that the science of medicine outgrew such fallacies. (The medical schools and the hospitals founded in the Middle Ages helped to improve the study and practice of medicine. By the time we reach the sixteenth century we find surgeons carefully dissecting human bodies in order to dis-

cover the structure and functions of the various organs. New medicines were also coming into use. Probably the greatest achievement of all was the discovery by an Englishman, William Harvey, in the seventeenth century, that the blood is pumped from the heart through the arteries and returns to the heart through the veins.)



(From Traill's "Social England." By courtesy of Cassell, London, and Putnam's Sons, N. Y.)

#### A SURGICAL OPERATION

This is a copy of a medieval drawing. The artist was not very skillful, but he shows us something about the methods of surgery in his day.

**Mathematics, Physics, and Astronomy.** — The sciences of mathematics, physics, and astronomy are very closely related, each being helped along by the other. (An Italian merchant who had learned arithmetic<sup>1</sup> and algebra from the Arabs introduced these subjects into Europe in the twelfth

<sup>1</sup> The Arabs had improved on Greek and Roman arithmetic by introducing a new system of written numerals and arithmetical signs, which were originally invented by the Hindus in India. The new "Arabic" notation was much less cumbersome and clumsy than the Greek and Roman systems. For example, the number eighty-eight would be written LXXXVIII in Roman notation, or 88 in Arabic.



century. About the same time translations were made of Euclid's geometry and of other ancient scientific books. With these as starting-points, the Europeans began to teach arithmetic, algebra, geometry, physics, and astronomy in their universities, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and to make progress on their own account)

*Copernicus.* — The first great step forward was taken by Copernicus, in the sixteenth century. (Copernicus was a



COPERNICUS

Pole, who had studied ecclesiastical law, medicine, astronomy, and other subjects, in Italian universities, and had then returned to Poland as an official of the Catholic Church. Continuing his astronomical studies, he began to question the truth of the generally accepted idea that the earth was the center about which sun, moon, and stars revolved every twenty-four hours.) As

this idea had been taught by Ptolemy, the great Greek astronomer, and was firmly believed by most contemporary astronomers, Copernicus hesitated to attack it. Nevertheless, (he believed he had hit upon a much better theory, and after many calculations to test its truth he finally mustered up courage to write a book, which he dedicated to the Pope, "On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies" (1543). In his book, Copernicus denied that the earth was the center of the universe. The earth, he declared, revolved in a circle about the sun, as did the other planets.) The reason why we see the sun by day and not by night is that the earth turns completely around on its own axis once in every

twenty-four hours. That is also why the stars seem to move across the sky at night. To people of the sixteenth century, this theory seemed bold and fantastic. Would not a stone thrown into the air be left behind if the earth were moving so swiftly? How could the Copernican theory be reconciled with the verse in the Bible (Joshua, 10:13) which tells how the sun stood still in the heavens during Joshua's victory over his enemies? Even Francis Bacon, eager as he was for scientific progress, declared that Copernicus was introducing fiction into nature.

*Kepler.* — (Early in the seventeenth century, two celebrated astronomers championed the theory of Copernicus. One was a German, Johann Kepler, who carefully studied a vast collection of facts which other astronomers had observed about the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies. To his delight, he discovered that the planets appeared to travel in perfectly regular elliptical orbits about the sun.) This involved a slight modification of the Copernican theory, but it seemed to support the main principle, that the earth and the other planets revolved about the sun.

*Galileo.* — (Galileo, an Italian university professor, found even more convincing arguments.) (Hearing that a Dutch spectacle-maker had combined two lenses so as to form a telescope which made distant objects appear near) (Galileo promptly made a similar instrument for himself) He tells us that nobles and senators came to look through his telescope, "in order to see sails and ships that were so far off that it was two hours before they were seen, without my spy-glass, steering full sail into the harbor; for the effect of my instrument is such that it makes an object fifty miles off appear as large as if it were only five." When he turned his telescope toward the sky, still further marvels greeted Galileo's eye. Innumerable stars, invisible to the naked eye, could now be seen. The moon, hitherto regarded as a perfectly smooth sphere, appeared rough and uneven, as if covered with mountains and valleys. The planets were clearly different from the

stars, for the latter appeared as twinkling points of light, whereas the former appeared as discs, like the moon. Four small satellites could be seen revolving about Jupiter, as the moon revolves about the earth. Even the sun appeared to be rotating, for spots slowly moved across its face, then disappeared, then reappeared on the opposite side. These observa-



GALILEO

tions were not sufficient to prove the Copernican theory, but (Galileo felt so confident of its truth that he boldly proclaimed it as a demonstrated fact, and ridiculed those who refused to agree with him.) Angered by his ridicule, and unable to see how his conclusions could be reconciled with the Bible, the Inquisition (a church court for the punishment of heretics) prohibited Galileo from teaching his theory. Galileo submitted to the

decision; but had he lived another hundred years he would have rejoiced to see that most men of learning had come to accept the theory he defended.

(Galileo did even greater work in physics than in astronomy. As a mere boy he observed the regularity with which the lamp in the cathedral at Pisa swung to and fro, and in later years he discovered that the time of a pendulum's beat depends on the length of the pendulum. By dropping weights from the leaning tower at Pisa (he was able to discover that the speed of a falling body does not depend upon its weight, as was commonly supposed, but upon the distance it falls. He succeeded in formulating a mathematical rule by which

the speed of any falling body could be computed.) From this, he went on to discover the mathematical rules by which one could find the distance a projectile would cover, if one knew the speed and the angle at which it started. Every gunner who aimed a howitzer at the enemy, in the Great War of 1914, was relying on these rules, whether he knew it or not.

*Descartes.*—An advance in mathematics was necessary before physics and astronomy could proceed much further. (The invention of analytical geometry (a combination of algebra and geometry) by the Frenchman Descartes in the seventeenth century, and the further improvement of mathematics by other scholars, made it possible to deal mathematically with many problems which had formerly defied all efforts.) Galileo's discoveries about moving bodies were also of service to astronomers. Thanks to the efforts of his predecessors, Sir Isaac Newton was able, late in the seventeenth century, to add the crowning achievement to the new astronomical theory.

*Newton.*—Coming from a humble family in a little English village, Isaac Newton at an early age gave signs of extraordinary mental gifts. At Cambridge University he astonished his professors and showed such remarkable skill in mathematics that he was given a professor's chair when only twenty-three years old. It seemed to the young mathematician that if the planets moved in regular orbits, as Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo had asserted, some invisible force must be necessary to keep them from flying off into space, since a moving body always follows a straight line unless there is some force acting to pull it in another direction. If you tie a stone at the end of a string and whirl it around your head, the stone will fly away if the string breaks. (By a stroke of genius Newton guessed that there was an invisible force which kept the moon circling around the earth and which also attracted falling bodies toward the earth.) There is a story that this idea was suggested by an apple falling on the great scientist's head. (He guessed likewise that this force (gravita-

tion) would grow weaker as the distance from the earth increased.) Applying his theories he then attempted to calculate the amount of force which would be necessary to hold the moon in her path, and to compare it with the force of gravitation. So great was his excitement that he had to



SIR ISAAC NEWTON

ask a friend to finish his calculations. The theory worked. He could now apply it to all heavenly bodies. Every body in the universe, he said, must be attracted to every other body, as a falling apple is attracted to the earth, the amount of attraction depending on the size of the bodies and the distance between them.<sup>1</sup> This is Newton's "law" or theory of universal gravitation. It was only a guess or theory, but it agreed so

well with all the discovered facts that it came to be regarded as the very foundation-stone of astronomy. Newton's theories about the way in which forces act on moving bodies are equally fundamental in modern mechanics.

**Chemistry, Electricity, Botany, and Zoölogy.** — In several other branches of science considerable progress was made. (The foundations of modern chemistry were laid in the eighteenth century, but only the foundations;) most of our chemical knowledge was the product of the nineteenth century. Exactly the same statement may be made regarding elec-

<sup>1</sup> More accurately stated, the force increases directly in proportion to the product of the masses, and inversely in proportion to the square of the distance.

tricity.<sup>1</sup> (The sciences of botany and zoölogy were given an admirable start in the eighteenth century by the work of the great Swedish botanist, Linnæus, and the celebrated French zoölogist, Count de Buffon.)



A CHEMICAL EXPERIMENT

The picture shows Lavoisier, the most famous French chemist of the eighteenth century, conducting an experiment. His wife is keeping a record of the experiment.

**Indirect Popular Effects of Scientific Advance.**—As a result of the great achievements from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, natural science became extremely popular. Scientific societies were organized in every country; scientific books were eagerly read by thousands; and it became the fashion for educated men to perform scientific experiments and at least to pretend they were scientists. Some philosophers began to assert that everything, even the human body, could be explained in terms of mechanical laws. Others declared that many of the old ideas about religion and government were just as absurd as the old notions about geography and astronomy. This spirit of impatience with old-fashioned ideas and institutions will be

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXVIII.

explained more fully in later chapters; for the present, we need only bear in mind that it was an indirect effect of the advance of science.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why were the ancient Greeks and Romans, who excelled in many things, particularly backward in scientific achievements?
2. What especially useful inventions date from the Middle Ages and early modern times?
3. Who was Roger Bacon and how did his attitude toward science differ from the attitude of the ancients?
4. Who was Francis Bacon, and what was his special contribution to the development of modern science?
5. When and where was printing invented? What was its importance?
6. Discuss scientific progress, from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, in geography; in medicine and physiology; in mathematics, physics, and astronomy.
7. Who was Harvey and for what is he famed? Copernicus? Kepler? Galileo? Descartes? Newton?
8. Why was there a greater interest in science in the eighteenth century than in any earlier century?
9. Can you prove that a ten-pound weight falls to the ground at the same speed as a one-pound weight? Galileo did it.
10. Try to figure out how long it would take you to make a complete copy of this book by hand. Then you will realize what the invention of printing meant to mankind.

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Egyptian and Babylonian science.** LIBBY, *History of Science*, ch. I.

**Greek science.** LIBBY, *History of Science*, ch. II.

**Medieval science.** THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, 308-370; WALSH, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, ch. III; LIBBY, *History of Science*, ch. IV.

**Medieval inventions.** WALSH, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, pp. 456-457.

**Printing.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 177-180, TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*, 189-190, 199-205.

**Roger Bacon.** WALSH, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, 41-43.

**Copernicus.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 197-198; LODGE, *Pioneers of Science*, 2-31; *Encyclopædia Americana*.

**Galileo.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 199; LIBBY, *History of Science*, 75-78; LODGE, *Pioneers of Science*, 80-107.

**Newton.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 415-416; LODGE, *Pioneers of Science*, 161-179 (difficult).

**Francis Bacon.** LIBBY, *History of Science*, ch. v; BACON, *The New Atlantis*.

**Descartes.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 200-201; LODGE, *Pioneers of Science*, 138-158.

**Harvey.** LIBBY, *History of Science*, 79-80.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 196-201, 415-418; LIBBY, *History of Science*; SEDGWICK AND TYLER, *Short History of Science*; MARVIN, *Living Past*, ch. viii; *Cambridge Modern History*, V, ch. xxiii; J. ARTHUR THOMSON, *The Outline of Science*, especially pp. 9-47, 332-336; FORBES, *History of Astronomy*.





EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

## CHAPTER IV

### RELIGIOUS UNITY IS DESTROYED

#### THE CATHOLIC CHURCH PROVIDES RELIGIOUS UNITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

**Present-day Religious Diversity.** — We live to-day in an age of religious diversity. That is to say, we are not all expected to belong to one and the same church or to direct our lives in accordance with the faith and precepts of any one religion. Most of us in America and Europe call ourselves "Christians," but we may be Catholics or Episcopalians or Presbyterians or Lutherans or Methodists or Baptists or members of any of the denominations into which modern Christianity is divided. Some of us who call ourselves "Christians" may even refuse allegiance to any organized church and interpret the Christian religion according to our individual ideas. Moreover, it is not necessary that we be Christians even in name, for we freely tolerate among us, not only members of non-Christian religions, such as Jews, Mohammedans, and Buddhists, but also persons who doubt the truth of any religion. In other words, religion is now generally considered a private matter, not subject to compulsion on the part of the state.

Yet it should be borne in mind that we moderns, while we treat religion as a private and voluntary affair, have quite a different attitude toward the state and political government. In this sphere we think that unity is desirable. We expect all our fellow countrymen to belong to our state and to pay taxes to it and to observe its laws. If any one refuses to obey the laws of the state, we punish him, sometimes with death. The state, we think, is a vital necessity to civilization, and therefore it must be preserved at all costs.

**Religious Unity Deemed Needful in Earlier Ages.** — Such was once the popular conviction about religion. In all ages, prior to modern times, religious diversity was as unthinkable as political disobedience. It seemed to our ancestors in the Middle Ages as well as in ancient times that it was vitally necessary to civilization to preserve a common faith and a common moral code and to compel the individual to subordinate his own private judgment and personal wishes to the demands of a common religion.

How has it happened then that the very ancient idea of religious unity has been abandoned in the comparatively brief span of modern history? Whence come our current notions and practices of religious diversity? To these questions the present chapter will attempt to give answer.

**Religious Unity in the Middle Ages: Catholic Christianity.** — The last epoch of history in which religious unity was secured was the Middle Ages. In those times, as we have already learned, practically all the inhabitants of central and western Europe were Christians, members of the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> They accepted the religious and moral teachings of Jesus Christ as these teachings were expounded by the Church. They paid taxes to the Church and were subject to its laws. They were governed not only by the officials of the state, such as kings, princes, and magistrates, but likewise by officials of the Church — pope, archbishops, bishops, and priests. They went to Mass, received the sacraments,<sup>2</sup> and said the prayers and kept the fasts of the Church. If

<sup>1</sup> Most peoples of eastern Europe (that is, Russia and the Balkans) were Christians too, but they belonged to "Orthodox" Churches, which, though resembling the Catholic Church of the West in most respects, rejected the Pope's headship. "Orthodox" Christianity is still the dominant religion in Russia, Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria, and shares with Catholic Christianity the allegiance of the Yugoslavs.

<sup>2</sup> There were seven sacraments, namely, baptism, confirmation, penance, communion, extreme unction, marriage, and holy orders. These are still recognized by the Catholic Church, but some of them are rejected by various Protestant Churches.

any one rebelled against the Church, he was treated as a heretic and outlaw and was delivered over to the state for punishment, because in the Middle Ages the state deemed it as necessary to defend the Church as to protect itself.

The Catholic Christian religion was thought necessary not only for every individual's eternal salvation but also for the general welfare of society at large. How could the authority of governments and law courts be respected, argued the medieval man, or how could men live peacefully together in society, or how could justice and honesty be assured in business dealings, if there were no generally accepted standards of absolute morality? And how could there be absolute morality without divine revelation? And how could divine revelation be understood and applied in the same way by all men unless there were a single Church divinely commissioned to teach it? The Catholic Church of the Middle Ages was viewed as a spiritual cement which held all kinds of people together and strengthened them individually and collectively.

**Opposition to the Catholic Church.** — In practice, however, it became increasingly difficult for the Catholic Church to command the unquestioning obedience of all men in central and western Europe. One reason for the growth of opposition was that many people in the fifteenth century sincerely felt that the Church was not living up to its professions of morality and virtue, that it had become corrupt "in head and members," and that therefore it was no longer in a position to perform its proper functions. These people pointed to the scandalous, immoral lives of some of the clergy, even some of the popes. They exposed financial abuses in the Church. They complained that many bishops contrived to enrich themselves enormously with worldly goods, and particularly that the papal court at Rome extracted huge sums of money from the pockets of "good Christians" in Germany, England, and France, and spent them lavishly on the worldly pleasures of "bad Christians" in Italy.

Secondly, a growing number of persons began to question the doctrines of the Catholic Church. If the Church had been corrupted in morals, they asked, was it not fair to assume that it had become corrupt in dogmas? At any rate, just before the beginning of modern history, there was a marked growth of heresy, that is, of dissent from various teachings of the Church. Some heretics affirmed that poverty should characterize all the clergy; others, that the sacraments were of no use when administered by sinful priests; still others, that the entire hierarchy (that is, the organization of priests, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and pope) should be abolished and that Christianity should be simplified. Besides the heretics there were more and more skeptics, especially in Italy, who denied the divinity of Jesus and doubted whether Christianity was a "revealed" religion.

Finally, in addition to religious and moral reasons which actuated many sincere reformers, there were political and economic motives which appealed to certain ambitious kings and princes and to some business men. These persons felt that the Church placed too many restrictions on them and that the clergy had too much influence, land, and wealth. Especially was this true in Germany and in the national states of England and France.

#### THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION DESTROYS RELIGIOUS UNITY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

**The Revolt against the Catholic Church.** — All the elements of opposition to the Catholic Church came to a head in the sixteenth century. The immediate results were (1) the separation of the Christians of northern Europe from the Catholic Church and their division into Protestant churches and sects, and (2) the reformation of the Catholic Church and its continued hold on the Christians of southern Europe.

**Martin Luther, the German Reformer.** — The first person who succeeded in influencing a very large number of Christians to rebel openly against the Catholic Church of the Mid-

dle Ages was Martin Luther. Luther was born in Germany in 1483, became a monk when he was twenty-two years of age, and shortly afterwards was appointed professor of theology in the University of Wittenberg. Here as teacher and preacher he was popular with the students. He was recognized as a bold, outspoken clergyman, fearless in stating his own views of religion and in denouncing those who differed with him. At the same time Luther was deeply concerned about the problem of eternal salvation. Gradually he began to doubt whether any action which he (or any one else) could perform in this life would really be of value in saving his soul. In time he came to be convinced that the only hope of humanity was simple faith in God's mercy on the part of each individual. On this score the teaching of the Catholic Church was different. The Church taught the necessity of individual faith, but it taught also that salvation is obtained by good deeds ("good works") in conjunction with faith.



MARTIN LUTHER

*Luther's Break with the Catholic Church.* — Luther's actual break with the Catholic Church was gradual. In 1517 he first attracted national attention in Germany by questioning publicly and in writing<sup>1</sup> some of the practices affecting the Catholic doctrine of "good works." Two years later in a

<sup>1</sup> In his celebrated "Ninety-five Theses." The immediate occasion for Luther's action was a dispute about "indulgences." The subject is too complicated to explain here; an explanation is given in Hayes and Moon, *Ancient and Medieval History*, pp. 687, 788.

public debate with a distinguished Catholic theologian, he denied that either a pope or a Church Council possessed any divine authority to interpret Christ's teachings, and stoutly maintained the right of every individual to order his life in accordance with his own private reading of the Bible. In 1520 the Pope excommunicated him (that is, expelled him from the Church) and asked the Emperor in Germany to punish him as a heretic.

The Emperor perceived clearly that Luther's teaching, if unchecked, would be destructive of the Catholic Church, and like all the medieval monarchs before him he felt that the maintenance of the Church was essential to the authority of the State. So the Emperor heeded the Pope and sought to punish Luther and Luther's adherents.

*Popular Support for Luther in Germany.* Luther was able to defy both Pope and Emperor. Many priests and monks in Germany sympathized with Luther and refused to observe the papal decree against him, and, what was more significant, a large number of influential princes and noblemen at once championed the new teachings and resisted the Emperor's efforts to suppress them by force.

Luther himself preached sermons, wrote letters, and issued violent pamphlets against the Pope and the Catholic Church. He translated anew the Bible into German for the common people. His teachings and his eloquence speedily attracted a large number of followers. He was joined by many sincerely religious persons who were shocked by abuses within the Church, by many patriots who were hostile to a foreign Pope, and by many nobles and princes who were ambitious to increase their wealth and power at the expense of Church and Empire. In one of his pamphlets, Luther explained to these princes and nobles that if they would accept his teachings there would be no need of a papacy or of an elaborate religious organization and they might seize the great estates of the monks and bishops and retain in their own country the taxes that had hitherto been paid to the papal court at Rome. And many of these

German leaders were not slow to act upon the reformer's advice. They rebelled against the Church, appropriated its lands and revenues, and abolished Catholic worship on their estates.

*Germany Divided between Lutheranism and Catholicism.* — At one time it seemed as though the entire German nation would rebel against the Catholic Church, but when bands of peasants in southern Germany imitated the example of the nobles and rebelled against their rulers in State as well as in Church, the princes grew alarmed. The Peasants' Insurrection was put down with great cruelty in 1525, and the further spread of Lutheranism in Germany was checked.



COUNTRY ESTATE OF A GERMAN NOBLEMAN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The peasants turned against Luther because he had taken sides strongly with the nobles, and many of the nobles, especially in southern Germany, began to perceive that what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander and that if they denied the authority of the Church in religious matters their peasants might again deny their authority in temporal affairs. The result was religious division in Germany. The Germans in the north accepted Luther's teaching and became known as "Protestants," while those in the south rejected it and remained Catholics.

*Lutheranism Established in Scandinavia.* — What Luther lost in Germany was gained for his faith in Scandinavia, for subsequently the King of Denmark and Norway and the King



of Sweden rebelled against the Catholic Church, and made Lutheranism the established religion in their respective dominions. To this day the vast majority of the people of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and northern Germany are "Lutherans."

*Lutheranism Tolerated in Germany.* — After protracted civil war in Germany between Catholics and Lutherans, the Emperor was prevailed upon in 1555 to recognize and tolerate this new form of Christianity. But what the Lutheran princes gained from the Emperor they were unwilling for a very long time to grant to their people. A treaty was signed which left the princes free to choose whether they would be Catholic or Lutheran, but the common people were not given any choice in the matter. Though Martin Luther preached the right of every individual to judge for himself in religious doctrines, real religious toleration was not achieved for many generations after he lived.

**Meaning of "Protestant."** — At first the word "Protestant" was applied only to Lutheran Christians, but gradually its use was extended to designate many others who "protested" against the Catholic Church. In fact, in the sixteenth century, the bulk of Englishmen rebelled against medieval Christianity and they were not Lutherans. There was another kind of "Protestantism," the kind commonly called Anglicanism, or Episcopalianism.

**Henry VIII and Religious Change in England.** — In England there had been a considerable amount of criticism of the Catholic Church on religious grounds, but King Henry VIII (1509-1547) had other reasons for breaking with the Pope. Henry had no sympathy with Martin Luther. In fact this English King received from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith" for a book which he wrote against the doctrines of the German reformer. But Henry VIII, despite his orthodoxy, was hostile to the wealth and power of the Church in England and anxious to exalt the royal authority. Moreover, he was disappointed that he had no son to succeed him and grew

furious at the Pope because the latter did not free him from his wife and permit him to marry a young and pretty court-maid upon whom he had set his heart.

**England's Break with the Catholic Church.** — The English Parliament at that time was thoroughly under the monarch's control, and so Henry VIII had no great difficulty in persuading the Parliament in 1534 to pass an "Act of Supremacy" under which the King was substituted for the Pope as head of the Christian Church in England. Henry was thus enabled to undertake such marriage ventures as pleased his fancy, and at the same time to take lands and other property from the Church and appoint his own friends to offices in the Church. Henry VIII won popular support for



KING HENRY VIII

his policy by appealing to English patriotism and English desire for reform of religious abuses. He suppressed the Catholic monasteries throughout his realm and divided their extensive property between himself and a large number of English nobles. Henceforth these nobles were staunch advocates of continued rebellion against the Catholic Church. There was some popular opposition, but it was sternly repressed with beheadings and burnings.

Until his death in 1547, Henry VIII did what he could to preserve Catholic theology and Catholic worship in the "Church of England"; but in the short reign of his son, Edward VI (1547-1553), Anglicanism was influenced by

Lutheran ideas from Germany and became markedly Protestant. The Bible was recognized as the sole guide to faith; the Catholic doctrine of "good works" was proclaimed superstitious; the sacraments were altered; and the prayer books were translated from Latin into English and considerably changed.

*The Church of England Established under Elizabeth.* For a brief period after the death of King Edward VI and



QUEEN ELIZABETH

the accession of his sister, Queen Mary Tudor (1553-1558), England was reconciled to the papacy and rebels against the Catholic Church were severely punished. However, the long reign of Queen Elizabeth from 1558 to 1603 served to restore the Protestant Church of England as it had been in the reign of Edward VI and to make it popular. From her time to the present day the Anglican or Episcopal Church has remained the "established church" of

England, that is, the religion of the majority of Englishmen, formally recognized and supported by the State. A minority of Englishmen remained Catholic, but their number was reduced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by persecution and penal laws, and it was not until the nineteenth century that there was any notable lightening of their burdens or increase in their numbers.

*Unsuccessful Attempts to Destroy Catholicism in Ireland.*—In Ireland the English sovereigns attempted to deal with the

Catholic Church as they dealt with it in England. They established a "Church of Ireland" which in doctrine and organization resembled closely the Protestant "Church of England." The mass of the native Irish, however, remained loyal to the Catholic Church, despite protracted and bitter persecution. Large numbers of English and Scottish Protestants were sent over to settle in northern Ireland, but to this day the majority of the inhabitants of Ireland are Catholic Christians.

**John Calvin, the French Reformer.**—Anglican and Lutheran churches were not the only Protestant bodies which came into existence in the sixteenth century. The time was so full of religious ferment that rebellion against the Catholic Church could not be restricted to Teutonic Europe (northern Germany, Scandinavia, and England). It was a Frenchman, John Calvin (1509-1564), who was to prove himself in the long run more influential than either Henry VIII or Martin Luther.

In his youth Calvin studied at Paris to become a priest, but growing unsettled in his religious convictions he turned to law. When he was twenty years of age he experienced a conversion and felt himself divinely called to forsake the Catholic Church and to become the apostle of a simpler form of Christianity. The overwhelming majority of his fellow Frenchmen, though critical of abuses in the Church, believed that reformation should be effected within it rather than through rebellion against it, and the French King was resolute against "heresy." So Calvin left his native land and took refuge in Switzerland.

In 1536 John Calvin published a very famous book, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, an account of his religious opinions. It was clear and concise, and contained the germ of all that later developed as "Calvinism." For a time it seemed as if the *Institutes* might provide a common platform for all Christians who were rebelling against the Catholic Church. But Calvin was quite a different kind of person from Martin Luther. Luther was a man of burning words and

impetuous deeds;—Calvin, as became a French lawyer, was cool and logical in temperament. Besides, Luther was quite willing to leave everything in the Protestant Church which was not prohibited by the Bible, while Calvin insisted that nothing should be retained by the Protestants which was not expressly authorized by the Bible. Calvin demanded much more radical changes than did Luther.

Calvin established himself in the French Swiss city of Geneva in 1536, and thenceforth almost continuously until his



JOHN CALVIN

death in 1564 he was the town's religious and political leader. He was anxious to have everyone as upright as he was, and he introduced into Geneva's social life a severity and "puritanism" unknown throughout the Middle Ages. Dancing, gambling, theatrical entertainment, jewelry, and gay clothes were prohibited under heavy penalties; all immoralities were punished with rigor; and Sunday was observed,

not as a holiday, partially for amusement, but as an exclusively religious and holy day.

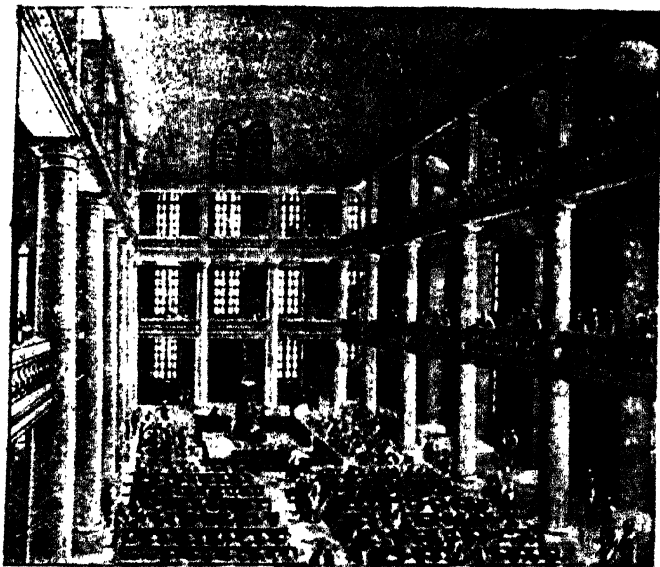
*Spread of Calvinism.*—Calvinism, as the kind of Christianity was called which was taught by John Calvin, spread further and affected more diverse peoples than Lutheranism. This was for several reasons. In the first place, Calvin's logical mind and legal training enabled him to formulate a system of spiritual doctrines that appealed strongly to intelligent middle-class people in all countries. Secondly, Calvin's approval of the taking of interest on loans and his break

with the economic doctrines of the Middle Ages were strongly approved by many traders, bankers, and other well-to-do middle-class persons — the new and rising class of capitalists. In fact, it might be said that if the chief strength of Lutheranism and Anglicanism was drawn from the landed aristocracy, that of Calvinism was derived from the wealthy and intelligent middle class. Thirdly, Calvinism was so clear in its theology, so simple in its organization (there were to be no popes or bishops — only presbyters, or ministers — over congregations), so plain in its worship, and so earnest in its moral teachings, that it attracted large followings of plain, simple people in many different countries. Fourthly, Calvinism was generally condemned by kings and princes as leading to too much diversity, and this very fact gave it the reputation of being democratic and of inspiring its followers to resist tyranny and oppression. Finally, Calvin himself was a firm believer in the benefits of higher education; the schools which he established and conducted at Geneva were so famous throughout Europe that persons flocked to them from distant places and when they returned to their homes they were usually prepared to preach Calvinism.

*Calvinism on the Continent of Europe.* — In this way the germs of Calvinistic Christianity were scattered far and wide. The "Reformed Religion," as Calvinism was most frequently styled, became the religion of a majority of the Swiss people. It was adopted by the inhabitants of the northern Netherlands, where it inspired the successful revolt of the Dutch against their King, Philip II of Spain. It spread, moreover, into Germany, where, after a long and bloody civil war, lasting from 1618 to 1648, it was finally recognized by the Emperor on an equal footing with Lutheranism and Catholicism. It secured the adherence of a large number of Hungarians. In France, Calvin's native country, it made few converts among the nobility and almost none among the peasantry, but it won from the Catholic Church many persons of the middle class, perhaps a thirtieth of the whole nation. These

French Calvinists — or Huguenots, as they were called — were granted religious toleration in 1598 by King Henry IV, who in his earlier days had been one of their number but had since reverted to Catholicism.

*Calvinism in Scotland: John Knox and the Presbyterian Church.* — In the British Isles Calvinism had marked success.



A PROTESTANT CHURCH IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The congregation is listening to a sermon.

In Scotland it was introduced by John Knox, who had studied under Calvin at Geneva and who in 1560 persuaded the Scottish nobles to abolish the Catholic Church in their country, and to erect in its stead a Calvinistic State-Church, — the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was John Knox's furious sermons against the Catholic sovereign — Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots — which contributed potently, together with the ambition of the nobles and the Queen's personal faults, to her dethronement in 1567 and to the assurance of a Protestant succession in Scotland. Mary Stuart fled to England, was imprisoned by Queen Elizabeth for nearly twenty years, and was put to death in 1587.

*Calvinism in England.* — Into England, too, Calvinism came alike from Scotland and from the Continent. Presbyterian churches were established, and for a long time a stubborn struggle was waged by Calvinists to control the newly founded Church of England and subsequently to secure toleration for themselves. Early in the seventeenth century a group of English Calvinists, unable at that time to practice their religion freely at home, left England, and, after a brief sojourn among the Calvinists of Holland, sailed in the *Mayflower* to Plymouth Bay in Massachusetts; these "Pilgrims" laid the foundation for Calvinism in the New World.

*Significance of the Protestant Revolution.* — The Protestant Revolution of the sixteenth century separated most of the Christians of northern Europe from the Pope and the Catholic Church, and divided them into three major groups — Lutherans, Anglicans, and Calvinists. The establishment of these three churches was an historical event of great significance. It laid the foundations of modern Protestantism and changed the religious outlook of a large part of Europe.

The religious upheaval of the sixteenth century also had indirect political and economic results. A large amount of land which had formerly been owned by the Church was confiscated by various rulers. In Germany it was the princes and nobles who took most of this church land and who thus made themselves richer and more powerful than ever. In England, however, and in Denmark and Sweden, it was the kings who gained most in wealth and power.

In the long run, however, one form of Protestantism (Calvinism) contributed much to the break-down of autocracy. The Calvinistic form of Church government (Presbyterian or Congregational<sup>1</sup>) was incompatible with political autocracy; and the Calvinists, who constituted small but wealthy and educated groups in several countries, naturally opposed autocratic monarchs who denied them religious toleration and a share in government. Consequently, Calvinists were to be

<sup>1</sup> See p. 121.



found usually in rebellion against absolute monarchy. They were Calvinists who dethroned Mary, Queen of Scots; who revolted against Philip II of Spain and set up the Dutch Republic;<sup>1</sup> who sought to curb the power of the French Bourbons;<sup>2</sup> who precipitated two English revolutions in the seventeenth century;<sup>3</sup> and who introduced the spirit of democracy in America.<sup>4</sup> In such ways the Protestant Revolution was indirectly significant in the development of modern democracy.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION PRESERVES CATHOLICISM IN  
MODERN TIMES

**Reformation within the Catholic Church.** — At the very time when the three major forms of Protestantism — Lutheran, Anglican, and Calvinist — were coming into existence, a reformation occurred in the Catholic Church. There was much the same religious ferment in Italy, Austria, France, and Spain as in Germany, Scandinavia, England, and Switzerland, but in the former countries it resulted not in wholesale rebellion against the old Christian Church but rather in removal of abuses.

*The Council of Trent. — Index and Inquisition.* — A series of upright and farsighted Popes during the second half of the sixteenth century vastly improved the government of the Church and gave a higher moral tone to the clergy. Under their auspices was convened a great church council — the Council of Trent (1545-1563) — which reaffirmed the Catholic doctrines of the Middle Ages and instituted needful reforms in finance and education. A definite catechism was prepared at Rome and every layman was to be instructed in the beliefs and obligations of his religion. Revisions were made in the service books of the Church, and a new standard edition

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 53-54, 133.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 158-159, 165.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter X, especially p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter XI, especially pp. 274-276.

of the Latin Bible, the Vulgate, was issued. A list, called the Index, was prepared of dangerous and heretical books, which good Catholics were prohibited from reading. From an



A CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The people are receiving Holy Communion.

unusually strict law of faith and conduct, lapses were to be punishable by the ancient ecclesiastical court of the Inquisition, which now zealously redoubled its activity, especially in Italy and in Spain. In the latter country many persons

were put to death as a result of the activity of the Inquisition.<sup>1</sup>

*Ignatius Loyola and the Work of the Jesuits.* — One of the most important agencies of the Catholic Reformation was the Society of Jesus, whose members are known commonly as Jesuits. The Society was founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534. Ignatius had been a Spanish soldier, who, while in a hospital, suffering from a wound, chanced to read a Life of Christ and biographies of several Catholic saints. This read-



IGNATIUS LOYOLA

ing, he tells us, worked such a change within him that from being a soldier of an earthly king he now resolved to become a knight of Christ and the Church, and to fight henceforth for the greater glory of God. It was in the same year in which the German monk, Martin Luther, became the foremost enemy of the Catholic Church that the Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, began the remarkable career which was to make him Catholicism's chief champion.

The Jesuits, from the very year of their establishment, rushed to the front in the religious conflict of the sixteenth century. In the first place, they established many schools and colleges, and as teachers they had no equals in Europe for many years. By their wide learning and culture they won back a considerable respect for the Catholic clergy. As preachers, too, they earned high

<sup>1</sup> The number of non-Catholics put to death as a result of the activity of the Spanish Inquisition is unknown: one famous historian estimates it at 4,000. The rigor of the Spanish Inquisition abated in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

esteem by the clearness and simplicity of their sermons and instruction.

It was in the mission field, however, that the Jesuits achieved the most obvious results. They were mainly responsible for the recovery of Poland after that country had almost become Protestant. They similarly conserved the Catholic faith in Bavaria and in Belgium. They insured a large Catholic following in Czechoslovakia and in Hungary. At the hourly risk of their lives they ministered to their fellow Catholics in England. And what the Catholic Church lost in numbers through the defection of the greater part of northern Europe was counterbalanced by Jesuit missions among the teeming millions in India and China, among the Huron and Iroquois tribes of North America, and among the savages of Brazil and Paraguay.

*"Concordats" with Sovereigns.* -- In order to maintain Catholicism in Spain, France, Italy, and Austria, the Popes entered into treaties, or "concordats," with the rulers of those countries, whereby special ecclesiastical privileges were granted to the sovereigns. This tended, in the course of time, to make the Catholic Church a branch of national government and to identify it with the ambitions and policies of secular monarchs. It was not until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the Catholic Church regained most of the freedom which it lost by concordats in the sixteenth century.

*Defensive Position of the Catholic Church in Modern Times.* -- The Catholic Reformation of the sixteenth century prevented the complete destruction of the Catholic Church and preserved the faith and international organization of medieval Christianity. Ever since then, Catholics have always been more numerous than Protestants. But never in modern times has the Catholic Church commanded the allegiance, as it did in the Middle Ages, of all Christian nations. Its chief strength has been in Austria, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Ireland, and Latin America. Elsewhere it has been represented by

minorities. Even in so-called Catholic countries there are non-Catholic minorities, and religious toleration of Protestants, Jews, and free-thinkers has become the general rule.

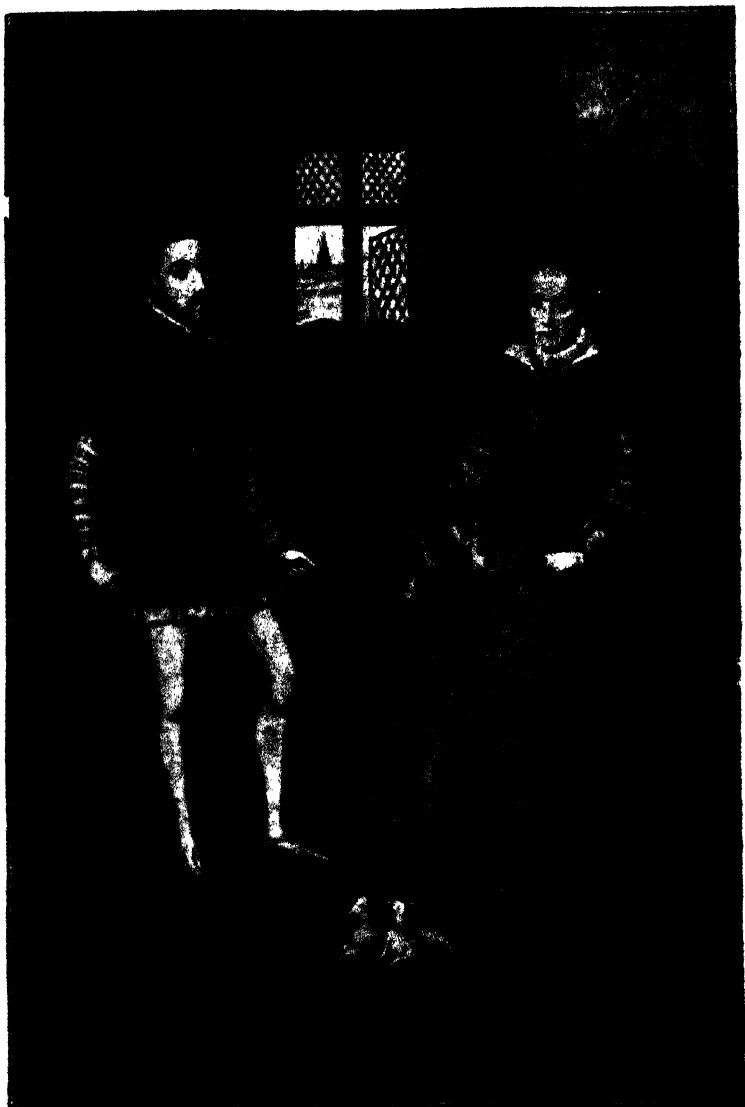
PROTESTANTISM DISINTEGRATES, SKEPTICISM ARISES, AND  
TOLERATION TRIUMPHS

**National Attempts to Maintain Religious Unity.** — The upshot of the whole Protestant Revolution and Catholic Reformation of the sixteenth century was the increase of religious disunity. At first some unity was maintained within each nation. For example, Spanish monarchs forced their subjects to conform to Catholicism; English sovereigns obliged their subjects to accept Anglicanism; certain German and Scandinavian princes compelled their subjects to adopt Lutheranism; and Scotland and Holland demanded that their people adhere to Calvinism. It was the normal thing for the government of a Catholic country to persecute Protestants and for that of a Protestant country to persecute Catholics. Anti-Protestant laws and the operation of the Inquisition in Spain were matched in England and Ireland by anti-Catholic penal laws and beheadings at Tyburn.<sup>1</sup>

**Slow Rise of Religious Toleration.** — Gradually religious unity was destroyed even within the various nations. A qualified toleration was wrung from the Catholic Emperor of Germany in 1555 for Lutherans and in 1648 for Calvinists, but in each instance only after protracted civil war in which the Catholic King of France (for political reasons) aided the German Protestants. A series of civil wars in France led to the grant of partial toleration to the Protestants (Huguenots) by the Catholic King in 1598 (Edict of Nantes).

In Protestant countries, the Catholic minority early championed the principle of religious toleration; while in Catholic countries, Protestants became the natural advocates of

<sup>1</sup> Tyburn was the place in London where Catholics were put to death by the English government. The last execution at Tyburn (1681) was that of Oliver Plunket, Irish Catholic Archbishop of Armagh.



**PHILIP II OF SPAIN AND MARY TUDOR OF ENGLAND**

Philip was the most powerful King in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. His wife was Queen Mary Tudor of England. Philip crushed Protestantism in Spain but failed to destroy it in Holland. Mary failed to keep England Catholic.

toleration. Though Calvin had not been tolerant himself, his followers championed toleration largely because they constituted minorities in many countries, notably in France, the Netherlands, Germany, and England. In England it was Calvinists who precipitated a "Puritan Revolution" in the seventeenth century and thereby obtained religious toleration for themselves and the supremacy of Parliament over the King.

**Divisions among Protestants: Rise of Radical Sects.** — Religious unity was destroyed and religious toleration eventually secured, not only through the separation of Protestants from the Catholic Church, but also through the divisions among Protestants. In fact, Protestantism did not long remain fixed in the three original forms of Lutheranism, Anglicanism, and Calvinism. Already in the sixteenth century the process of disintegration began. Lutherans and Calvinists quarreled with each other in Germany; Calvinists disputed with Anglicans for supremacy in England; and in the midst of the resulting ferment, religious reformers far more radical than Luther or Calvin raised their voices and gained followings here and there throughout Christendom.

*Mennonites, Baptists, and Quakers.* — Such a reformer was Menno Simons, a Dutchman, who in 1536 withdrew from the Catholic Church and joined a group of religious radicals — the so-called "Anabaptists" — who had established themselves in the German city of Münster, scandalizing Lutherans and Catholics alike. Menno set no value on learning or on scientific elaboration of dogmas; he stressed the "new life"; he condemned war, the taking of oaths, and infant baptism. From Menno sprang the sect of "Mennonites," which has persisted to this day in Germany and which has been transplanted to the United States. In England, moreover, Menno's ideas on baptism were adopted by independent congregations subsequently known as "Baptists," while his condemnation of war was echoed in the seventeenth century by George Fox, the English founder of the Society of Friends, or "Quakers."

*Servetus and Socinus: the Unitarians.* — Even more radical were two other reformers of the sixteenth century, Michael Servetus and Faustus Socinus. Servetus,<sup>1</sup> a Spaniard, questioned the doctrine of the Trinity and was burned for heresy at Geneva under the direction of John Calvin.<sup>2</sup> Socinus,<sup>3</sup> an Italian who lived in Poland the last twenty-five years of his life, insisted that Luther and Calvin had not gone far enough in breaking with the Catholic Church, that the only solid basis on which Protestantism could rest was human reason, and that everything which contradicted reason should be rejected as false. Socinus and Servetus were the intellectual forefathers of present-day "Unitarians" and "Universalists" and "liberal" Christians generally.

**Disruption of Calvinism: Presbyterians and Congregationalists.** — Almost from the outset, the disciples of John Calvin split on the question of organization. One faction claimed that the Calvinist churches should be governed by groups of clergymen, or presbyters — whence arose the modern "Presbyterian" Churches. The other faction asserted that each congregation should independently manage its own affairs — whence came the modern "Independent" or "Congregational" Churches.

*Arminians.* — To add to Calvinist confusion a Dutchman who lived toward the close of the sixteenth century, Arminius by name,<sup>4</sup> interpreted the Bible more freely than Calvin had done, with the result that his followers tended to reject all creeds, to accept Socinus's views about reason, and to strip the sacraments of the last vestige of mystery. These "Arminians" were particularly influential in the Congregational and Baptist Churches, and in course of time their

<sup>1</sup> Miguel Serveto (1511-1553).

<sup>2</sup> Fausto Paolo Sotzini (1539-1604).

<sup>3</sup> Arminius was the Latin name under which he wrote. His Dutch name was Jakob Hermanson (1560-1609).

<sup>4</sup> Arminians should not be confused with Armenians. The latter are a people of western Asia who belong to an ancient Christian Church — the Armenian (very much like the Catholic).



opinions had considerable effect upon many Lutherans and even upon some Anglicans.

**Secession from Anglicanism: the Methodists.**—In the eighteenth century appeared many sects within Lutheranism, and from Anglicanism developed a vigorous reforming movement under two brothers by the name of Wesley—a



JOHN WESLEY

movement which resulted in the establishment of the "Wesleyan" Church in Great Britain and the "Methodist Episcopal" Church in the United States.

In course of time the number of different kinds of Protestantism<sup>1</sup> multiplied. For generations there was much mutual hostility among these churches, but gradually during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they

learned to tolerate one another, and to tolerate Catholicism as well.

**Rise of Skepticism and Disbelief.**—One noteworthy result of the increase of dissunity and quarrels among the churches was the rise of religious doubt and skepticism. In every age there had been persons who doubted the existence of a Personal God and who questioned the truth of revealed supernatural religion. But it was not until after the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century that such persons became numerous and influential.

**"Deism."**—Many Protestants, after rejecting the authority of the Catholic Church, began to question the Bible, and

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, many other Protestant sects were formed, notably "Disciples," "Irvingites," "Mormons," "Christian Scientists," etc.

some found what they thought were contradictions between the Holy Scriptures and the newly discovered facts of natural science. Accepting science, they ended by repudiating any particular church or creed. In this way the movement known as "Deism" arose in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Deists contended that man should believe nothing which is not clearly evidenced by science and his own reason. They rejected miracles and championed "natural" religion as against "supernatural" or "revealed" religion. Their God was not the Christian God, but a god of natural laws.

*Voltaire and Rationalism.* — Deism spread, in the eighteenth century, from England to the Continent of Europe, influencing all kinds of Protestants and affecting Catholics as well. It flourished especially in France, where it was typified by such a brilliant writer as Voltaire.<sup>1</sup> Voltaire assailed the "superstitions" of clergymen and scoffed at the faith of Christians. He insisted that all religion must be "rational," and his followers were called "rationalists." At the same time he denounced religious persecution and demanded public toleration, not only of Catholics and Protestants, but also of skeptics and agnostics. The Rationalists and Deists of the eighteenth century contributed much to the triumph of the principle of toleration.

*Summary.* — For better or for worse, the religious unity which existed at the beginning of the sixteenth century has been destroyed in modern times and supplanted by religious diversity. Numerically there are now more Catholic Christians in the world than there were four hundred years ago, but relative to the total population there are fewer. Within the past four centuries have arisen all the Protestant Churches and also numerous "Rationalists" — skeptics and free-thinkers. Nowadays religion is treated as a private and voluntary affair, and toleration has become almost universal in Europe and in other continents. Many countries

<sup>1</sup> For a picture of Voltaire see below, p. 214.

go even farther than toleration. Instead of merely tolerating religious minorities, they grant equal rights to all religions. Thus religious liberty has almost everywhere superseded the attempts of monarchs to enforce religious unity.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How does our modern attitude toward religion differ from the ancient attitude toward religion?
2. Why did religious unity seem necessary to our ancestors in the Middle Ages? How was it secured?
3. What was the territorial extent of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages? What were its chief doctrines? Describe its organization.
4. What objections were raised against the Catholic Church in the later Middle Ages? When did Protestantism originate?
5. Who was Martin Luther and how did he break away from the Catholic Church? John Calvin? Henry VIII?
6. Explain the development and spread of Lutheranism in the sixteenth century. Of Anglicanism. Of Calvinism. What countries were affected by each? Why was Calvinism more widespread than Lutheranism or Anglicanism?
7. What were the immediate effects of the rise of Protestantism upon autocracy? Upon capitalism?
8. What was done in the sixteenth century to reform the Catholic Church from the inside?
9. Who was Ignatius Loyola? Why do Catholics regard him as a hero in somewhat the same way that Protestants regard Martin Luther as a hero?
10. What nations remained largely Catholic after the sixteenth century?
11. Did religious toleration result immediately from the Protestant Revolution? When and how did religious toleration develop?
12. What is the Presbyterian Church and when did it arise? The Protestant Episcopal Church? Who were the Puritans and how did they originate? The Congregationalists? The Mennonites? The Baptists? The Quakers? The Unitarians? The Methodists?
13. Explain the religious significance of the following: Queen Elizabeth; Edward VI; Menno Simons; Servetus; Socinus; Arminius; Wesley.
14. What was Deism? Was it an outcome of the Protestant Revolution? Did it affect any Catholic countries?
15. Who was Voltaire, and what were his ideas about religion?

16. Make a list of all the different kinds of churches in your town or in your village. Then see whether you can tell how and when each of these denominations arose, and how each differs from the others. Perhaps you will find some that are not mentioned in this chapter; if so, try to find out about them.

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Martin Luther and the indulgences.** JANSSEN, *History of the German People*, III, 79-99 (Catholic view); MCGIFFERT, *Martin Luther*, 76-100 (Protestant); PRESERVED SMITH, *Age of the Reformation*, 62-74.

**The Peasants' War.** MCGIFFERT, *Martin Luther*, 250-261 (Protestant).

**The "religious" wars in Germany.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 135-136, 218-229; HOLLINGS, *Europe in Renaissance and Reformation*, 123-138.

**Calvin and Servetus.** REYBURN, *John Calvin*, ch. xi (Protestant); WALKER, *John Calvin*, ch. xii (Protestant).

**The Anglican Church.** TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*, 240-254; CHEYNEY, *Short History of England*, sections 252-276.

**Suppression of the English monasteries.** GASQUET, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, ch. xix (Catholic); GAIRDNER, *The English Church*, ch. xi, or BEARD, *English Historians*, 264-273.

**The Methodists.** TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*, 483-496; BEARD, *English Historians*, 478-491; OVERTON AND RELTON, *The English Church*, 67-84.

**The Anabaptists.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, I, 903-905; LINDSAY, *History of the Reformation*, II, 430-469.

**The Council of Trent.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, 158-160; LINDSAY, *History of the Reformation*, II, 564-596 (Protestant).

**St. Ignatius Loyola.** FRANCIS THOMPSON, *Saint Ignatius*.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, ch. iv; J. H. ROBINSON, "Reformation," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*; SEEBOHM, *Era of the Protestant Revolution* (Protestant); LINDSAY, *History of the Reformation* (Protestant); ALSOO, *Manual of Universal Church History*, vols. II-III (Catholic).

## CHAPTER V

### NATIONS BECOME PATRIOTIC

#### NATIONAL PATRIOTISM IS MODERN

**Meaning of Patriotism.**— Suppose you are asked, "Are you patriotic?" You promptly reply, "Yes, I am patriotic, to my country, the United States." A young Englishman would answer similarly, "Yes, to England"; and so would a young Frenchman, "Yes, to France." Indeed, there is nowadays hardly a person who would not proudly acknowledge his devotion to his native land and to his nationality. Our current conception of patriotism is so universal that it seems the simplest and most natural thing in the world. Yet, like all modern ideas, it too has a history.

National patriotism, as we know it, is a product of modern times. Only one element in it is very ancient, and this one element is the *sense of loyalty*.

Loyalty has been a characteristic of the human race from time immemorial. Sometimes it has taken the form chiefly of *loyalty to persons*, — to family, to friends, to social or political superiors. Such was the case in the primitive tribe or clan and on some of the feudal estates of the Middle Ages. (At other times it has been displayed in *loyalty to places*, as for example, in the devotion of the ancients to their respective cities, such as Athens and Sparta, Carthage and Rome. Most strikingly it has appeared in *loyalty to ideas*, especially to religious precepts and practices.) It was a common religion which made, and still makes, the Jews a "nationality," for there can be little doubt that in ancient times many persons who were not Jews in blood were received into the Jewish community through adherence to its religion. It was

likewise the common allegiance to Catholic Christianity in the Middle Ages which drew all sorts of people together — Italians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, Poles, etc. — and established the spiritual state described as "Christendom."

*The Modern National State.* — Of the three kinds of ancient human loyalty just described, modern national patriotism is



JOAN OF ARC

Joan of Arc is one of the first and greatest figures in modern patriotic history. She was a simple peasant girl whom love of God and love of country inspired in the fifteenth century to lead French armies and win brilliant victories. The picture shows her triumphant entry into the city of Orleans. Subsequently she was captured by the English and burned at Rouen in 1431.

a combination and outgrowth. When a people living in a certain geographical area become conscious that they are marked off from their neighbors by a difference in language and are led to assume therefore that they themselves are of the same blood — kinsmen, in a way — and when they develop an

independent political organization and prize their own peculiar customs and traditions, then they may be said to constitute a national state. The loyalty which is manifested toward such a state by its citizens is styled *national patriotism*.

**Reasons why National Patriotism did not Develop in Middle Ages.** — There was little or none of this national patriotism prior to modern times. The chief reasons why it did not develop fully in the Middle Ages were three:

(1) All educated people in western and central Europe knew and used the same language — Latin. They could understand one another equally well at Paris, London, Rome, or Mainz, regardless of their original nationality, whether German, Italian, English, or French. They talked about the same things and read the same books, for all books were written for centuries in Latin. Under these circumstances, they did not become conscious that they were marked off from their fellows by a total difference in language and consequently they did not stress their national peculiarities.

(2) A lack of safe and easy means of travel and communication helped to prevent the growth of national consciousness on the part of the uneducated masses. The medieval artisan and peasant had no railway, telephone, automobile, or newspaper; he had no opportunity to learn much about his fellow countrymen, and consequently he developed no great interest in his nationality; usually he was loyal to his parish church, his town, or his lord, but his patriotism could hardly be expected to be national in scope.

(3) No nation had as yet developed a single independent political organization of its own. The old idea of the Roman Emperors was still prevalent that all civilized men, regardless of race or nationality, should be brought under one ruler. This idea survived into modern times in the form of the Holy Roman Empire, which embraced the lands that now constitute Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, and parts of France and Italy. It also survived in the form of Christendom, a loose confederacy of

Christian peoples under the spiritual government of the Pope. Quite naturally, therefore, the princes and monarchs of medieval Europe took their cue from the Holy Roman Empire or from the Catholic Church and thought nothing of ruling over people of different languages and different nationalities. Thus, the King of England in the fourteenth century ruled half of France. At the same time, every monarchy was broken up into petty duchies and counties, whose governors — dukes and counts — managed local affairs pretty much as they chose without bothering about national loyalty. In some instances these local nobles and magnates made themselves quite independent and assumed the title of "King" themselves. Medieval Spain comprised five or six political states; medieval France was a group of semi-independent duchies and counties; medieval Germany and Italy were hopelessly parceled out among free cities and principalities. A national state could not arise until a single monarch should rule people of the same nationality.

#### NATIONAL STATES AND NATIONAL PATRIOTISM DEVELOP

##### **Factors in Modern Development of National Patriotism. —**

The process by which national states developed, and national patriotism with them, was long and involved. Only the chief factors in the process can be indicated here.

(1) *Decline of Latin and Rise of "Vernaculars."* — (In the first place, toward the close of the Middle Ages, Latin ceased to be the common language of scholars.) For centuries the uneducated masses had been speaking languages which were more or less sharply differentiated from Latin, the so-called "vulgar tongues" or "vernaculars," — French, Italian, Spanish, English, German, etc. But (now educated men began to write in the vulgar tongues, and it was not long before literary masterpieces appeared in the vernacular languages of the masses rather than in the ancient language of scholars. In the fourteenth century, Dante wrote in Italian and Chaucer wrote in English.) The broadening education of the times won



for the new vernacular literatures an ever-widening circle of appreciative readers. (Simultaneously a group of scholars, the so-called "Humanists," sought to purify Latin of its medieval developments (which had been in the direction of greater simplicity) and to restore ancient classical Latin with its involved sentence-structure and its complicated grammar.) By their misguided efforts, the Humanists played into the hands of the advocates of vernacular literature, for they rendered Latin so stilted and pedantic, so lifeless and "scientific," that henceforth its use was increasingly restricted to the class-room, to Church services, and to ponderous treatises, (while the vernaculars became the real "living" languages of the educated as well as of the uneducated.) (The invention of printing late in the fifteenth century, a subject already referred to, capped the climax. It served to stereotype the common spoken languages and it contributed powerfully to their subsequent widespread use.) Throughout modern times only a very small part of the world's printing has been done in Latin; the vast bulk has been done in languages spoken and understood by the masses.

(The rise of vernacular literatures in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tended to emphasize nationality) for not even a well educated person could be expected to know all the spoken languages, and a big majority of people were familiar only with the language of their own nationality. Writers in English began to stress what was peculiar to Englishmen, French writers did the same thing for Frenchmen, and Italian writers for Italians. Gradually there developed the idea of national characteristics, and before long national consciousness was aroused everywhere.) The process received a special stimulus toward the close of the sixteenth century from such masterpieces of national literature as the English plays of Shakspeare, the epic poetry of the Italian, Tasso, and the *Don Quixote* of the Spaniard, Cervantes.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 86-87.

## **THE RHEIMS CATHEDRAL**

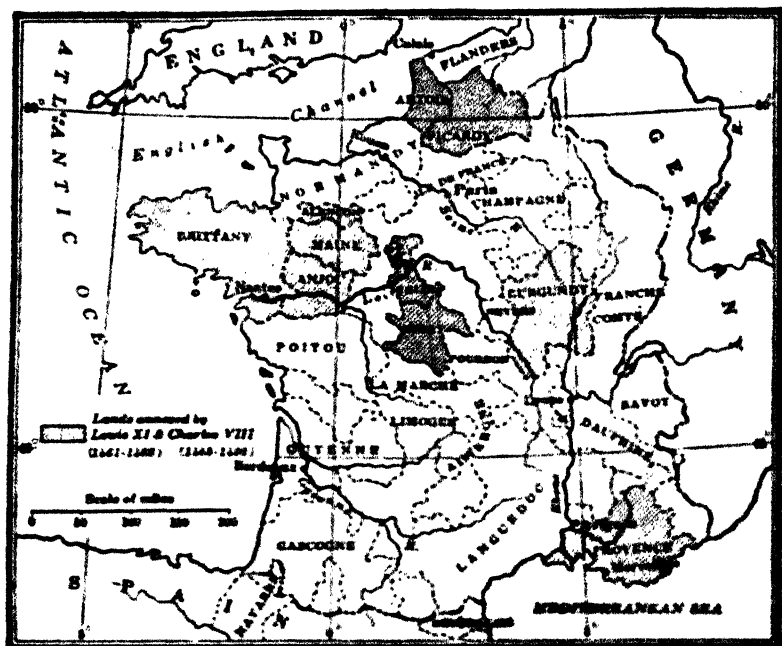
The cathedral at Rheims is one of the great medieval masterpieces. It is much the same sort of national shrine for the French as Westminster Abbey is for the English. The cathedral occupies the site of the baptism of the first Christian king of France (Clovis) in the year 496. From that early date to the nineteenth century almost all French monarchs were crowned at Rheims. It was to this cathedral that Joan of Arc conducted Charles VII to be crowned in 1429. The last royal coronation at Rheims was that of Charles X in 1824. During the Great War (1914-1918) the city was an important point on the Western Front and the cathedral suffered grievously from repeated bombardments.



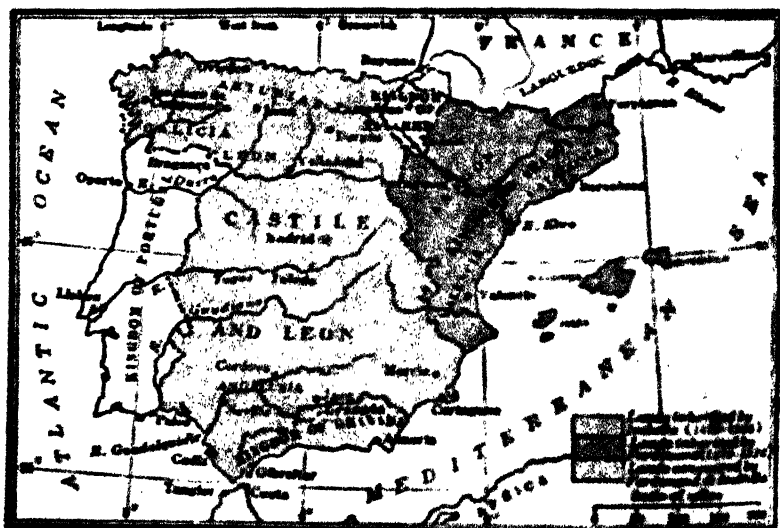
(2) *Increased Commercial Intercourse.* — (In the meantime a second factor was operating to produce national states and national patriotism. This was the increased commercial intercourse which began with the medieval Crusades.) Henceforth a larger number of men traveled, and they traveled farther. They learned more about people who spoke their own language, and they also became quite aware of the fact that there were many peoples who spoke other languages. Rivalry between merchants of different languages was a potent means of developing national consciousness.

(3) *Rise of Autocracy.* — A third factor — and one of the most important — in producing the modern national state, was the rise of autocracy. Kings of England, France, and Spain, for example, were busied toward the close of the Middle Ages and at the opening of modern history, with efforts to increase their personal power. (On one hand they sought to lessen the authority both of the Catholic Church and of the Holy Roman Empire — those twin institutions of the Middle Ages which had preserved the universal traditions of the ancient Roman Empire. On the other hand they labored to reduce their feudal vassals — dukes, counts, and barons — and to consolidate and strengthen their realms.) The story of what these monarchs did to establish autocracy within their respective countries will be told in some detail in the next chapter. Here it is sufficient to point out that the work of these monarchs had a direct bearing on the growth of national states.

As a result of wars waged by these monarchs, their dominions became in course of time practically co-extensive with geographical areas inhabited by people speaking one and the same language. Thus, the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) between the Kings of England and France — the war in which gunpowder was first used and of which Joan of Arc was the heroine — resulted in the expulsion of the English from the Continent, thereby restricting the English monarchy to English-speaking people and enabling the French monarchy



THE UNIFICATION OF FRANCE



THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

to embrace the bulk of the French-speaking people. Simultaneously a protracted conflict was waged in Spain between the Christian Spaniards and the Mohammedan Moors, leading to the defeat of the Moors and the consolidation of the Christian Spanish states into a national monarchy under Ferdinand and Isabella.

(4) *National Consciousness Further Aroused by Religion.* — The Protestant Revolution of the sixteenth century received some impetus, as we have seen, from the rise of national feeling and from the desire of national monarchs to increase their wealth and royal power at the expense of the Catholic Church. In turn, (the Protestant Revolution and also the Catholic Reformation gave an impetus to the growth of national patriotism. Nations became marked off from one another by religious differences, and the so-called religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries aroused a lively sense of patriotism.) These wars were by no means exclusively religious in cause or effect, but religion was utilized to stir a nation to fight more valiantly for economic gains of a commercial class or for political prestige of a monarch.) (It was adherence to Calvinist Protestantism that united the northern (or Dutch) Netherlands in rebellion against the Catholic King of Spain; and the long conflict which they waged against him not only made them free but stimulated among the inhabitants a sturdy Dutch patriotism. At the same time it was fidelity to Catholicism that caused the southern (or Belgian) Netherlands to separate themselves from their northern neighbors) to halt their own rebellion against the Catholic King of Spain, (and to develop a distinctive Belgian patriotism.) (Furthermore, it was the general acceptance of Lutheran Protestantism by Scandinavians that exalted the national monarchies of Denmark and Sweden and rendered the Swedes the special champions of Protestantism on the Continent of Europe.) (It was common allegiance to Presbyterianism which aroused the national consciousness and national enthusiasm of the Scottish people)

Protestantism in England assumed from the outset a national form. A national monarch established the Anglican Church, and national patriotism maintained it. When, for a variety of reasons — political, economic, and religious, — the Catholic King of Spain sent the celebrated Armada against Queen Elizabeth of England in 1588, the English people rallied wholeheartedly to the support of "Good Queen Bess"; and the destruction of the Armada was hailed as a glorious victory for the English nation and became a favorite theme for patriotic poetry and legend.

In Protestant countries Catholics were usually suspected of being unpatriotic because they did not prize the religious customs and traditions of the majority of their fellow countrymen. This was one of the reasons undoubtedly why Catholics were long persecuted by Protestants. A similar reason can be given for the persecution of Protestants by Catholics. (Catholicism was as much the symbol of national patriotism in Spain and France as was Protestantism in England and Scotland.) And the retention of the Catholic faith by the Irish at the very time when the English became Protestant, served to emphasize the differences between these two nationalities. The more rigorously the English monarchs attempted to Anglicize the Irish by forcing Protestantism upon them, the more stubbornly the Irish clung to Catholicism as a sign of their continued existence as a nation. In Poland, too, the loyalty of the people to the Catholic Church strengthened their national patriotism, because Poland was a Catholic country almost surrounded by non-Catholic monarchies.

**Backwardness of Germany and Italy in becoming National States.** — Two important areas of Europe failed to become national states in the sixteenth century, in spite of the fact that each was inhabited by people speaking the same language. One was Germany, and the other was Italy. Both countries displayed a good deal of national consciousness and national pride, but each was too much subdivided into petty states

and principalities to enable any one prince to build a national monarchy. The Holy Roman Empire might have been transformed into a national German state, if the Protestant Revolution had not affected Germany, or if all the Germans had accepted Lutheranism. As it was, the Germans were about equally divided between Protestantism and Catholicism, and the Protestant Princes succeeded in curbing the Catholic Emperor and in weakening the Holy Roman Empire. It was not until the nineteenth century — three hundred years after the Protestant Revolution — that Germany and Italy became unified national states.



MACHIAVELLI

A famous Italian writer and patriot of the sixteenth century. See p. 151.

**Appearance of National States in Early Modern Times.** — With the two important exceptions of Italy and Germany, the map of western Europe in the sixteenth century began to look much as it does to-day. Already the national states of Sweden, Denmark, Holland (Dutch Netherlands), France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, and England had appeared. Each of these States covered a definite geographical area inhabited by populations that were marked off from their neighbors by a difference of speech; each had developed an independent political organization of its own; and the citizens of each cherished peculiar customs and traditions and manifested a genuine national patriotism.

**The New National States and the Commercial Revolution.** — National states, in the first flush of national consciousness



and national pride, inaugurated the Commercial Revolution of the sixteenth century? At first, Portugal and Spain, then Holland, and finally France and England, patronized voyages of exploration and discovery and established colonies overseas. Hardy mariners became national heroes, and as wars of religion were gradually merged with conflicts for colonial and commercial supremacy, national patriotism received a new and potent stimulus. In almost every instance, national monarchs inspired the commercial expansion of their respective states and profited most by it. Colonial success redounded therefore to the advantage alike of national patriotism and of autocracy.

#### NATIONAL PATRIOTISM AT FIRST PROMOTES AUTOCRACY AND WAR

**National Patriotism Identified at first with Autocracy.** — National patriotism was pretty well developed, at least in western Europe, in the seventeenth century. But it was still identified largely with the political institution of monarchy and particularly with the practice of autocracy. The King was the symbol of national unity, and his banner and coat-of-arms constituted the flag and colors of the nation. In the name of the King, if not directly by him, national laws were made, national justice was administered, national armies were raised, and wars were waged.

**Dynastic Wars Supported by National Patriotism.** — Kings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries waged many wars for family reasons—to put a member of a particular royal family on the throne of another country, or to obtain richer inheritances for their wives and children. These kings, moreover, were not scrupulous about confining their ambitions to peoples of their own language and nationality. They frequently conquered a province peopled by “foreigners.” The principle of “self-determination” was not recognized in those days. The common people were bartered by one divine-right monarch to another like so many sheep and

cattle. (Yet in all these royal conflicts and family transactions, the core of each monarchy continued to be a nation of common language and common traditions, thoroughly imbued with patriotism. A king could count on the patriotism of the majority of his subjects to support him, more or less unquestioningly, in the pursuit of his personal and family interests.) Many a soldier of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, inspired by loyalty to king and country, sacrificed himself on a battle field which settled a royal succession or added a county to his autocrat's dominion.

With the breakdown of medieval institutions and the rise of national states under the rule of autocratic monarchs, wars became vaster and more deadly. Some enlightened persons of the period recognized this unfortunate fact and proposed various schemes to promote coöperation among the national states and national monarchs. None of these schemes was adopted. The sovereigns were too ambitious and too tricky to give any of them an honest trial, and the masses of the people were too patriotic to question the will of the sovereigns.

**Development of International Relations and Diplomacy.** — While no progress was made in the direction of international organization, certain rules were gradually recognized as governing international relations. There grew up in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the practice of having permanent ambassadors and other diplomatic agents represent the sovereigns at one another's courts. These diplomatists became a pompous, professional class of men, who spent less time in promoting cordial and peaceful international relations than in spying on the countries to which they were sent and in reporting to their monarchs back home the most favorable opportunities for hostile attack. It was these professional diplomats who constituted the international congresses that began to be held in the seventeenth century to determine the outcome of great international wars. It was they who, under instruction of their royal masters, negotiated wars,

alliances, and treaties. To them we owe the form and ceremonies of international relations.

**International Law: Grotius.** — The brutality of the armed conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries called attention to the need of formulating regulations for the protection of noncombatants in time of war, the treatment of the sick and wounded, and the prohibition of wanton pillage and

other horrors. The need was partially met by the development of international law. In this field the first effective work, the one which long influenced monarchs and diplomatists, was Grotius's *On the Law of War and Peace*. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) was a learned Dutchman, whose advocacy of religious toleration in his rigidly Calvinist country brought upon him a sentence of life imprisonment. Immured in a Dutch fortress, he managed to escape and fled to Paris,



HUGO GROTIUS

The father of international law.

where in 1625 he published his immortal work. *On the Law of War and Peace* was the first and one of the best of the systematic treatises on the basic principles of international law.

**"Sovereignty" of Modern States.** — One of the assumptions of modern international law is that each State is "sovereign," that is, it is independent of every other State. "Sovereignty" has certain attributes. Thus, a State to be legally "sovereign" must have: (1) the supreme jurisdiction over a given area and its inhabitants; (2) the right to coin money, to levy taxes, to maintain an army, to make war and conclude peace.

**"Sovereignty" and Autocracy.**—Already in the seventeenth century, as we have seen, a large number of sovereign states were national states, and their people were imbued with national patriotism. But in most of them, "sovereignty" was held to reside in the monarch. Hence, "monarch" and "sovereign" were interchangeable terms. It was the monarch who coined money, levied taxes, maintained an army, declared war, and made peace. It was the nation that patriotically acquiesced in these acts of its sovereign.

**National Patriotism not Lessened by Destruction of Autocracy.**—Two or three nations in the seventeenth century denied or narrowed the sovereign rights of monarchs. Such was the case of Switzerland and Holland, both of which were formally recognized in 1648 as independent republican federations. Such, too, was the case of the English, who, as a result of a series of revolutions, finally established in 1689 the supremacy of Parliament over the King, although the English monarch has continued to our own day to be sovereign in name. However, the establishment of the Dutch Republic and of constitutional government in England did not lessen the national patriotism of Dutchmen or Englishmen. It merely transformed the object of national patriotism. Henceforth Englishmen were more patriotic than ever, and they responded to the behests of their Parliament and their cabinet-ministers with greater alacrity than they had displayed in obeying divine-right, autocratic monarchs.

**National Patriotism and the Rise of Democracy.**—Autocracy was certainly an influential agency in shaping the national states of modern times and in inspiring national patriotism. But once national consciousness was pretty well developed, autocracy was doomed. The more interested people became in their country, the more they wished to participate in its government and the less were they patient with monarchs who failed to promote the economic prosperity or the military glory of their native land. The final stage in the evolution of our present-day conception of national na-

triotism was reached when autocracy was overthrown and when the *nation* as such, through the instruments of political democracy, began to exercise full sovereignty. This final stage was foreshadowed by seventeenth-century Holland and England; it was not definitely ushered in until the American and French Revolutions, toward the close of the eighteenth century, proclaimed eloquently the doctrine of *popular sovereignty*. Thenceforth, by the practical operation of political democracy, by the national fostering of popular education, and by the introduction of universal military training, the spirit of national patriotism was everywhere broadened and deepened. But this is a story which belongs to a much later chapter of our book.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What is patriotism? What ancient human feeling is included in it? What is modern "national patriotism"?
2. Why did national patriotism not develop in the Middle Ages to any large extent?
3. How did the decline of Latin and the rise of "vernaculars" contribute to the development of national patriotism? Mention six "vernaculars."
4. How was national consciousness stimulated by increased trade? By the rise of autocracy? By religion?
5. Explain the development of a particular national spirit in England. In France. In Spain. In Sweden. In Holland. In Ireland. In Poland.
6. Why were Germany and Italy backward in becoming national states?
7. Why did national patriotism at first promote autocracy?
8. Why were the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries replete with wars?
9. How and when did international diplomacy develop?
10. How and when did international law develop? Who was Grotius?
11. What is meant by the "sovereignty" of a State?
12. How did the destruction of autocracy affect national patriotism?
13. Ask some of your friends what they mean by being patriotic and why they are patriotic. Would the same reasons explain why Germans, Englishmen, Italians, etc., are patriotic towards their respective countries? Do the reasons your friends give agree with those given in the textbook?

14. If you have any friends who were born in foreign countries, or whose parents were foreigners, try to find out why they have become Americans and whether they have the same kind of patriotism that you have.

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Joan of Arc.** ADAMS, *French Nation*, 130-132; GREEN, *Short History of England*, ch. vi, section 1; LANG, *The Maid of France*; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XV, 420-421.

**How France was welded together.** ADAMS, *Civilisation during the Middle Ages*, ch. xiii; HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 6-7.

**The Hundred Years' War.** THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xxvii; CHEYNEY, *Short History*, sections 198-209, 214, 230, 233, 234.

**How England became a nation.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 3-6; MACAULAY, *History of England*, I, 15-30 (first 15 pages or so of chapter one in other editions); THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xxv; POLLARD, *History of England*, ch. iii.

**Development of English language and literature.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 190-205, 298-313; CHEYNEY, *Short History*, sections 225-227.

**A sample of early English.** Read any page at random in *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. by A. W. Pollard.

**Other vernacular literatures.** THORNDIKE, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xxi.

**How Spain was united.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 7-10; CHEYNEY, *European Background*, 81-103.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

POLLARD, *Factors in Modern History*, 1-25; ROSE, *Nationality in Modern History*, Lecture I; LANIER, *The Boy's Froissart*.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

ELIZABETH CHARLES, *Joan the Maid*; MARK TWAIN, *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*; J. H. MCCARTHY, *The Flower of France*.



**PART II**  
**AGE OF AUTOCRACY: THE SIXTEENTH,**  
**SEVENTEENTH, AND EIGHTEENTH**  
**CENTURIES**





## PART II

### AGE OF AUTOCRACY: THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH, AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

#### INTRODUCTION

It is easy for the citizens of a democratic nation to believe in the existing methods of government. When we hear of people who prefer autocracy or some other form of government, we are apt to conclude that they must be ignorant and unreasonable. Our feelings on this matter are so strong that we find it hard to remember two historical facts: first, that only a few centuries ago monarchy was the usual form of government and was regarded by most people as the best possible form; second, that many institutions and ideas which we cherish as the foundation stones of democracy were, in their origin, far from democratic, but have been gradually adapted to democratic purposes.

Political democracy is a comparatively recent experiment. If it is to succeed, this tremendous experiment must be conducted intelligently. We need to understand why democratic government was adopted, how it has been applied, how it has succeeded, and in what respects, if any, it has failed. Turning to history for answers to these questions, we discover that political democracy was adopted because men believed that autocracy, or absolute monarchy, had failed; we shall also learn that democracy was not invented suddenly, but developed gradually out of certain medieval institutions which were designed to hold kings in check; and we shall see how these institutions very narrowly escaped being completely destroyed by autocratic monarchs.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE KINGS STRENGTHEN THEIR POWER

#### KINGS ARE "LIMITED" IN THE MIDDLE AGES

**Restrictions on Monarchy in Middle Ages.** — Autocratic rule by "divine-right" monarchs was not, as is often said, a characteristic of the Middle Ages. It existed in some ancient states, and it came into existence again at the close of the Middle Ages, but as a general rule medieval monarchies were "limited" monarchies. The power of medieval monarchs was usually curbed by four important checks or limitations, which are worth examining, because they have had such great influence on the character of modern political institutions.

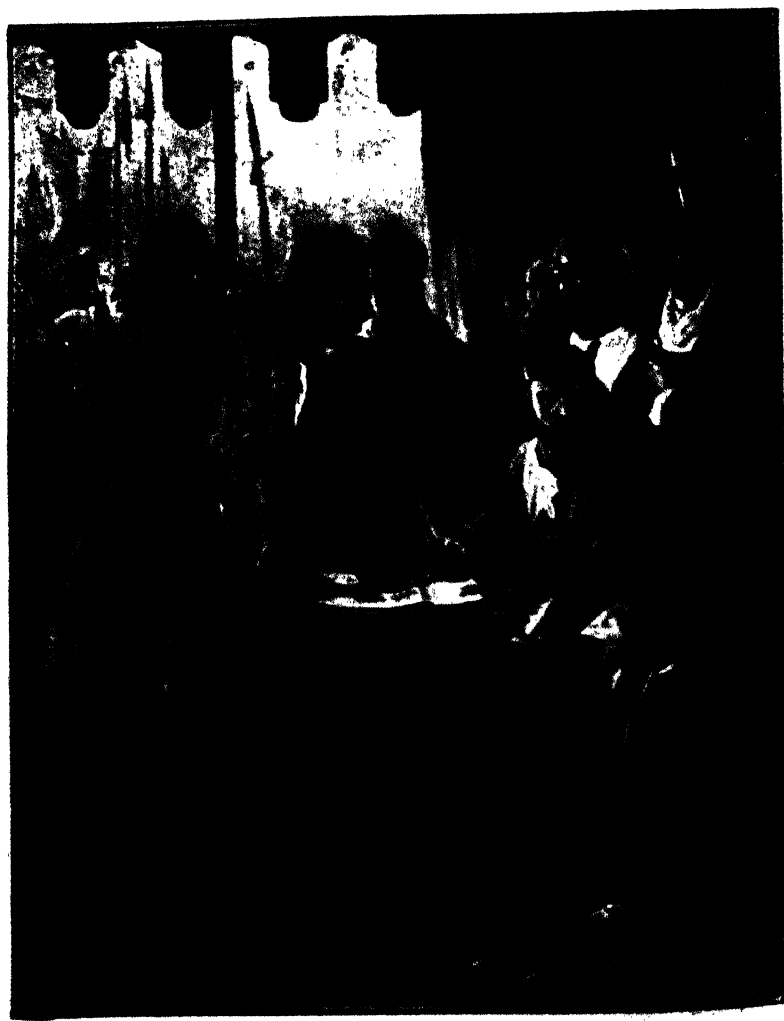
(1) *The Right of Rebellion.* — Nowadays, rebellion against the government is a dangerous matter, since a handful of soldiers with machine guns and cannon can hold a thousand unarmed citizens at bay. But in the Middle Ages, when kings had no standing armies, when lances, swords, and arrows were the usual weapons, and when common farmers armed with scythes were effective fighters, it was comparatively easy to attack and overthrow an unpopular monarch. During one period of a hundred and sixty years, six English kings were dethroned by their subjects, and five of the six were killed. Under such conditions, a king who valued his life and his crown hesitated to anger the people.

(2) *The Principle of Election.* — Although many medieval kings inherited their crowns by right of birth, the rule of hereditary succession was not always strictly observed. For example, it was not at all unusual for the chief nobles and clergymen to deprive the king's eldest son of his right to the

throne, or to set up a new ruling family.\* Besides, the loftiest sovereign in Europe, the Holy Roman Emperor, was regularly elected, and so also was the supreme spiritual head of Christendom, the Pope. Therefore we may say that the power of kings and emperors was based, at least partly, on popular consent and popular choice.

(3) *The Guarantee of Individual Rights and Privileges.* — A special check upon despotism was the theory that the people possessed certain liberties and privileges which no monarch had the right to violate. The taxes and other obligations owed to the king by the feudal lords could not be increased without their consent. The Church, too, had its special rights which must be respected. Many of the towns had charters, granting them various privileges or liberties. Furthermore, in each country there were customs or unwritten laws that could not be changed by any monarch. For example, it was a custom that a nobleman when accused of a crime should be tried by his "peers" (equals) — a custom which has come down to the present age in the form of jury-trial. Thus the authority of the king over his subjects was considerably restricted. Sometimes these restrictions were actually put into writing. For instance, in the year 1215, the feudal nobles and the clergy of England compelled King John to sign a long document, called the Great Charter (in Latin, *Magna Carta*), promising to respect the various liberties of the people and binding himself not to levy new taxes on the nobles without their consent, not to "sell, or deny, or delay right or justice" to any man, not to imprison any man unlawfully, not to violate the charters of London and other towns. Such a document might be regarded as a forerunner of the modern idea that governments should be subject to constitutions safeguarding the liberties of the citizens.

(4) *The Parliaments.* — Last but not least of the limitations on royal power was the control exercised by national congresses or parliaments in matters of legislation and taxation. The parliaments or assemblies which existed in France,



**KING JOHN OF ENGLAND SIGNING THE MAGNA CARTA**

*From a modern painting.*

Spain, Portugal, England, Poland, and other countries resembled one another so closely that we may confine our attention to the English Parliament as typical of them all.<sup>1</sup>

In the earlier part of the Middle Ages, the chief noblemen and church officials of England formed an advisory council, which discussed new laws and taxes. In the thirteenth century important towns were allowed representatives, and the enlarged council was called a "Parliament." Parliament at the close of the thirteenth century included (1) the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and certain other clergymen; (2) the chief noblemen; (3) two knights elected by the landholders in every "shire" or county; (4) two burgesses elected from each town. Thus Parliament really represented four social classes — clergy, nobility, smaller landholders, and bourgeoisie. In England, the clergy and nobles soon combined in one body, called the House of Lords, while the knights and burgesses sat together as the House of Commons, and in this way grew up the modern idea that a national congress should have two houses. (In France and in most other countries, there were usually three houses, — clergy, nobility, and commons.)

The English Parliament was especially successful in asserting its power. It gained control of the purse-strings, since the King lost the right to impose new taxes without its consent. By threatening to refuse such consent, it often could force the King to redress grievances or to issue whatever laws it desired. Sometimes Parliament asserted the right to demand an account of expenditures, or the dismissal and punishment of unpopular officials, or the abandonment of unpopular policies.

#### KINGS BECOME AUTOCRATIC IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

**Reasons for Growth of Autocracy in Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.** — Had the medieval ideas of constitutional government and the medieval parliaments

<sup>1</sup> In France the parliament was called the *Estates-General*; in Spain and in Portugal, the *Cortes*; in the Holy Roman Empire, the *Diet*.

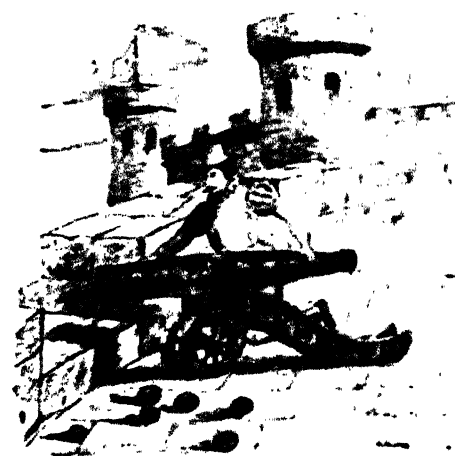
continued to develop without interruption, democracy might have been established much sooner than it actually was, and democratic institutions might have taken a different form from that which now prevails. The medieval limitations on monarchy, however, were very nearly destroyed by the growth of autocracy in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. As a result, there had to be a long and bloody struggle against autocracy before democracy could be achieved, and to this day our democratic institutions bear the scars of that struggle. To appreciate the meaning of the struggle, it is necessary that we understand the causes that led to the growth of autocracy.

(1) *Personal Ability of Monarchs.*—It so happened that during this period there was a succession of able and ambitious rulers in England, in France, and in Spain. The Tudor dynasty in England, the Bourbon kings in France, and the

Habsburgs in Spain were as a rule energetic, strong-willed, and domineering. But they could not have wielded autocratic power if certain circumstances had not been favorable to autocracy.

(2) *Change in Methods of Warfare.*—One of the circumstances favorable to autocracy was the change in methods of warfare.

During the great war between the French



*From Byron, "Progress of Invention." By courtesy of "The Scientific American."*

#### A CANNON OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

and English in the fifteenth century, the French king obtained the right to maintain a permanent army of hired soldiers. Other European monarchs found one excuse or another to

create similar armies. These royal armies\* were equipped not merely with the old medieval armor and weapons (spears, pikes, swords, and arrows) but also with cannon and flint-lock muskets, which were coming into general use during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Once a king possessed such an army, he could use it to subdue rebellious nobles and to quell popular uprisings.

(3) *Revival of Roman Law.* --- Another important factor was the revival of ancient Roman ideas of law. In the ancient Roman codes of law, the idea was expressed that the prince or ruler not only had authority to make laws, but also to break them. He was superior to the laws that ordinary men had to obey. Now this idea was favorable to autocracy. It was absolutely contrary to the medieval idea that the ruler must respect the fundamental laws of the land. Naturally lawyers employed by a king would prefer the ancient Roman idea because it would increase the power of the king. Partly for this reason, and partly for other reasons, there was a great revival of Roman law codes. Needless to add, the result was the strengthening of autocracy.

(4) *Political Theory of Machiavelli.* --- The idea that monarchs were superior to law was strengthened by the political theories of Machiavelli, an Italian politician and author who lived at Florence in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In a famous book entitled *The Prince* (1532), Machiavelli attempted to prove, with many ingenious and learned arguments, that monarchs were justified in violating even the fundamental laws of Christian morality. To promote the interests of his country, or to safeguard his own power, a king had the right to use deception, trickery, poison, assassination, or any other means. Machiavelli's book became very popular, and not a few ambitious rulers acted upon his advice. For example, Charles I of England, though a virtuous man in most respects, did not hesitate to lie in his dealings with Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> For a picture of Machiavelli, see p. 135.



(5) *Influence of National Patriotism.* — The development of a spirit of national patriotism<sup>1</sup> also favored autocracy. In the early days when national spirit was weak, people were interested in local affairs and resented any attempt of a king to interfere with local liberties. In course of time, however, as national spirit grew stronger, people began to regard their king as the leader of the nation, and took such pride in his greatness and glory that they were willing to submit to his authority.

(6) *Influence of Protestant Revolution.* — Autocracy likewise profited by the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. In the countries that adopted the Lutheran form of Protestantism,<sup>2</sup> kings and princes gained control of church property and church affairs. In England also when Henry VIII quarreled with the Pope he not only obtained a large revenue by confiscating the property of the monasteries, but he made himself the supreme head of the English Church, assuming the right to decide what his subjects should or should not believe and how they should worship.<sup>3</sup>

(7) *Influence of Economic and Social Changes.* — The Commercial Revolution, the Financial Revolution, and other economic changes described in Chapter II, resulted in a marvelous expansion of trade and industry and, consequently, in an increase in the number and influence of the bourgeoisie. Now the bourgeoisie had little love for feudal nobles, who were constantly interfering with business by starting civil wars. The bourgeoisie, therefore, were inclined to aid and support a king who could keep the nobles in order and thus make trade secure. Moreover, as commerce expanded the merchants found it very inconvenient to have to

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter V.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter IV.

<sup>3</sup> One form of Protestantism, however, the Calvinistic form, was generally opposed to autocratic monarchy and played an important part in the overthrow of autocracy in England. See Chapter IV, pp. 112-114, and Chapter X, pp. 252-257.

deal with a different system of coins, weights, measures, and laws in each locality, and they naturally looked to the king as the only one who could establish uniform coinage, weights and measures, and a national system of courts of justice throughout the land. Furthermore, the Commercial Revolution afforded wise kings a splendid opportunity to win the support of the bourgeoisie by sending out explorers to find new trade routes, by establishing colonies, by providing a navy for the protection of merchant vessels, by chartering commercial companies, and by negotiating commercial treaties which would be advantageous to traders. For these reasons, the bourgeoisie often favored the increase of royal power. Only in later times, when autocracy became oppressive, did the business men discover their mistake, and turn against autocracy.

#### AUTOCRACY IS PRACTICED IN ENGLAND

**The Tudor Monarchs, 1485-1603.** — The manner in which autocracy fastened its grip upon Europe is well illustrated by the history of England under the Tudors. In the middle of the fifteenth century the power of the English kings had become so weak that a series of civil wars was fought between opposing factions of feudal nobles, each faction striving to place its own candidate on the throne.

**Henry VII (1485-1509).** — When Henry VII, the first member of the Tudor family to wear the crown, obtained the throne in the year 1485, his position was far from safe or secure. Fortunately for him, many of the nobles had been killed or ruined by the civil wars, and the common people longed for peace and order. These two circumstances made it easier for Henry to adopt a stern policy toward any nobles who dared disturb the peace or who disputed his authority. Swift and sure punishment was dealt out to those who refused submission. Henry was shrewd enough to see that he could strengthen his power still more by encouraging trade and industry and thereby winning the friendship of the bourgeoisie.

He made a treaty with the ruler of the Netherlands<sup>1</sup> providing that English merchants should be permitted to sell English products in the Netherlands. He sent out an exploring expedition to find a new trade route to Asia.<sup>2</sup> And in many other ways he endeavored to promote business interests. Henry showed his shrewdness best of all in his dealings with Parliament. By careful economy he managed his income so well that he rarely needed to ask Parliament for money. Parliament was called together only five times during his long reign of twenty-four years.

*Henry VIII (1509-1547).* — Henry VIII, the son of Henry VII, went a step farther in autocracy. Refusing to recognize the Pope as the head of the Christian Church, Henry VIII made himself the supreme ruler of the Church of England. Henceforth Englishmen must regard their king as head of both Church and State. The ceremonies and doctrines of the Church were subject to his will. Bishops and archbishops, owing their appointment to him, became his agents, and preached the duty of submitting to his authority. By confiscating the property of the monasteries, Henry obtained large sums of money which made him less dependent upon Parliament for tax-grants. Some of the land formerly owned by the monasteries he gave or sold to nobles or to officials, who became his grateful supporters. Powerful as he became, however, Henry VIII always had the good sense not to go too far. For instance, on one occasion he attempted to impose a luxury tax without the consent of Parliament, but when he discovered that the people opposed the tax, he canceled it and apologized, just in time to prevent a serious rebellion.

*Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603).* — After Henry's death, the scepter passed successively to his young son Edward VI (1547-1552), his daughter Mary (1553-1558), and his other daughter, Elizabeth (1558-1603). The extent to which

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Burgundy.

<sup>2</sup> The expedition of Cabot found America but not Asia. See Chapter II, p. 53.

autocracy had developed is clearly shown by the fact that these sovereigns were able to alter the religion of the country at will. Edward introduced a Protestant form of worship. Mary restored Roman Catholicism. Elizabeth made England Protestant once more. Persons who opposed these changes were executed as traitors or as heretics. In economic matters, as well as in religion, autocracy grew stronger. By means of royal charters, Queen Elizabeth gave to one company exclusive rights to trade with India, to another the right to trade with Russia. She granted "monopolies," conferring on certain persons the exclusive right to sell this or that commodity, such as iron, oil, vinegar, leather, yarn, glass, coal, lead, and starch.<sup>1</sup> With the consent of Parliament, she issued laws which prescribed how many years an apprentice in industry should serve, the terms on which laborers were employed, the manner in which paupers should be dealt with, and similar matters. Elizabeth was usually able to twist Parliament around her little finger, sometimes by scolding, sometimes by coaxing, sometimes by lying; but she, like her father, was cautious enough not to deny Parliament's theoretical rights. Her rule was decidedly popular. It was under "Good Queen Bess" that the English fleet won glory by defeating the Great Armada which King Philip of Spain sent to conquer England; and it was "Good Queen Bess" who smiled on gallant sea-captains returning home with loot from Spanish America.

**The Theory of Autocracy Stated and Upheld by the First Stuart King of England: James I, 1603-1625.** — Autocratic as the Tudors were in practice, they were prudent enough never to boast of their despotism. It was left for James Stuart (James I, 1603-1625) to assert openly that as King of England he not only *was* but *ought to be* autocratic. When Queen Elizabeth died without children in the year 1603, leaving the English throne to him, James Stuart was already

<sup>1</sup> The monopolies became so unpopular that, shortly before her death, Elizabeth abolished some of them.

King of Scotland and had written two books explaining his theory of government. He was always better at writing books than at managing practical affairs. Kings, he claimed, had a "divine right" to rule, since their power came from God. Hereditary monarchy was not only the most natural form of government in the world but was also the particular form



KING JAMES I OF ENGLAND

which God preferred above all others. The power of a King should be absolute and unlimited. No matter how tyrannical he might be, his subjects must not rebel against him, but must content themselves by praying that God would make him less cruel. These doctrines James brought with him when he became King of England. In fact, he told the English Parliament that it had no more right to discuss what he could lawfully do than to discuss what God could do. Such was the

theory of autocracy in England at the opening of the seventeenth century.

#### AUTOCRACY DEVELOPS IN FRANCE

Autocracy developed, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, not only in England, but in most of the monarchies on the Continent of Europe. It reached its highest development in France. In fact, the name of the French royal family, Bourbon, became a synonym for autocrat or despot.

**The Theory of Autocracy Stated by Bodin, 1576.** — Twenty or thirty years before James I of England set forth his theory

of divine-right monarchy, a French writer, Jean Bodin, attempted to justify autocracy.<sup>1</sup> Bodin, it is interesting to note, was a lawyer employed by the King of France, and was greatly influenced by Greek and Roman ideas. Hereditary monarchy, he believed, was the best form of government and the only form suited to large countries. Like the ancient Roman lawyers, he declared that ordinary laws were not binding upon the sovereign, whose will was supreme law. Judges and officials must obey the King without question. Parliaments had no just claim to a share in sovereign power; they were merely advisory bodies. Bodin's theories were perhaps a little in advance of his time, but they were soon translated into facts.

**Henry IV (1589-1610), the First of the Bourbon Kings of France.** — A few years after Jean Bodin's books were published, Henry of Navarre, a member of the Bourbon family, became King Henry IV of France. Like Henry Tudor of England, Henry IV found his country exhausted by civil war. Towns had been burned, farms devastated. Traders were at the mercy of bandits and highwaymen. Great noblemen were acting like independent monarchs, showing little or no respect for the King or his laws. With much energy and courage, Henry restored order and controlled the nobles. He also encouraged trade and industry; he introduced silkworms and mulberry trees (on which silkworms feed) into France; he contributed funds for the building of merchant vessels; he obtained colonies and trading posts in America and India. At the same time, his chief minister, the Duke of Sully, was equally energetic in looking out for the welfare of the farmers. Thus the Bourbon monarchy laid solid foundations for future greatness.

**Louis XIII (1610-1643) and Cardinal Richelieu.** — Henry's son, Louis XIII, was not a great ruler, but he was wise enough

<sup>1</sup> Bodin's writings, *A Method for the Easy Understanding of History and Six Books Concerning the State*, were published in 1576 and 1578 respectively.

to entrust public affairs to a very able minister, Cardinal Richelieu. Though a Cardinal of the Catholic Church, Richelieu was more interested in statesmanship than in religion, and served the King of France more faithfully than

his God. Frail and sickly in body, he was a giant in will power and intellect. His pale, drawn face displayed a degree of pitiless determination and shrewdness that often made his enemies quail before him. Richelieu's policy was very simple: to remove all limitations on the King's power. The Estates-General, a body corresponding to the English Parliament, might have offered an obstacle to



LOUIS XIII RECITING HIS LESSONS

His father, Henry IV, the first of the Bourbon Kings of France, is seated in the chair.

autoocracy, but Richelieu never permitted the Estates-General to hold a meeting during his entire administration.<sup>1</sup>

*Destruction of Feudal Castles.* — As the most serious opposition to the King's authority came from the feudal nobles, Richelieu set spies to detect conspiracies of the nobles against the King, and when plots were discovered, he mercilessly punished the ringleaders. He also ordered the destruction of the fortified castles owned by nobles. Many a ruined château still testifies to Richelieu's zeal.

*Suppression of the Huguenots.* — Richelieu showed the same severity toward the Huguenots (the French Calvinists), who started a revolt early in his administration. As soon as he had crushed the revolt, the Cardinal deprived the Huguenots

<sup>1</sup> After 1614, the Estates-General did not meet again until 1789.

of their right to have fortified towns and forbade them to hold general assemblies; but he allowed them freedom of conscience and worship.

*Establishment of Autocratic Local Government: the Intendants.*

— The most important of all Richelieu's achievements was the establishment of a new system of local government. Previously

the administration of each province had been controlled by a "governor," who was a noble, usually too proud to be an obedient and efficient servant of the central government. Richelieu, however, appointed a new set of officials, the "intendants." For these offices, he carefully selected lawyers or other persons belonging to the middle classes, rather than nobles, since such persons could be more



CARDINAL RICHELIEU

easily controlled. Each intendant had to supervise the collection of taxes, the enforcement of the laws, and other local affairs, in a particular district. The intendants were like so many eyes, all over the kingdom, for the ever-watchful Richelieu. They probably deserved the nickname of the "thirty tyrants" of France.

Richelieu died in 1642, and the very next year the monarch whom he had so ably served followed him to the grave, leaving the crown to Louis XIV, a five-year-old boy, a grandson of Henry of Navarre.



## AUTOCRACY CULMINATES IN LOUIS XIV

**Cardinal Mazarin.** — Autocracy reached its climax in the long reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715). During the King's boyhood and youth the policies of Cardinal Richelieu were ably carried on by another great minister, Mazarin by name, likewise a Cardinal of the Catholic Church. Cardinal Mazarin, too, was more interested in statesmanship than in religion. He brought a long war with Spain to a successful conclusion and with the royal army crushed the last serious domestic uprising<sup>1</sup> against the autocratic monarchy. On all occasions he strengthened the powers of his youthful King.

In 1661 Cardinal Mazarin died, and Louis XIV, now grown to manhood, took the actual conduct of French government into his own hands. Thanks to the previous efforts of his father and grandfather and of two Cardinals, Louis XIV found himself an absolute autocrat, with no practical limitations upon his royal authority.

**Louis XIV and His Court.** — Dignified and elegant in manners and speech, Louis XIV was the very personification of "divine-right" monarchy. It pleased him to be called the "Grand Monarch," as indeed he was. He chose as his special emblem the sun, the brightest of the heavenly bodies; and if we could see him as he sat on his gilded throne, beaming on a crowd of fawning courtiers, we would think the emblem quite appropriate. No other palaces were so magnificent as those he built at Versailles (some twelve miles from Paris). The royal family and hundreds of noblemen, as well as a host of servants, could be housed there. From the gilded furniture to the paintings and priceless tapestries which adorned the King's palace, everything was designed to display the wealth and splendor of the Grand Monarch. Around the buildings were beautiful groves, artificial lakes, dozens of delightful fountains which tourists still admire, innumerable statues, and vast forests in which the King could hunt.

<sup>1</sup> The uprising known as the "Fronde" (1648–1653).



LOUIS XIV'S PALACE AND GARDENS AT VERSAILLES

Nothing in Europe could compare with such luxury, though foreign monarchs tried in vain to imitate it. Naturally enough the noblemen of France flocked to this brilliant court, as moths gather round a flame. At Versailles they lived a life of show and extravagance, without performing any real services. Dukes and counts took pride in handing the King his wig, when he dressed, or his towel, when he bathed. The feudal noblemen were becoming, like so many chandeliers, mere decorations for the King's palace, and they were costly decorations, too.

*Patronage of Art and Literature.* — Literary men and artists were no less eager to bask in the sunshine of the King's



LOUIS XIV. THE "GRAND MONARCH"

presence, and to receive pay and praise from the most lavish of all patrons. The great poets and dramatists,<sup>1</sup> sculptors and painters,<sup>2</sup> who gathered at Versailles, made Louis XIV's age the "classic" period of French literature and art. In all matters of culture, as well as in war and diplomacy, Versailles was the hub of the world, the envy and admiration of all Europe. Little wonder was it, then, that other rulers, for a century or so afterwards, regarded Louis

XIV as the great pattern which they strove to copy.

*The King's Work.* — An autocratic king such as Louis XIV did not live for pleasures and praises alone. He consid-

<sup>1</sup> Among these literary men were the three great dramatists, Corneille, Molière, and Racine, as well as La Fontaine, the author of fables and scandalous tales, and Madame de Sévigné, the witty memoir-writer.

<sup>2</sup> The foremost painter of the age was Charles Le Brun.

ered it his duty to supervise the financial affairs of his kingdom with painstaking care. "One reigns by work and for work," he declared. He read the reports of his officials and ambassadors, he presided over the councils of his chief ministers, he decided what policies should be followed, he made the laws, he appointed the higher officials.

**Colbert's Financial Reform.** — In his choice of ministers the Grand Monarch was notably fortunate, and above all in his appointment of Jean-Baptiste Colbert as "controller-general," or minister of finance.<sup>1</sup> Unlike most great statesmen of the past, Colbert was neither a nobleman nor a cardinal, but the son of a merchant. He was, however, a shrewd business man. By discharging dishonest tax collectors and by imposing indirect taxes or customs duties, he increased the royal revenue and at the same time lightened the land tax which had been such a burden on the common people. Some of the King's debts he canceled; others he reduced.

**Colbert and Industry.** — Like the good business man he was, Colbert told Louis XIV that the power and greatness of the French King depended not solely on his army, but also on the wealth of the French people, because after all the money to pay for the royal court and for the army must be raised by taxing the people. Consequently the government should do everything in its power to assist business. With Louis XIV's approval, Colbert set out with inflexible determination, like a "man of marble," to carry out this policy. Thanks to his efforts, inventors were rewarded, premiums were paid by the King to merchants who started new industries, workmen were invited to come from foreign countries, while native workmen were forbidden to leave France. Seventeen holidays were abolished, so that there would be more time for work. Colbert's ideal was a state in which there would be no drones; he would have made the nobles and clergy work, if he could.

<sup>1</sup> Colbert also was superintendent of buildings, minister of marine, minister of colonies, minister of the king's palace, etc.

**Trade and Colonies.** — Colbert believed that in order to become wealthy France must sell more goods to foreign countries than she imported from them. Consequently, he tried to encourage domestic industries and discourage imports. For example, he gave a premium or "bounty" to Frenchmen who built ships in France, but imposed a fine or



COLBERT

duty on ships purchased from foreigners. A high tariff was established to protect home manufactures. Elaborate regulations were issued, compelling French manufacturers to produce articles of standard quality, so that foreigners would be eager to buy French goods. Since colonies owned by France would buy French manufactures and supply France with raw materials, Colbert granted charters and even gave liberal sums of money to companies

formed for the purpose of establishing colonial settlements in India, Africa, and America. To promote internal trade he constructed a great canal in southern France, built better roads, and tried to abolish the tolls or duties charged on goods transported from one province to another. The business men of France never had a more energetic champion.

**The Navy.** — Colbert, however, was not content with these achievements. In addition, he displayed great energy in building up a powerful French navy. Under his direction, naval schools and arsenals were founded, warships were constructed, all French sailors were compelled to serve a certain period in the navy, and judges were instructed to sentence as

many criminals as possible to serve as oarsmen in French warships.

One might add that Colbert also created academies to encourage science, architecture, and music. He strengthened the system of intendants which Richelieu had established.<sup>1</sup> But to mention all his activities would require many pages. And with all his public duties, he found time to look out for his own interests so well that when he died, after almost twenty years in office, he possessed an immense fortune and the title of marquis.

**Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.** — Colbert's efforts to increase the prosperity of France and, above all, of the middle classes, may help to explain why there was so little opposition to Louis XIV's absolute authority. Autocracy, however, had some serious disadvantages. For example, by a single stroke of the pen, the King could, and did, deprive thousands of his subjects of their right to worship as they pleased. The French Protestants (Huguenots), who formed a small but influential minority of the French people, had been given important rights and privileges by the celebrated Edict of Nantes in 1598.<sup>2</sup> This edict was arbitrarily revoked by Louis XIV in 1685. Finding themselves shorn of their privileges, and prevented from worshipping as they pleased, three hundred thousand or more French Huguenots fled to England, Holland, and Prussia, and settled there, or else joined the armies of Louis XIV's foreign foes. As the Huguenots were mostly middle-class folk, merchants and skilled workmen, their emigration was a heavy blow to the prosperity of France.

**Louis XIV and Militarism.** — Probably the most dangerous characteristic of autocracy was its tendency to become militaristic. An absolute monarch's unrestrained ambition often led him to waste the money and sacrifice the lives of his subjects in unjustifiable wars of conquest. This was certainly

<sup>1</sup> See p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 112, 118.

true of Louis XIV. During his reign France was the most militaristic nation of Europe. His minister of war, Louvois, who was truly a genius, enlarged and reorganized the army. The infantry, well equipped with flintlock muskets and bay-



LOUIS XIV'S SOLDIERS

The one in the foreground is pouring powder into his muzzle-loading musket.

onets, numbered over three hundred thousand men. Including cavalry and artillery, Louis XIV must have had about four hundred thousand men under arms. Moreover, frowning fortresses were constructed along the frontiers of France by the most famous of all military engineers, Sebastian de Vauban, the man who, it was said, never lost a fortress, nor besieged one in vain. Vauban built or reconstructed more than a hundred and sixty fortresses and

conducted the siege of at least forty enemy strongholds for his warlike master.

**Warfare in the Age of Louis XIV.** — Thanks to his powerful army, Louis XIV would have been secure against all attacks and could have lived in peace, had he so desired. Such was not his idea of a glorious career. He made his reign one of the bloodiest in all French history. To hear the story of his numerous wars in detail would not be very interesting to a twentieth-century American. Several general features, however, are really worth observing. Warfare in the seven-

teenth century was quite different from warfare in the twentieth. The armies were much smaller, and were composed of professional soldiers, rather than of conscripted citizens. Often these soldiers were foreigners; Louis XIV, for example, hired a large number of Swiss, and England frequently employed German mercenaries. Needless to say, these professional soldiers were sometimes less interested in patriotic motives or in the country's sacred cause than in plunder, booty, and wages. The armies usually fought in the open, meeting occasionally in a battle which rarely lasted more than a day or two. In the time between battles the armies marched through the country, pursuing or being pursued, pillaging the regions through which they passed, occasionally stopping for a time in one spot to besiege some fortified city. As a rule artillery was less important than cavalry or infantry. Many of the fighting-men took their wives or other women along with them on campaigns. Occasionally the King, together with some of the ladies and noblemen of his court, well provided with chefs and lackeys, would sally forth with his army on some comparatively safe campaign, as a sort of pleasure excursion, but of course the King seldom took a hand in the fighting. He was not supposed to fight in the wars he caused.

**Marriages and Warfare.** — The most typical cause of wars in the Age of Louis XIV was the habit sovereigns had of intermarrying. One of the easiest ways of acquiring territory was to marry a princess who might inherit a kingdom. Kingdoms passed from hand to hand, or were divided among heirs, like private property, the wishes of the people never being consulted. When a king died without children of his own, the foreign monarchs who had married his sisters or his aunts would step forward to claim a share of the legacy, and many wars were fought to settle disputes among royal relatives. Now, while the Habsburg dynasty of Austria was the most successful in the game of matrimonial land-grabbing, the Bourbon Kings of France were fairly shrewd





GROWTH OF FRANCE, 1645-1763

choosers of wives. Louis XIV, for example, instead of marrying the girl he loved, wedded the daughter of the King of Spain. When her father died, and her half-brother became King of Spain, Louis promptly made war on him and seized a slice of his territory. Many years later, when this king died, Louis succeeded in winning the crown for his own grandson, though he had to fight a long war against the other countries of Europe to do it.

**War-aims of Louis XIV: "Natural Boundaries" of France, and Dynastic Rivalry with the Habsburgs.** — What Louis XIV was striving to accomplish in his various wars may be simply stated. In the first place, he wished to extend his own territories eastward to the Rhine River, which he claimed was the "natural boundary" of France. As a matter of fact the Rhine is not a natural boundary of anything; rivers do not divide, but unite, because river valleys serve as arteries of commerce, and in order to make the Rhine his frontier Louis would have had to include a great many Germans and Dutch in his realm. In the second place, he desired to weaken or overthrow his greatest rivals, the Habsburgs. The Habsburgs, a few centuries previously, had been merely the rulers of Austria, but by lucky marriages and clever diplomacy they had acquired other lands. In Louis XIV's time, one branch of the Habsburg family ruled Spain, together with part of Italy, the Spanish Netherlands (the region we now call Belgium), Franche Comté (a district in what is now the eastern part of France), and the Spanish colonies in America. Another Habsburg ruler, closely related to the King of Spain, was Archduke of Austria, King of Hungary, King of Bohemia (Czechoslovakia), and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup> On the north, east, and south France had Habsburg rulers as neighbors, and Louis XIV disliked powerful neighbors.

<sup>1</sup> The Holy Roman Empire was a loose federation including a large number of practically independent states and covering the territory now comprised in Germany, with some adjoining lands.



**ONE OF LOUIS XIV'S BATTLES (GOUTENARDE)**

How different methods of warfare in that time differ from those of to-day?

*Conquests of Louis XIV.* — Five wars Louis XIV waged<sup>1</sup> in the hope of achieving his aims. What did he gain thereby? For one thing, he succeeded in putting his grandson on the Spanish throne, thus partly realizing his ambition of breaking up the Habsburg combination. Secondly, he annexed several strips of territory to the east and north of France, though his eastern frontier never reached the Rhine except in one spot. The list of his annexations includes (1) Artois, Flanders, and Hainaut, (2) part of Lorraine, (3) most of Alsace, and (4) Franche Comté.

*The Price Paid.* — Was the game worth the candle? By conquering the German territory of Alsace, Louis sowed the seeds of future conflict between France and Germany. By spending the strength of France on petty conquests in Europe, he sacrificed the opportunity to build up her commerce, her navy, her merchant marine, her colonies; in fact, he lost several colonies. He thereby allowed England to obtain



DISTRIBUTION OF BREAD TO POOR PEOPLE  
IN PARIS, UNDER LOUIS XIV

Notice how the soldiers treat the people.

<sup>1</sup> The War of Devolution (1667-1668), the Dutch War (1672-1678), a little war against Spain (1683-1684), the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697), and the great War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). During the reign of Louis XIV, but before he was old enough to take charge of affairs personally, France also fought, from 1635-1648, in the Thirty Years' War, and, until 1659, in a war with Spain.

the lead in the race for maritime supremacy and world empire. Finally, the millions he squandered in fighting needless wars and in supporting a showy court burdened the French people with a crushing load of taxes. Famine and pestilence, as usual, went hand in hand with war. A more peaceful France would have been a more prosperous France, and in the long run a more prosperous country would perhaps have been a greater country. Certainly it would have been a happier one.

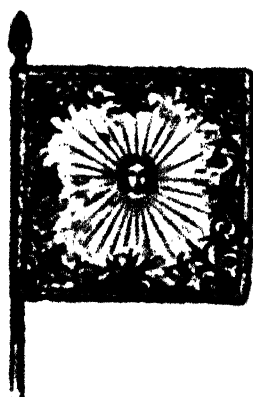
**Death of Louis XIV.** — Louis XIV saw too late the terrible mistake he had committed. To his great-grandson, who was to inherit his crown, the aged monarch wisely and sadly said, "Do not imitate my love for building and for war, but assuage the misery of my people." He died in the year 1715 after reigning seventy-two years, the longest reign in European history. So grievously had he made his people suffer, that when his corpse was carried through the streets, it "was saluted by the curses of a noisy crowd sitting in the wine-rooms, celebrating his death by drinking more than their fill as a compensation for having suffered too much from hunger during his lifetime. Such was the coarse but true epitaph which popular opinion accorded to the Grand Monarch."

**Theory of Autocracy Stated by Bossuet, 1676.** — The idea of autocratic government, which Louis XIV personified, was not speedily abandoned. Autocracy flourished in most of the countries of Europe, including France, long after Louis XIV had showed its weaknesses. For this reason it is worth while to try to understand the idea of autocracy as it was set forth in the Age of Louis XIV. The theory was most clearly stated by Bossuet, a learned and upright bishop who lived a century after Bodin and was employed by Louis XIV to educate the heir to the throne.<sup>1</sup> Of all forms of government said Bossuet, monarchy is not only the most usual and the

<sup>1</sup> Bossuet's book, *Politics drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture*, was written about the year 1675, and was designed to give the prince a clear understanding of the authority and the responsibilities of a King.

most ancient, but also the most natural, the strongest, the most efficient, and therefore the best. The authority of the monarch over his people may be compared to the authority of a father over his family. Like a father, the King should provide for the welfare of his people, and watch over all their activities. In religious as well as political matters the King is supreme. The King is superior to other men, because he is endowed with greater reason and perfection. To attack his person or to conspire against him is a sacrilege and a crime. His power is absolute and autocratic. No one has a right to resist his commands or call him to account. He is subject to God alone.

Such a theory of divine-right monarchy may seem almost incredible to us to-day, but it was sincerely believed by intelligent men and was pretty generally accepted by the people only two centuries ago.



LOUIS XIV'S MILITARY STANDARD

The King's head appears like the sun, sending out golden rays of brilliance.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What is "Democracy"? "Autoeracy"? "Limited" Monarchy?
2. Was autoeracy a characteristic of the Middle Ages?
3. How was monarchy "limited" in the Middle Ages?
4. What was Magna Carta?
5. How was the English Parliament organized at the close of the thirteenth century? What were its powers? Did any other countries have parliaments?
6. Why did autoeracy develop in early modern times?
7. Who was Machiavelli and what were his ideas about politics?
8. How did the rise of the bourgeoisie affect the development of autoeracy? Has the bourgeoisie always been favorable to autoeracy?
9. Who were the Tudor monarchs of England? What did each do to strengthen the royal power in England?
10. Who was the first Stuart monarch of England? What did he do about autoeracy that his Tudor predecessors had not done?
11. Compare the theories of James I. Boslin, and Bossuet.
12. Compare the work of Henry IV of France with that of Henry VII of England.
13. Who were the Bourbon kings of France?
14. Who was Richelieu? How did he strengthen the royal power?
15. Who was Mazarin? How did he strengthen the royal power in France?
16. Why was Louis XIV called the "Grand Monarch," and why is it said that autoeracy reached its climax in his reign?
17. Where is Versailles? Why is it one of the chief "sights" for tourists to see in France?
18. Who was Colbert? Discuss his policies and achievements.
19. What was the Edict of Nantes? Why and when was it revoked? What were the effects of its revocation?
20. Was France militaristic in the time of Louis XIV? What was its connection of French militarism with autoeracy? With royal marriages?
21. What aims did Louis XIV try to carry out in his foreign policy? What wars did he wage? What did he gain? Did he lose anything?
22. Who were the Habsburgs?
23. See whether you can prove that democracy is better than autoeracy.

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Firearms and gunpowder.** *Scribner's Magazine*, III, 3-19; *Encyclopedia Americana*, II, 284; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, II, 590; *Oman, Art of War in the Middle Ages*.

**Magna Carta.** CHEYNEY, *Short History*, section 153; ROBINSON, *Readings*, I, 231-238; CROSS, *History of England*, 139-145; BEARD, *English Historians*, ch. v.

**Origin of Parliament.** TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*, 206-216; OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 9-14; ROBINSON, *Readings*, I, 238-241; BEARD, *English Historians*, chs. vi and vii.

**The Tudors.** TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*, 314-321; OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 21-25; CHEYNEY, *Short History*, ch. xii.

**The England of "Good Queen Bess."** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 268-297; CHEYNEY, *Short History*, ch. xiii.

**James I.** CHEYNEY, *Short History*, sections 342-347; GREEN, *Short History*, ch. viii, section 2; CROSS, *History of England*, 427-431; LINCOLN'S *History of England*, 419-441.

**Richelieu.** ADAMS, *French Nation*, 192-201; PERKINS, *Richelieu*, chs. vi, xii; HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 212-216.

**Colbert's economic policy.** WAKEMAN, *Ascendancy of France*, 194-206; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 12-14; PERKINS, *France under the Regency*, ch. iv; JOHNSON, *Age of the Enlightened Despot*, 10-19.

**Louis XIV the man.** WAKEMAN, *Ascendancy of France*, 188-194; HASSELL, *Louis XIV*, 82-102; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 8-10.

**Wars of Louis XIV.** JOHNSON, *Age of the Enlightened Despot*, chs. ii-iii.

**France at the close of his reign.** PERKINS, *France under the Regency*, ch. ix.

**Court life at Versailles.** HASSELL, *Louis XIV*, ch. xi; PERKINS, *France under the Regency*, ch. v.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 209-270; JOHNSON, *Age of the Enlightened Despot*; WAKEMAN, *Ascendancy of France*; VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 174-190, 296-300.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

DUMAS, *Three Musketeers*; SCOTT, *Quentin Durward*; CRAWFORD, *In the Palace of the King*; LYTTON, *The Last of the Barons*; STEVENSON, *The Black Arrow*; TARRINGTON, *Monsieur Beaucaire*.





NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE TIME OF PETER THE GREAT

## CHAPTER VII

### PETER THE GREAT ESTABLISHES AUTOCRACY IN RUSSIA

#### RUSSIA EMERGES AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE

**An Autocrat in Eastern Europe: Peter the Great.** — While Louis XIV was dazzling the civilized world with the splendor of his autocratic court and winning for France the proud position of the foremost Power in western Europe, an even more remarkable monarch was welding together a huge autocratic state in the eastern part of the Continent. \*

Few individuals have had such influence on history as Peter I, usually called "the Great," who reigned as Tsar of Russia from 1682 to 1725.<sup>1</sup> It was Peter the Great who won for his country a place in the family of European nations and made Russia a part of Europe rather than of Asia. It was on the foundations laid by him that the autocratic rule of the Russian Tsars maintained itself throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If we are to comprehend the reasons for the rise of the great Russian nation, its peculiarities, and the problems with which Peter had to deal, a few words of introduction will be necessary.

**The Geography of Russia.** — Geography has had much to do with making Russia what she is. The region we call European Russia is a vast plain, about two-thirds as large as

<sup>1</sup> Compare these dates with those of Louis XIV's reign, 1643-1715. Peter and his weak-minded brother were made joint Tsars in 1682, when Peter was only ten years old. For seven years, his half-sister acted as regent or guardian, until she was overthrown by Peter's friends. After the death of his brother (1696), Peter became sole Tsar, at the age of twenty-five.

the United States. From the Ural Mountains on the east to the Carpathian range on the west, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, there are no mountain ranges to divide the country into separate nations, as the Pyrenees separate France from Spain. The gently flowing rivers, which form a network of natural highways, and the level character of the country are two important reasons why eastern Europe became a united empire, instead of breaking up into small states. Similarly, the broad pathway of flat country between the Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea, connecting Europe with Asia, made it easy for wave after wave of Asiatic invaders to pour across Russia in earlier ages, and for Russia in modern times to expand eastward into Siberia and Central Asia. Russia in the Middle Ages was more Asiatic than European in civilization and at one time was under the rule of Asiatic conquerors (the Tatars).

Geography also explains why the Russians have always remained backward in industry. Living in a boundless and sparsely settled plain, a great part of which is covered by wonderfully fertile black soil, the people devoted themselves to agriculture. When any district became overpopulated, the surplus population could move on to some unsettled region and find new lands for cultivation; it was unnecessary to resort to other means of earning a livelihood. Moreover, the long cold winters and the unpleasant climate were unfavorable to industry. Most peasants were content to work on their farms with a burst of energy during the brief season when the weather permitted, and then to spend the remainder of the year doing very little besides trying to keep warm.

**The Russian People.** — The great plain of Russia was not originally inhabited by the people we call Russians. The Russians, when first mentioned in history, were a group of tribes living in the region just to the north and east of the Carpathian Mountains. In language, social customs, and physical appearance they were, so far as we know, fairly similar to the Poles, Czechoslovaks, and Yugoslavs — so much

so that all of these peoples nowadays are classified as branches of the Slavic race or family of nations, just as the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, and Dutch are said to be Teutonic nations.

From the region of the Carpathians, the Russians pushed out into the thinly populated country to the eastward, clearing spaces in the virgin forests for their villages, following river valleys farther and farther from their old homes, sometimes conquering the tribes they encountered, sometimes mingling with them. In the north, many Finns were thus absorbed; in the south, tribes akin to the Turks were intermixed with the Russians. Consequently the Russians of to-day are not pure Russians, and in physical appearance, as well as in culture, traces may be found of the racial blends that were made in the distant past. The first Russian rulers mentioned by history were Scandinavians or Norsemen (akin to the Normans who conquered England), who were accepted as princes by the Russians ten centuries or more ago.

**The Religion of Russia.**—While they received their princes from the north, the Russians borrowed their alphabet and their religion from the south. It was in the tenth century that the most powerful Russian ruler of that time, Prince Vladimir of Kiev, became a Christian and compelled his subjects to adopt Christianity. The fact that Prince Vladimir received Christianity not from the Catholic Church of western Europe but from the "Greek Orthodox" Church<sup>1</sup> of southeastern Europe, not from Rome but from Constantinople, was of vital importance for Russia's future. It meant that Russia would imitate the ideals and culture and even the art and architecture of the Byzantine Empire, quite different from those of the West; it meant that unless some great change occurred, Russia would have little or no share in the

<sup>1</sup> The Greek Orthodox Church had the "patriarch" of Constantinople for its head, rather than the pope, and differed from the Catholic Church in various matters of organization and ritual. See footnote on p. 100.

religious controversies, intellectual life, or cultural progress of western Europe. Incidentally, it meant that the Russians learned to use an alphabet based on the ancient Greek system of writing instead of adopting the Latin alphabet which we use.<sup>1</sup>

**Tatar Influence.** — Russia's separation from western Europe was increased by another circumstance. It will be remembered that between the Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea there was a broad gateway from Asia into Europe. Through this gateway early in the thirteenth century poured a wave of savage invaders, the Tatars or Mongols, who conquered the Russians and made Russia a part of a great Mongol Empire which then existed in northern and central Asia. The Tatars belonged to a branch of the yellow race, akin to the Turks, Finns, and Manchus, and — more distantly — to the Chinese and Japanese. In war they were terrible enemies, ruthless and reckless. A city captured by them was doomed to worse than destruction, and the inhabitants, regardless of age or sex, were tortured or slain with fiendish cruelty. In peace, they were simply uncivilized herdsmen, who were quite willing to let their subjects live in peace and to demand only the payment of tribute. For almost 250 years (1237–1480 A.D.) the Russians were subject to the Tatars and paid tribute to them. This long period of Tatar domination seriously handicapped the Russian people in their development, and some historians believe that it made the Russian aristocracy and the Russian princes more brutal, more barbarous, in their despotism. Had Peter the Great not deliberately “westernized” his country, Russia to-day

<sup>1</sup> Back in the fourth century A.D., the Roman Empire had begun to separate into parts. The western part collapsed in the following century, but the eastern empire survived until 1463 A.D., when it was conquered by the Turks. It was often called the Byzantine Empire because its capital was at Byzantium (Constantinople). The civilization of this empire was fundamentally Greek, but was much influenced by Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and other oriental countries.

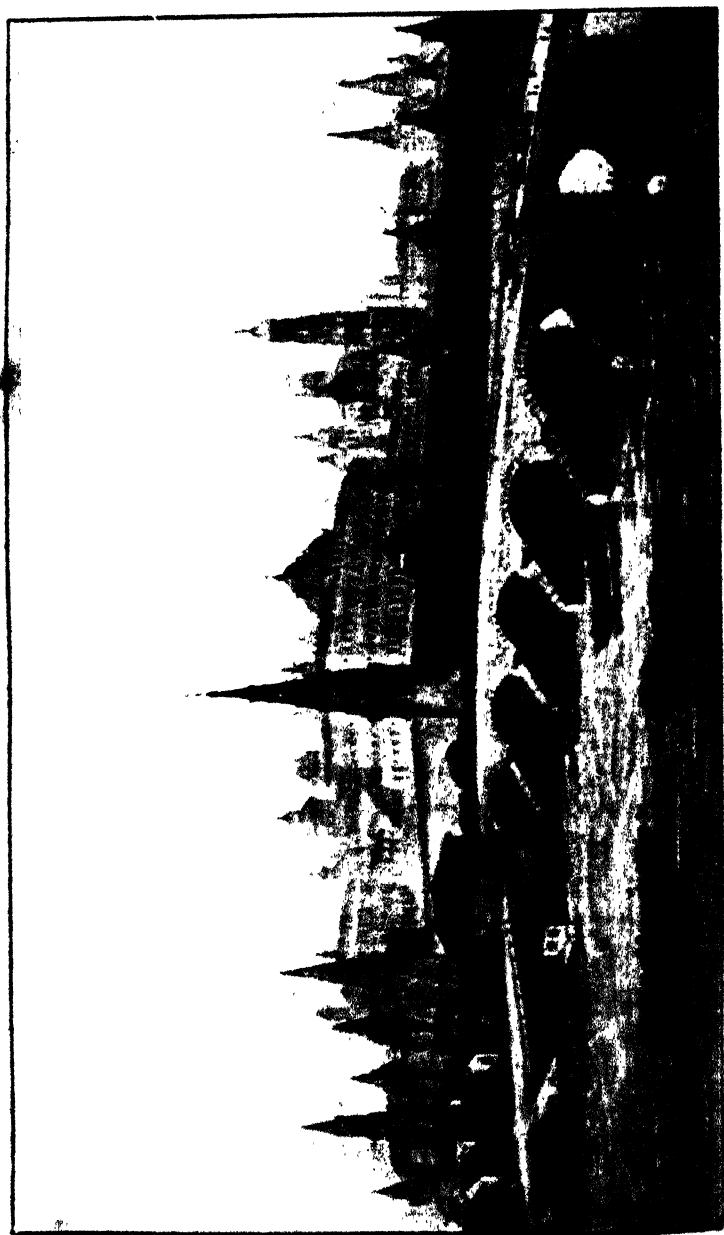
might still be an Asiatic or semi-Asiatic country, rather than a member of the European family of civilized peoples.

**Rise of Muscovy.** — In a way, the creation of a united and independent Russian empire was indirectly helped by the Tatars. Among the numerous Russian principalities subject to the Tatar conquerors, one of the most important was Muscovy, which was originally a small state centering in the town of Moscow. Thanks to its advantageous position at the crossing of north-to-south and east-to-west trade routes, and thanks even more to the energy of its rulers, this petty principality rapidly grew in wealth and power. The Prince of Muscovy became the chief collector of tribute for the Tatars, and served as the representative of the Russians in dealing with their overlords. Thus his own importance was increased, and doubtless some of the tribute money found its way into his purse. When, however, the Tatar Empire grew weaker, the Prince of Muscovy took the lead in throwing off the foreign yoke. Incidentally, he pocketed the tribute-money hitherto paid to the Tatars.

**Transformation of Muscovy into Russia.** — In the sixteenth century one of the greatest Muscovite princes, Ivan the Terrible, succeeded in conquering the Tatar principalities or "khanates" of Astrakhan and Kazan, thus adding the lower and middle portions of the long Volga River basin to his realm. Soon Russian Cossacks,<sup>1</sup> or frontiersmen, were pushing eastward, past the Urals, to colonize Siberia. By the close of the seventeenth century they had reached Kamchatka, on the far Pacific coast. Meanwhile, on the west, the frontiers of Muscovy were being extended at the expense of Poland.

When in 1682, Peter the Great fell heir to the title of "Tsar of Russia," which had first been assumed by Ivan the Terrible,

<sup>1</sup> The Cossacks were Russian frontiersmen who were organized on a military basis and were given special privileges, such as exclusive control of certain areas of land, in return for military service. The organization continued to exist down into the twentieth century.



From an old picture

## THE KREMLIN (CITADEL) OF MOSCOW

he found himself the ruler of a domain almost as large as the United States (two and three-quarters millions of square miles) and master of thirteen million people. But this great state was almost completely landlocked, possessing no outlet on either the Baltic or the Black Sea.

#### RUSSIA BECOMES EUROPEAN AND AUTOCRATIC

**Peter the Great, 1682-1725.** — The old saying that "the boy is father to the man" often fails to hold true, but in the case of Peter Romanov<sup>1</sup> it was not far from correct. As a youngster he had shown a strongly mechanical turn of mind and had been particularly interested in boats. No sooner had he become his own master, as a result of his mother's death, than he hurried to the White Sea, to launch a ship which he himself had built. In a daring voyage there the young Tsar barely escaped death.

*Peter's Interest in the Sea.* — The Black and Caspian Seas, to the south of Russia, promised better cruising than the ice-bound northern waters, besides affording a splendid outlet for Russian commerce, but they were controlled by the Khan of Crimea, a vassal of the Turkish Sultan. Against this enemy, Peter led his first military expedition, in the year 1695, only to meet with a most discouraging defeat. With characteristic energy, he at once decided to make a second attempt, this time with a fleet to aid his army. He sent to Austria and Prussia for German carpenters and mechanics. Of ordinary unskilled workmen there were plenty in Russia. With an army of laborers he set to work in the forest on the Don River, hewing down trees and building ships. And with the aid of these ships he was able to capture the Turkish fortress of Azov, commanding the mouth of the Don. It was the beginning of his life-long effort to acquire for Russia outlets to the sea.

<sup>1</sup>The Romanov dynasty began with Peter's grandfather, Michael Romanov, who was elected to the throne in 1613, after a period of civil war, the older ruling family having died out.



*Peter's Travels.* — A more ambitious plan now occurred to Peter. He would send a commission, or embassy, to gain the help of European nations for a future attack on Turkey. The Tsar himself went with his embassy, but in disguise, as Peter Mikhailov, a common sailor. The embassy failed, but Peter



PETER THE GREAT

utilized his journey to good advantage, learning the art of gunnery in Prussia and ship-building in Holland and England, not to mention anatomy, engraving, and other more or less useful branches of knowledge. An English bishop who met Peter while the latter was in England has left us an interesting description of the great Tsar as a very hot-tempered man, lacking in judgment, too fond of drinking much brandy, inclined to be brutal, and apparently "designed by

nature rather to be a ship-carpenter than a great prince." In appearance he was not exactly kingly, with his red face and his too often dirty clothes; but his tall figure, lively black eyes, winning smile, and inexhaustible energy gave the impression of strength and vigor.

*Peter's Military Reforms.* — While on his travels, Peter received word that his bodyguard, called the *streltzi*, had taken advantage of his long absence, rebelled against his authority, and conspired with his sister to overthrow him. Furiously angry, he hurried back to Moscow to teach the conspirators a lesson. Some of the mutineers were scourged and scorched; two thousand were either hanged or broken

on the wheel (an especially cruel method of execution); five thousand were beheaded, and Peter took a grim pleasure in showing the courtiers how dexterously he could slice off the heads of mutinous *streltsi* with his own royal arm. To his sister he was more merciful; he merely had a number of men hanged near the windows of the convent in which she was confined.

In place of unmanageable *streltsi* and the old feudal militia of nobles, the Tsar created a new army of two hundred thousand men, officered and disciplined by foreigners who could be relied upon to carry out his imperious will. With a loyal army, the young monarch could safely proceed with other reforms he had in mind, for his travels in foreign countries had convinced him that Russia had much to learn from the West.

**"Europeanization" of Russia.** — Peter's reforms often showed an absurdly superficial understanding of European civilization. For example, since long beards were rarely worn in western Europe, he solemnly assembled the chief men of his empire and with his own hand cut off the long beards and the luxuriant mustaches of which they had always been proud. A heavy fine was imposed on all men who insisted on wearing beards. Next, he ordered the men of the upper classes to exchange their long oriental cloaks for jackets and hose of English or German style, and compelled his courtiers to imitate the fashions of Versailles. Guards were stationed at the city gates of Moscow to clip off all cloaks to knee-length. Like it or not, Russians had to learn the use of tobacco. Women of the court must wear bodices and stays, like the fine ladies of France and England. They were no longer kept secluded from the men in Turkish manner, but must participate in the festivities of the palace.

Had he devoted more attention to European education, literature, industries, and commercial methods, and less attention to manners and dress, Peter the Great might have contributed more to the Europeanization of Russia. As it was,

he made only a beginning along such lines. But after all, it was a beginning and a courageous one.

The schools which he founded were few in number, and were primarily for the practical purpose of training engineers, navigators, artillery experts, etc., but they marked the first introduction of western science and education in Russia, and their graduates provided the germ of the educated class, the *intelligentsia*, which was to play an important rôle in Russia's later development. Similarly, by importing engineers and skilled workmen from the west and by establishing shops for the manufacture of military and naval supplies, Peter gave industry a valuable though not a very ambitious start.

**Theory of Autocracy Stated by Peter the Great.** — As a monarch desiring to wield a scepter no less autocratic than that of Louis XIV, Peter the Great lost no opportunity to strengthen his authority. In one of his statutes, he inserted the declaration: "His Majesty is sovereign and autocrat. He is accountable to no one in the world." James I. Bodin, Bossuet, or the Grand Monarch himself, could hardly have done better.

**Autocracy Applied to Church and State.** — One obstacle to autocracy in Russia had been the unreliability of the old feudal army. As we have seen, Peter triumphed over that obstacle. A second was the power of the Russian Church. The Russian Church had become independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople about a century before, and was now governed by the Patriarch of Moscow, who was elected by the clergy. So strong was the influence of the Church over the Russian people that Peter was unwilling to have it remain independent. Consequently he took all the powers of ecclesiastical control away from the Patriarch and placed them in the hands of a committee, called the Holy Synod, the members of which were bishops chosen by himself and the chairman of which was a layman likewise selected by the Tsar. The Holy Synod was vested with complete authority over church

appointments and even over such matters as sermons. As a result, the Russian Church was from this time forward a faithful supporter of the Tsar. Autocracy used religion to strengthen itself.

*Autocratic Reorganization of Government.*— Another important and lasting achievement was the reorganization of the government on the model of the autocracies of western Europe. The old Russian assembly, or Duma, of nobles, was abolished, together with the Zemski Sobor, a second assembly representing the other classes of the population, and in their place was established a small advisory council appointed by the Tsar. The secret police, which in later centuries proved to be so powerful a prop for despotism, had its beginnings under Peter the Great. The central administration was divided into nine departments, each under a committee or chamber, while the local government was systematized and brought more thoroughly under the Tsar's control. The towns and villages, however, were permitted to preserve their elective councils for local affairs.

*Russian Social Classes under Peter the Great.*— *The Nobility.*— A word should be added about social classes. Peter the Great deprived the feudal nobles of their political power, but he did not wish to destroy them as a class. On the contrary he attempted to make the nobles useful by compelling them to serve in the army, the navy, or the administration. Furthermore, in order to prevent the breaking up of noble estates, he decreed that when a noble landowner died his property should be inherited by one son, as was the custom in England, instead of being divided among various members of his family.

*The Peasants.*— In the days of Peter the Great, the peasants constituted the bulk of the population. Like most autocratic rulers, the great Russian Tsar laid heavy burdens upon the masses. During his reign the expenditure of the government increased by almost six hundred per cent, most of the increase going to army and navy. The burden had to

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be borne by the people, and chiefly by the peasants, who not only were conscripted for the army but were also compelled to pay a poll-tax. The degradation of the peasants to the position of serfs had been taking place slowly during the pre-



HOW RUSSIAN PEASANTS WERE PUNISHED  
FOR DISOBEDIENCE

The man in the picture is being whipped on the bare back with a "knout" (a heavy whip).

ceding century, but under Peter's oppressive rule the process went on faster than ever. By the end of his reign serfdom had become quite general. And serfdom in Russia was little better than slavery. Serfs could not leave their lands without permission; they were compelled to work at any trade their owner chose for them; they were bought and sold; cruel beatings with the "knout" were not unusual; and in some cases noble masters

regarded the wives and daughters of serfs as their own property. Poverty, ignorance, and oppression were the lot of the average serf.

**Summary.** — Peter the Great, by despotic methods and barbaric cruelty, began the "Europeanization" of Russia and laid the foundation of the modern Russian Tsardom, with its autocracy, its State-controlled Church, its bureaucracy and secret police, and its powerful conscript army. Yet these achievements constituted only half of Peter's ambitious program.

## RUSSIA BECOMES A GREAT POWER

**Peter's Desire for Sea Outlets.** — The Russian Empire which Peter the Great inherited was, as has already been pointed out, almost completely cut off from the open sea. To be sure, it had outlets on the Caspian Sea and on the White Sea, but the former is merely an inland lake, while the latter is blocked by ice during a large part of the year. Peter's aim was to open a way to the west by gaining outlets on the Black and Baltic Seas. "Windows to the west," he called them. Russia must have such "windows," he believed, if she was to develop her commerce with Europe and become a prosperous, progressive European Power. From the time of Peter the Great to the Great War of the twentieth century, the Tsars of Russia persistently struggled to achieve this aim, to win "warm-water" ports for their empire.

From the Baltic, as a glance at the map will show, Peter was barred by the Swedish possessions of Finland, Esthonia, and Latvia. Sweden was then one of the strongest kingdoms in Europe, twice as large as she is to-day. The Baltic was practically a Swedish lake. Sweden would be one of Peter's enemies. The other would be Turkey, because the Turkish Sultan's sway extended over all the coastlands, north as well as south, of the Black Sea, completely excluding Russia from its waters. As we have seen, Peter fought his first war against Turkey and conquered Azov in 1696.<sup>1</sup> His next attack was on Sweden.

**The Alliance against Sweden.** — Fortunately for Russia, at least so it appeared, the King of Sweden died in the year 1697, leaving his crown to a fifteen-year-old boy, Charles XII. Thinking that such a boy could be easily overpowered, Peter, who was then an ambitious young man of twenty-five, lent a willing ear to the plan of his neighbor, Augustus II, the

<sup>1</sup> Later, when Peter was fighting against Sweden, the Turks attacked him and regained possession of Azov (1711). Thereafter the town exchanged hands several times; it was finally secured by Russia in 1774.



ruler of Saxony and Poland,<sup>1</sup> for the division of the Swedish possessions. After long negotiations, these two monarchs formed an alliance, including Denmark as a third member, with the aim of wresting various provinces from Sweden.

*Charles XII of Sweden and the Great Northern War, 1699-1721.* — Young Charles XII, however, boy though he might be, was no coward. His mind was filled with the military deeds of Alexander the Great and of the valorous Vikings.



KING CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN

He had studied military science and was eager to surpass the exploits of ancient heroes. In his steely blue eyes, in his high, narrow forehead, and in his thin, cold face, a student of character might have read the signs of keen intelligence combined with tremendous determination and energy.

Charles XII was not the person to sit still while his lands were invaded. No sooner had the Allies begun their assault (1699) than he

landed an army — and unlike Louis XIV, Charles invariably commanded his army in person — a few miles from Copenhagen, the Danish capital. Taken by surprise, the Danish King hastily made peace and agreed to pay a large indemnity.

From Denmark, Charles sailed to Latvia, on the eastern coast of the Baltic, and there led his eight thousand men in a rapid march over boggy roads to attack and annihilate a much larger Russian army at Narva. Then he turned southward and boldly carried the war right into the heart of Poland with such success that he was able to capture Warsaw and Cracow and set up a new King of Poland.

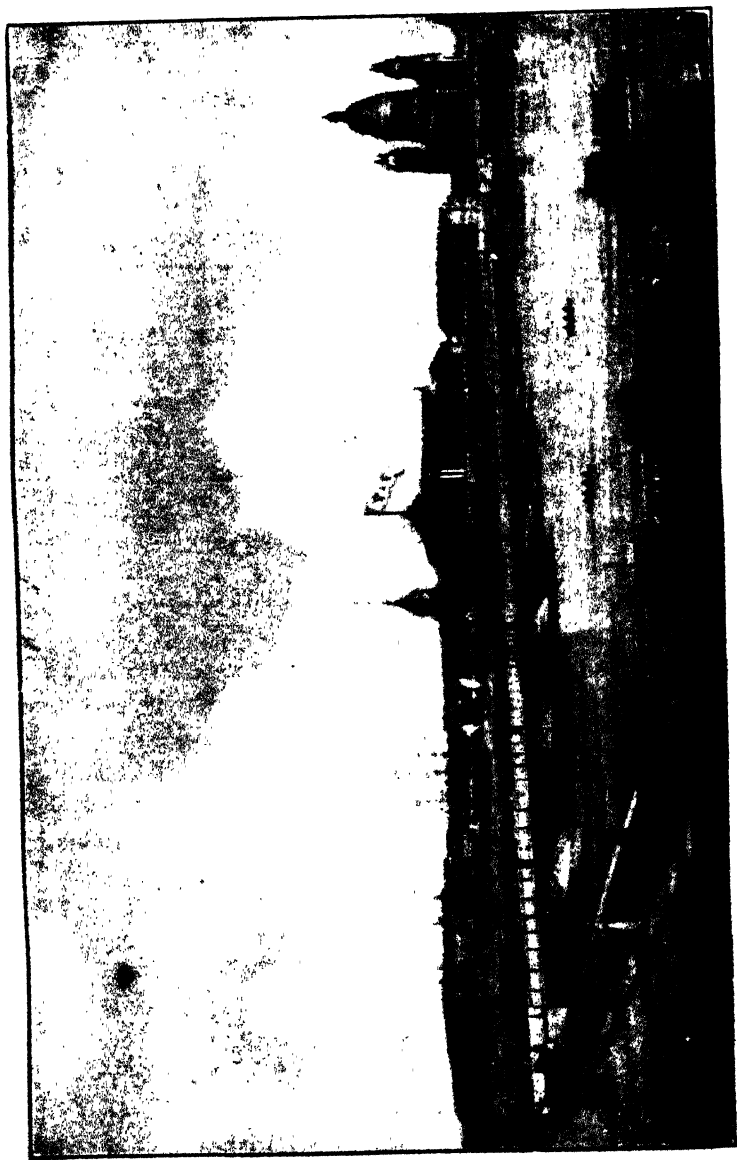
<sup>1</sup> Augustus II was Elector of Saxony and King of Poland.

These were amazing victories for a young man to achieve between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two. It was quite natural that Charles should become more ambitious to win military renown, and quite unwilling to make peace on reasonable terms. It was also natural that he should become increasingly indifferent to the horrors of warfare. He ordered his officers in the conquered countries to slay, burn, and destroy ruthlessly. "Rather let the innocent suffer than the guilty escape," became a favorite adage of the young conqueror.

When Charles turned to administer a final blow to Russia, his audacity went too far. With an army of about 50,000 men he marched hundreds of miles into the interior. The Russians retreated before him, leaving a barren and desolate country for him to traverse. Food and supplies ran short. His soldiers froze during the terrible winter months. "Nevertheless," said one of the men who went with him on the campaign, "though earth, sea, and sky were against us, the King's orders had to be obeyed and the daily march was made." Instead of besieging Moscow, Charles turned southward, hoping to join forces with some rebellious Cossacks. Instead, he met the army of Peter the Great at Poltava in southern Russia. Vastly superior in numbers and better equipped with artillery, the Russian host literally annihilated the Swedish army, and Charles XII fled across the frontier into Turkey, with a handful of horsemen.

Never to be discouraged, the adventurous Swedish King next stirred up the Turks to attack Russia, but with little profit. After five years in Turkey, he suddenly reappeared with but a single attendant, at a port owned by Sweden on the southern coast of the Baltic. Still no thought of an inglorious peace entered his mind. With a new army he continued the war. It was while invading Norway that Charles XII, recklessly exposing himself to the enemy bullets, was shot through the head and killed (1718).

*Sweden's Losses.* — Soon afterwards, in 1721, Sweden made peace. Augustus II was restored to his Polish throne;



**PETROGRAD**  
(From an old engraving.)

Denmark received Holstein; Prussia, having come into the war in time to assist at the finish, annexed part of Swedish Pomerania, on the southern shore of the Baltic; Hanover gained some Swedish territory at the mouths of the Elbe and Weser rivers.

*Russia's Gains.* — For Russia, the treaty of Nystad (1721) at the close of the Great Northern War against Sweden marked the realization of Peter the Great's cherished dream. To Russia Sweden ceded a large area on the eastern coast of the Baltic, including Esthonia and Latvia, together with a narrow strip of southern Finland. Peter had indeed opened a "window" to the west, and a generous one. After a solemn thanksgiving service for the conclusion of a victorious peace, Peter had himself proclaimed on October 22, 1721, "Father of the Fatherland, Peter the Great, and Emperor of All Russia."

**Petrograd.** — Even before his conquest had been formally recognized, Peter had begun to erect a new city on the Neva River, at the head of the Gulf of Finland, in one of the provinces wrested from Sweden. The site he selected was marshy and unhealthful, but the Tsar did not hesitate on that account. Thousands of his subjects were moved thither at his command, and workmen were compelled to erect a city on foundations of piles. Thousands died untimely deaths while engaged in the task, but the city of St. Petersburg (Petrograd) stands there to-day as a lasting monument to the ability and autocracy of the Tsar who opened a "window" to the west and made Russia a Great Power.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Do you think Louis XIV imitated Peter the Great's autocratic methods, or vice versa? Compare their dates.
2. How has geography influenced Russia's development?
3. To what other nations are the Russians kin? What is the general name for all these nations?
4. What was the religion of the Russians? Did it tend to draw them closer to the peoples of western Europe?

5. Who were the Tatars? The Cossacks?
6. What was "Muscovy," and how was it transformed into "Russia"?
7. Who first assumed the title of "Tsar"? Who was the first Romanov Tsar, and how was he chosen? To what family did Peter the Great belong?
8. What was Peter's life-long ambition? How did he prepare himself to realize his ambition?
9. What military reforms did Peter introduce into Russia?
10. In what respect did Peter "Europeanize" the Russians? What else might he have done?
11. What measures did Peter take to establish autocracy in Russia?
12. What was the condition of the Russian peasants under Peter the Great?
13. What "windows" for Russia did Peter seek? At whose expense?
14. Who was Charles XII, and what did he attempt? Was he finally successful?
15. What did Peter secure from the Great Northern War?
16. Locate Latvia, Esthonia, Finland, and Petrograd.
17. What is a "Great Power"?
18. What do you think you would have done had you been born in Peter's place?
19. Has Peter's work proved to be permanent? Look up a present-day map of Russia and see whether Peter's "windows" are still open.

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Russia before Peter the Great.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 21-22, 303-369; WAKEMAN, *Ascendancy of France*, 298-301; SCHUYLER, *Peter the Great*, I, 1-8.

**Peter's personality and character.** WAKEMAN, *Ascendancy of France*, 301-303; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 57-61; WALISZEWSKI, *Peter the Great*, 103-119.

**Peter's travels.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 57-61; BAIN, *The First Romanovs*, 126-230; RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, II, 27-39; WALISZEWSKI, *Peter the Great*, ch. ii; SCHUYLER, *Peter the Great*, I, chs. xxix-xxvii.

**Peter's reforms.** JOHNSON, *Age of the Enlightened Despot*, 99-105; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 61-63; RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, II, ch. iii; SCHUYLER, *Peter the Great*, I, ch. xxv; II, chs. lvii, lxxii, lxxiii; WALISZEWSKI, *Peter the Great*, 478-491.

**Peter and the Church.** RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, II, 92-94; SCHUYLER, *Peter the Great*, II, ch. lxxiv.

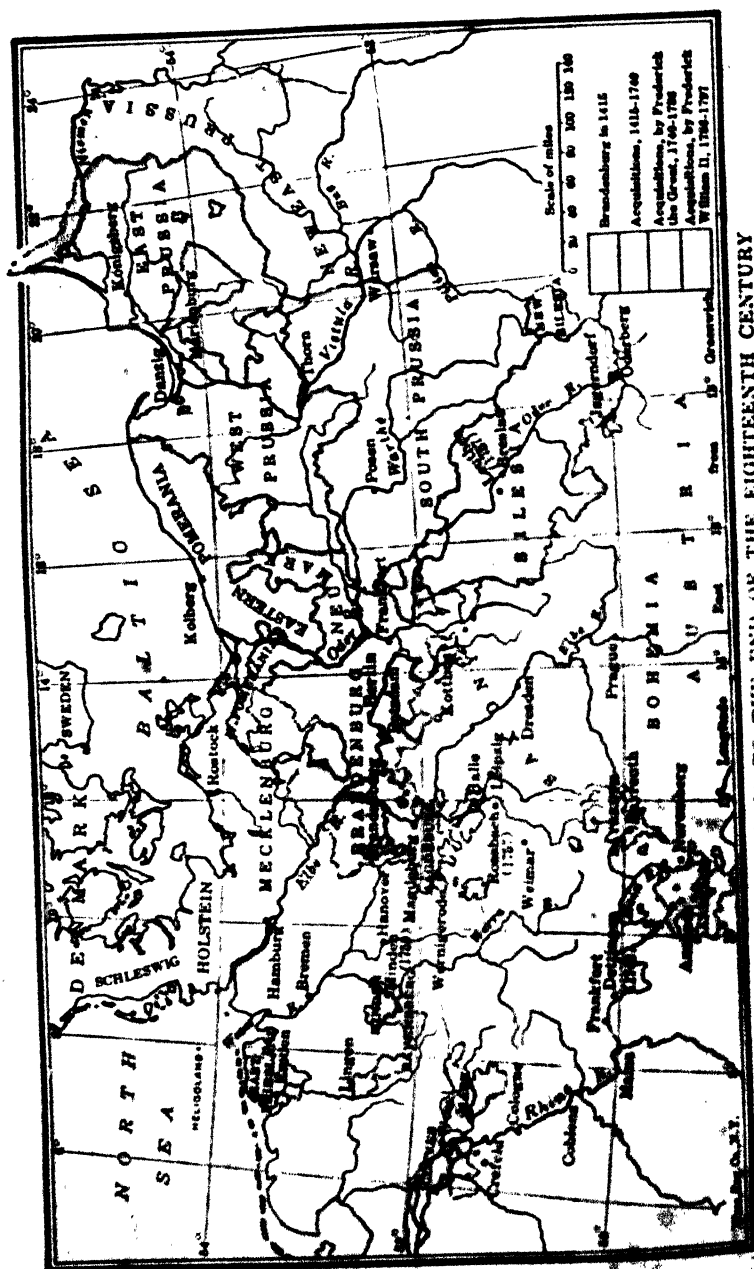
**The founding of Petrograd.** RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, II, 101-105; WALISZEWSKI, *Peter the Great*, 405-412; SCHUYLER, *Peter the Great*, II, ch. xlvi.

## ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYER, *Modern Europe*, I, 369-379; VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 301-312; BAIN, *Slavonic Europe*, 285-327; *Cambridge Modern History*, V, chs. xvi, xvii, xix; WALISZEWSKI, *Peter the Great*; JOHNSON, *Age of the Enlightened Despot*.

## HISTORICAL FICTION

TAYLOR, *On the Red Staircase*; WHISHAW, *The Lion Cub*.



GROWTH OF PRUSSIA TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## CHAPTER VIII

### FREDERICK THE GREAT PLAYS THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOT

#### AUTOCRACY DEVELOPS IN PRUSSIA

Autocracy was the common form of the governments of Europe in the eighteenth century. We have seen how it reached its height in the old national monarchy of France under Louis XIV. We have likewise seen how it was copied and applied by Peter the Great in the newly rising national monarchy of Russia. We might go on, if space permitted, to see how it developed and flourished in Spain, Austria, Sweden, and universally all over the Continent of Europe. We shall content ourselves with studying the rise of autocracy in one of these states — the German state of Prussia.

**Prussia and Other States in Germany.** — Prussia was not a national state, as was France or Russia. It did not embrace all German-speaking peoples, and originally at least not all its inhabitants were Germans. Hundreds of other states existed in Germany, several of which — for example, Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony — were older and for a long time more influential than Prussia. All German states (and some non-German states, like Czechoslovakia) constituted a loose confederation known as the Holy Roman Empire, of which the successive rulers (archdukes) of Austria, members of the Habsburg family, were usually Emperors. But since 1648 each of the several hundred states into which the Holy Roman Empire was divided, had been treated practically as independent and sovereign, and in this way each of the larger states was free to struggle for supremacy within Germany and for rank in Europe as a Great Power. The German



State whose rise and struggles were the most spectacular and significant was Prussia.

**Origin of Prussia: the Teutonic Knights.** — Originally Prussia was not even a German-speaking country. In the Middle Ages it was a narrow strip of territory lying between Poland and the Baltic Sea, peopled mainly by Slavs akin to the Russians and Poles. Hither came a German religious order (the Teutonic Knights) who converted the natives to Catholic Christianity and induced their own fellow countrymen to emigrate to Prussia, where they settled as landlords and traders. The natives learned the German language and gradually adopted the customs of their missionary conquerors. For many years the Teutonic Knights, through their Grand Master, governed all Prussia politically as well as ecclesiastically. At length, however, in the fifteenth century the Kings of Poland conquered the Teutonic Knights in battle and forced them to surrender West Prussia (the half of the country occupying the valley of the Vistula River and including the port of Danzig). Thereafter West Prussia was a part of Poland, while East Prussia (the part centering in the city of Königsberg) remained in the hands of the Teutonic Knights as a fief (or dependency) of the Kingdom of Poland.

**The Hohenzollern Dukes of Prussia.** — Early in the sixteenth century a German nobleman by the name of Albert of Hohenzollern was elected Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights and thus became ruler of East Prussia and vassal of the King of Poland. Shortly afterwards, this Albert, affected by the teachings of Martin Luther, renounced his Catholic religion, became a Lutheran Protestant, and prevailed upon most of his fellow-knights and subjects to do likewise. Albert himself assumed the title of Duke, which he made hereditary in his family, and by seizure of church property he assured financial independence and great political power to his successors.

**The Hohenzollern Electors of Brandenburg.** — In 1618 the direct line of Albert's descendants died out, and the duchy

of East Prussia was inherited by another branch of the Hohenzollern family, who were Electors of Brandenburg. Brandenburg was a German state lying between the Elbe and Oder rivers and centering in the town of Berlin. It had originally been founded by the Holy Roman Emperors as a frontier bulwark against Slavic encroachments from the East, and its traditions were naturally military and warlike. Its administration had been formally handed over to the Hohenzollern family in 1417. Since that time the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg, like their relations in Prussia, had turned Protestant and enriched themselves and their nobles by appropriation of church property.

**Rise of Autocracy in Brandenburg.** — The substitution of the Elector for the Pope as head of the church in Brandenburg and the accompanying introduction of Roman law, with its emphasis on central authority and on central administration, were steps in the growth of Hohenzollern autocracy. Simultaneously the towns declined in population and independence and the peasants lapsed into servitude, while the great landlords — or "Junkers,"<sup>1</sup> as they were called in Germany — were enriched and drawn closely to the Elector by the favors conferred upon them. In 1604 a Council of State was established, which strengthened the Elector's authority and paved the way for thoroughly autocratic government.

**The Great Elector Frederick William, 1640-1688.** — The reign of the Great Elector Frederick William, which coincided with the first half of the reign of Louis XIV of France, was especially noteworthy. This Frederick William was at once Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of (East) Prussia. As Elector of Brandenburg he was a vassal of the Holy Roman Emperor, and as Duke of Prussia he was a vassal of the King of Poland. However, by participation in the German civil war, known as the 'Thirty Years' War, he made himself independent of the Emperor in fact, though not in name, and added to Brandenburg the important cities of Magdeburg

<sup>1</sup> "Junker" is pronounced as though it were spelled "Yunker."

and Minden and the eastern half of Pomerania (a region situated between Brandenburg and the Baltic Sea); and by adroit participation in a war between Sweden and Poland, he won from the latter the recognition of his complete and absolute sovereignty in East Prussia. He also secured the duchy of Cleves, in western Germany, — the first of his country's possessions in the valley of the Rhine. Thus the Great Elector's state comprised three major but disjointed blocks of territory, East Prussia, Brandenburg, and Cleves. It was already a Power to be reckoned with in European wars. Among the German states it was now inferior to Austria alone, and was regarded as the head of German Protestantism, while the fact that one-third of its territory (East Prussia) lay outside the Holy Roman Empire and was free of even nominal vassalage, added to its prestige. For its internal government the Great Elector was a firm believer in autocracy. When he came to the throne he found Brandenburg a constitutional state, in which laws were made jointly by the Elector and a Parliament (Diet). By means similar to those employed by the Bourbon Kings in France in the seventeenth century, he changed all this, so that at his death he left Brandenburg-Prussia-Cleves to his successors substantially an absolute and divine-right monarchy.

**Creation of the "Kingdom" of Prussia, 1701.** — In 1701 the Great Elector's son and successor was crowned at Königsberg as *King* in Prussia. Henceforth the expression "Kingdom of Prussia" was popularly applied to all the lands ruled by the Hohenzollerns, — Brandenburg, Cleves, etc., as well as East Prussia. In 1720 the King of Prussia wrested from Sweden a further extension of Pomerania, including the valuable port of Stettin at the mouth of the Oder River; and for a number of years the process of strengthening Prussian autocracy went steadily on. By 1740 everything was in readiness for the exercise of absolute government and for the territorial expansion of Prussia on a large scale. In that year there came to the Prussian throne the greatest Hohen-

zollern King in history — Frederick II, called Frederick the Great. It was three hundred and twenty-five years since an ancestor of his had first become Elector of Brandenburg and one hundred and twenty-two years since another ancestor had inherited East Prussia; it was scarcely forty years since his own grandfather had assumed the title of King. For two centuries the family had been Protestant.

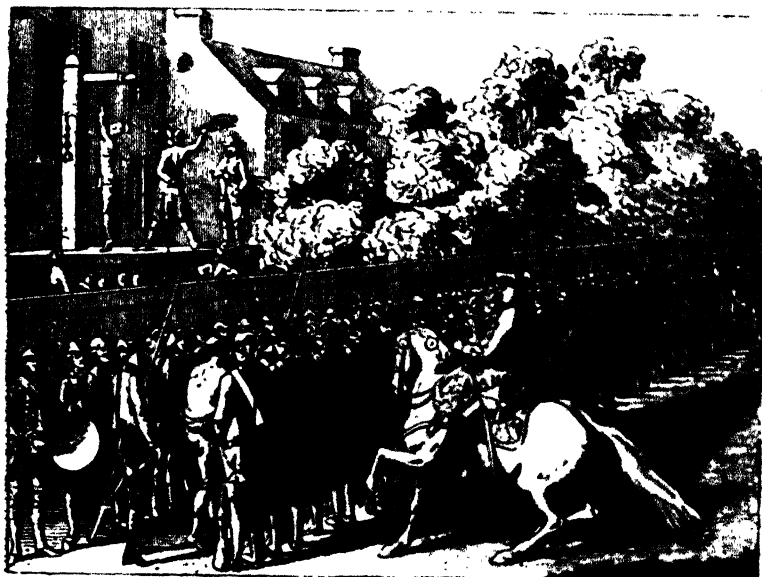
PRUSSIA BECOMES AN AUTOCRATIC GREAT POWER

**Traditions of Hohenzollern Autocracy.** — When Frederick the Great came to the throne in 1740, he fell heir to certain traditions which his Hohenzollern predecessors had developed in Prussia — traditions which he strengthened and which he handed on to his successors as guiding principles of Prussian government throughout the nineteenth century. These traditions were fourfold.

(1) *Militarism.* — Prussia was a *military* state. By reason of its scattered and disjointed territories and by reason of the ambition of its rulers, Prussia maintained, in relation to its area and numbers, a larger standing army than any other country in the world. Though ranking in 1740 only twelfth among European states in extent and population, it was already fourth in military power. Its standing army of 85,000 men absorbed five-sevenths of the country's revenue. No distinction was made between military and civil funds; and the entire financial management of the State was assigned to a "general director of finance and war" appointed by the King. The King himself took great interest and chief delight in the superintendence of his army, in which the discipline was of the strictest. It was primarily for military purposes that elementary education had been made compulsory in Prussia. A little education, it was believed, would make better soldiers.

(2) *Bureaucracy.* — Prussia was a *bureaucratic* state. Representative, or constitutional, government disappeared in Prussia before the rising autocracy of the Hohenzollern sovereigns. At the same time the sovereigns could not con-

duct all the business of the State themselves — they had to depend upon a host of ministers and lieutenants. Accordingly, the administration of the realm was carried on by a large number of officials appointed by the King — the Prussian civil service, or bureaucracy — whose acts were carefully supervised by the King himself. In fact, the Prussian King displayed in all departments of government the habits of a



PUNISHMENT IN THE PRUSSIAN ARMY

military martinet. There was much "red tape" about the bureaucracy, but on the whole it was pretty efficient and it developed the spirit of loyalty.

(3) *Influence of Junkers or Landlords.* — Prussia was a *Junker State*, — that is, a State primarily of the nobles, by the nobles, and for the nobles. In East Prussia, in Brandenburg, and in Pomerania, titled landlords had increased their wealth enormously in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through the favor of the sovereigns. They had been

permitted to appropriate much property of the Catholic Church and to take land away from the peasants and reduce the latter to serfdom. For these favors the nobles were naturally grateful to the Hohenzollerns. Besides, noblemen or sons of noblemen occupied the chief positions in the army, in the civil service, and in the Protestant State Church, and by means of the strict discipline enforced by the King in these instruments of his authority, they became quite subservient and loyal to his royal will. Prussia was already a country of landlords, or Junkers, and every Junker deemed it the highest honor to serve his King in the army, the next highest honor to serve his King in the civil bureaucracy, and the third highest honor to serve his King in the Protestant Church.

(4) *Royal Benevolence.* — Prussia was a *paternal State*. To the foregoing attributes of Prussian monarchy should be added the tradition, slowly evolved, of a kindly and fatherly interest on the part of the Hohenzollern Kings in all their subjects. The predecessors of Frederick the Great saw to it that justice was meted out harshly but evenly, and that the agricultural and industrial welfare of the country was fostered.

**Frederick the Great, 1740-1786.** — Frederick the Great was twenty-eight years of age when he became King of Prussia in 1740. He was fair-haired and with blue eyes of wonderful brilliancy. In stature he was short, measuring not more than five feet five. In his youth he had been thought effeminate because he showed a taste for music, poetry, and dancing, and had been rigidly disciplined by his stern father. Now at his accession to the throne, he was possessed of three dominant qualities — a vaulting ambition for fame and glory through war and conquest, a conscientious thoroughness in attending to details of governmental business, and a lively appreciation of the culture and learning of his age.

**Frederick's Ambition for Prussia: his Rivalry with Maria Theresa of Austria.** — It was the "desire to make a name" which led Frederick, in the very year of his accession, to attack Austria. He had at hand a large and well-drilled army and

a full treasury, which his father had left him; against him was an inexperienced young woman, Maria Theresa, who had recently inherited the Habsburg dominions of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Silesia, Belgium, etc., and who was



FREDERICK THE GREAT

encountering serious difficulty in commanding the united loyalty of all these various regions. Frederick trumped up a very dubious claim to the rich and populous German province of Silesia (the upper valley of the Oder River, including the city of Breslau) and without formal declaration of war quickly seized it by force. Maria Theresa was not the person to submit tamely to being robbed of the province which she considered the "fairest jewel in her crown." A

woman of extraordinary will-power and personal magnetism, she scornfully refused Frederick's offer of compromise and sent Austrian armies to oust the Prussian King from Silesia.

*The War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), and Prussian Acquisition of Silesia.* — Frederick's Silesian expedition soon broadened out into a general European war, known in history as the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). The French King and several German princes allied themselves with Frederick in a common scheme to dismember the Habsburg monarchy, while the English and Dutch (through commercial and colonial rivalry with the French) gave active support to Maria Theresa. Maria Theresa was able to hold Frederick's allies in check but not to drive the Prussian King

from Silesia. At length in 1745 she consented to cede the disputed province to him, and he promptly left his allies in the lurch and withdrew from further active participation in the war. "Happy are they," wrote Frederick, "who, having secured their own safety, can tranquilly look upon the embarrassment and anxiety of others." For three years more the "anxiety of others" continued, with much suffering and bloodshed, until finally in 1748 was concluded the general peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, whereby France gained nothing and Prussia was confirmed in possession of Silesia. Thus, by a foul attack upon Austria and by a cynical betrayal of his own allies, Frederick enlarged the area of Prussia by a third and secured for himself the popular designation of "the Great."

**International Coalition against Prussia.** — Throughout Europe, however, Frederick the Great was not so popular as in Prussia. Maria Theresa detested him and set her heart upon a "war of revenge" for the recovery of Silesia. With this end in view, she sought to increase the revenues and armaments of Austria and to obtain strong allies. The French could not forgive Frederick for deserting them in 1745; they were now prepared to make common cause with their hereditary enemies, the Austrian Habsburgs. Then, too, Frederick's habit of making witty and sarcastic remarks about famous women of his time did not endear him to his victims. The Tsarina Elizabeth of Russia had reason, on this score, to hate him especially, and she hated him so much that she was eager and anxious to join Maria Theresa in the "war of revenge." A similar motive impelled Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of King Louis XV of France, to urge her royal master to unite with Maria Theresa. By 1756 Austria, Russia, and France, together with Sweden and several minor German states, were allied against Frederick the Great and planning to attack him and to partition Prussia.

**The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.** — Frederick did not await the onset of his numerous enemies. Before they were quite ready, he rushed a Prussian army into Saxony and



proceeded to administer this German state as a Prussian province, appropriating its revenues and enrolling its citizens in his own army. Thence he invaded Czechoslovakia and laid siege to Prague. The greatest war of the eighteenth century — the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) — had begun.

The odds appeared overwhelming against Frederick the Great. Austrian armies, somewhat larger than his own, invaded Silesia, while nearly 100,000 Russians advanced into East Prussia, some 20,000 Swedes entered Pomerania, and 100,000 French soldiers crossed the Rhine and menaced him from the south. Nevertheless, certain factors aided Frederick. He was a greater and more resourceful general than any of his foes. He exercised a single authority over his own forces, which contrasted favorably with the jealousies and divided counsels among his miscellaneous enemies. He enjoyed, moreover, an immense popularity with the German people, if not with their princes. And last but not least he was supplied for several years with valuable financial assistance from England.

*Frederick Aided by England.* — The English, in the eighteenth century, were the commercial and colonial rivals of the French, and if France was on one side of an international conflict, England was normally on the other side. Thus it happened that as France was drawn into an alliance with Maria Theresa, England under the astute leadership of William Pitt (Earl of Chatham) proceeded to subsidize Frederick the Great. In this way England paid for Frederick's war with the French on the Continent of Europe, while she herself appropriated French colonies in America and in India.

*Military Exploits of Frederick.* — Aided by English gold, by the loyalty of his German troops, and most of all by his own genius of generalship, Frederick the Great in 1757 first defeated the French in a brilliant battle at Rossbach, in central Germany, and then overwhelmed the Austrians at Leuthen, in Silesia. Meanwhile, however, the Russians were occupying East Prussia and extending their conquest

westwards. At one time, in 1760, the Russians held Berlin, and the Austrians and French put forth renewed efforts to bring Frederick to terms. It was a life-and-death struggle, and the losses in men and treasure, on both sides, were staggering. Late in 1761, England, having fully served her own ends by the capture of the bulk of the French colonial empire, abandoned Frederick (as he had abandoned his allies in the earlier war) and left him facing almost certain defeat and disaster. From such a fate he was saved just in the nick of time by the death of his old implacable enemy, the Tsarina Elizabeth, and by the accession to the Russian throne of a youthful Tsar who had always cherished an insane admiration for Frederick and who now arbitrarily deserted Maria Theresa. The Seven Years' War, was ended where it had begun, as a duel between Austria and Prussia.



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

By the treaty of Hubertusburg (1763), Prussia was again confirmed in the possession of Silesia. Maria Theresa's "war of revenge" had proved a failure.

*Significance of the Seven Years' War.* — The Seven Years' War was a landmark in modern history. It cost a million lives and loaded every State in Europe, save Prussia, with a national debt which has not yet been paid off. It lost France her colonial empire and opened the path to the French Revolution. It debased Austria and prepared the way for the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. Two States it mightily exalted: England, on the high seas and in dominions

beyond the seas; Prussia, as the foremost military Power on the Continent of Europe. Frederick the Great became a national German hero, and his portrait was hung in the huts of peasants all over the land. In a colossal struggle, he had succeeded in defeating, not merely Austria, with four times the territory and six times the population, but simultaneously the might of Russia and France combined.

**Beginning of Close Friendship between Prussia and Russia.** — From the Seven Years' War dated the close friendly ties between Prussia and Russia which were maintained with few interruptions during the next century. Russia was the country whose participation in the Seven Years' War had caused the Prussian King the gravest alarm, and thenceforth it became a cardinal point in the foreign policy of Frederick the Great and his Hohenzollern successors to cultivate most cordial relations with the Russian Tsars



CATHERINE THE GREAT

and Tsarinas. The two countries were admirably fitted to work together. Both were autocracies, recently risen to the position of Great Powers. Both were militaristic and bureaucratic. In both, the noble landlords constituted the most influential social class. Both were ambitious for territorial expansion.

*Catherine the Great of Russia, 1762-1796.* — The insane Tsar who in the critical year of 1762 had transferred his armies

from the side of Austria to that of Prussia and had thereby saved Frederick the Great from disaster, ~~was~~ was assassinated

in the same year, but his wife and successor, the Tsarina Catherine II, looked with favor upon Frederick's overtures for a continuation of the Russo-Prussian alliance. This Catherine II was a German woman by birth, coarse, unscrupulous, and highly immoral in her private life, but she was devoted to the country of her adoption and proved herself so capable that she has gone down in history as Catherine the Great.

*Russo-Prussian Interest in Poland.* — Just as Peter the Great in the first quarter of the eighteenth century devoted his chief foreign efforts to humbling and despoiling Sweden, so Catherine the Great in the second half of the eighteenth century sought Russian expansion at the expense of Poland. In this course she was encouraged by Frederick the Great, who perceived advantages to Prussia as well as to Russia in a partition of Poland. His own province of East Prussia was still separated geographically from the rest of his territories by the Polish province of West Prussia.

**Poland in the Eighteenth Century.** — Poland, at the close of the Seven Years' War, was an extensive country. It embraced the cities of Warsaw, Posen, Cracow, and Lemberg — all of present-day Poland — together with Danzig, Lithuania, and large parts of Latvia and Ukraina. Its dominant social class was a proud and patriotic landed nobility, but unlike Prussia and Russia its religion was Catholic and its political institutions had not developed in the direction of autocracy. The kingship was elective, not hereditary; and a parliament (or Diet), representing the nobles and the townsfolk, made laws, elected and controlled the King, and jealously safeguarded the liberties and privileges of the nobles. So far did the regard for noble privileges go, that it was recognized as a principle of the Polish Constitution that unanimous (rather than majority) consent was required for the parliament to enact a law. This principle, called the liberum veto, though absolutely opposed to autocracy, was not much like our present-day democracy; rather, it was anarchy. It



AN ASSEMBLY FOR THE ELECTION OF A KING OF POLAND  
(From an old engraving )

12. Contrast Catherine the Great with Maria Theresa, as regards character, policies, and achievements. Who was the better ruler?

13. How and why was Poland "partitioned"? On whom would you place the blame for the destruction of Poland's independence?

14. How did Frederick the Great reflect the intellectual spirit of his age? In what ways did he show himself to be an "enlightened" despot? Describe his economic, judicial, and religious reforms.

15. Who was John Locke, and what were his "enlightened" ideas?

16. Who was Voltaire? What "enlightened" ideas did he strive to promote? What were his relations with Frederick the Great?

17. In what other countries, besides Prussia, were there "enlightened" despots in the eighteenth century?

18. What were the chief achievements of enlightened despotism? Its weaknesses? Why has it been abandoned?

19. How much of Frederick the Great's work was undone by the Great War of 1914? Look at the map showing his conquests and compare it with the map of Europe to-day, so that you can see whether any of his conquests have been lost.

20. A few years ago Silesia was a bone of contention between Germany and Poland. Can you find out why nowadays the quarrel over this bit of territory is between Germany and Poland, rather than between Germany and Austria?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Early history of the Hohenzollern family.** YOUNG, *Frederick the Great*, ch. i; REDDAWAY, *Frederick the Great*, ch. i; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 1-43.

**The Great Elector.** HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 9-29 (esp. 22-24); WAKEMAN, *Ascendancy of France*, 176-184, 292-297; YOUNG, *Frederick the Great*, 13-18, ch. ii; REDDAWAY, *Frederick the Great*, 8-17.

**Frederick William I.** HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 87-104.

**Youth of Frederick the Great.** YOUNG, *Frederick the Great*, 19-42, chs. iii-iv; REDDAWAY, *Frederick the Great*, 24-55; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 111-122.

**Frederick the Great as an Enlightened Despot.** REDDAWAY, *Frederick the Great*, 309-321; YOUNG, *Frederick the Great*, 368-379, 412-417; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 193-204.

**Maria Theresa.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 444-445; LINGELBACH, *Austria-Hungary*, 239-250; BRIGHT, *Maria Theresa*.

**William Pitt.** MACAULAY, *Essay on William Pitt, the Earl of Chatham* (about 50 pages); FREDERIC HARRISON, *Chatham*, 75-118.

**Catherine the Great.** RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, II, ch. x; BAIN, *Slavonic Europe*, 409-434.

**Voltaire.** HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 188-192; YOUNG, *Frederick the Great*, 144-169; JOHN MORLEY, *Voltaire*, 329-336.

**Joseph II.** JOHNSON, *Age of the Enlightened Despot*, 227-243; LINGELBACH, *Austria-Hungary*, 264-276; HASSALL, *Balance of Power*, 351-359, 388.

**Partition of Poland.** PHILLIPS, *Poland*, 58-88; JOHNSON, *Age of the Enlightened Despot*, 207-213; YOUNG, *Frederick the Great*, 380-400; BAIN, *Slavonic Europe*, 391-408; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 204-212.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 342-363, 379-388, 406-426, 440-448; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, ch. v; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 64-73, 80-81, 82-89; CARLYLE, *History of Frederick the Second, called Frederick the Great*, LONGMAN, *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War*; *Cambridge Modern History*, VI, chs. xii, xviii-xx, xxii.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

HUBERT RENDEL, *Under which King*; HENTY, *With Frederick the Great*; SIENKIEWICZ, *With Fire and Sword*.

## CHAPTER IX

### AUTOCRACY AND MERCANTILISM CAUSE A WORLD CONFLICT

#### HOW COLONIES BECAME STAKES OF WAR

While autocratic monarchs such as Louis XIV, Peter the Great, and Frederick II were recklessly staking the lives and fortunes of the people in wars of conquest in Europe, a series of colonial and naval wars was being waged in far-distant lands and waters. These colonial and naval wars were more important than the others, because upon their outcome depended the mastery of the world-encircling seas, the fate of vast colonial empires, commercial greatness, and — indirectly — the very existence of autocracy. In order to understand the importance of this world-conflict, which reached its climax in the eighteenth century, it is necessary to explain how and why colonies became bones of contention for autocrats.

**Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Empires in the Sixteenth Century.** — When the rulers of Portugal and Spain, in the fifteenth century, sent out explorers to sail uncharted seas, they hoped to open up new routes to Asia, but they actually discovered new and unknown lands — America, the southern part of Africa, and the East Indies. To these new lands Portugal and Spain promptly laid claim, as they said, "by right of discovery." Portugal regarded the East Indies, India, Africa, and Brazil as her rightful share, since they had been discovered by Portuguese exploring expeditions. Spain, for her part, carved out a huge colonial empire including South America (except Brazil), Central America, Mexico, the West Indies, and the Philippine Islands.

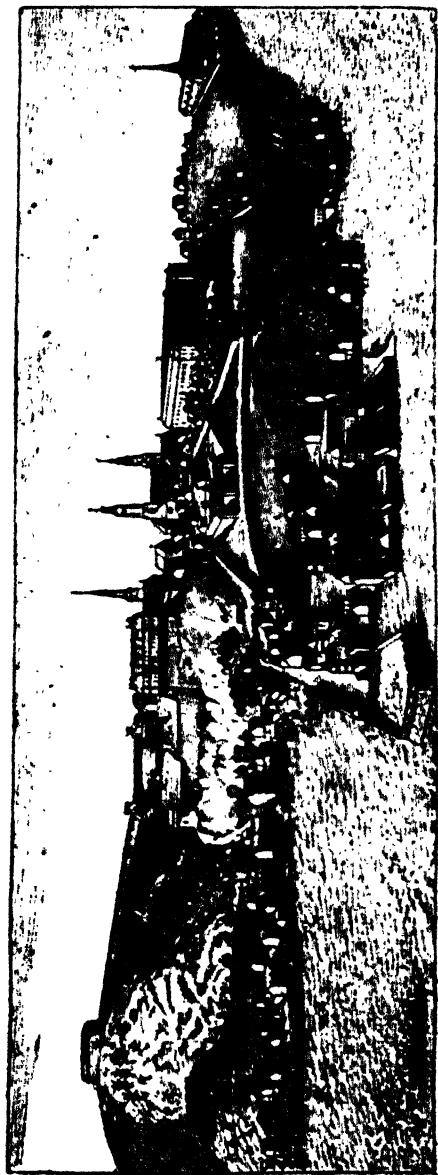


**Beginnings of Colonial Empires of Holland, France and England.** — For a time, the other nations permitted Spain and Portugal to monopolize the newly discovered countries. The English King sent out several exploring expeditions, and so did the King of France, but neither made any serious attempt to poach on the preserves of Spain and Portugal in the sixteenth century. Early in the seventeenth century, however, England and France began to plant colonies in North America, regardless of Spain's claims. About the same time, Holland<sup>1</sup> ousted Portugal from Africa, India, the East Indies, and Brazil.<sup>2</sup> In short, the seventeenth century found five National States — Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and England — engaged as rivals in the acquisition of overseas colonies. The rivalry was rarely friendly. Often it led to war. In fact, there began at the close of the seventeenth century a series of colonial wars, which lasted throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century, and upon which the destinies of whole continents depended.

**Why Colonies were Valued.** — Why the nations of western Europe were so eager to acquire colonies remains to be explained. There were several reasons. One was the desire of ambitious rulers and patriotic statesmen to gain more territory, just for the sake of ruling over larger dominions. Another reason — at least in some cases — was religion; a pious monarch might consider it a privilege and a duty to bring heathen lands under Christian rule. Moreover, when one king saw his neighbors helping themselves to colonial empires, he naturally felt an impulse to follow their example and get as much as possible for himself. But by far the most important reason was the belief of kings and statesmen that the possession of colonies would increase

<sup>1</sup> Holland (or more accurately the Dutch Netherlands) was formerly a possession of the King of Spain, but revolted in the sixteenth century and became independent. See pp. 53-54, 114, 133.

<sup>2</sup> Brazil was settled by the Portuguese, taken by the Dutch, and later recovered by the Portuguese (in 1662). The Dutch, however, retained the adjoining province of Guiana.



QUEBEC, ABOUT THE YEAR 1700

At this time Quebec was under French rule. It was captured by the English in 1759. (See page 239.)

the wealth and power of the mother-country. This belief was part and parcel of a general idea or policy called "mercantilism." What mercantilism was, the following section will explain.

#### THE NATIONAL STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE ADOPT MERCANTILISM

**Mercantilism a Policy of Economic Regulation.** — Mercantilism was a policy of regulating economic affairs, especially trade and industry. The idea that trade and industry ought to be regulated was not at all new. Back in the Middle Ages, the guilds exercised the power of regulation. Little by little, the supreme authority of autocratic kings reached out to take control of the guilds. Then, in the sixteenth century, Portugal and Spain applied the principle of strict royal control to their colonies and endeavored to monopolize the trade of the colonies for their own exclusive benefit. Spain drew fabulous treasures of gold and silver from her American colonies, so it was believed. Portugal, as every one knew, brought from her East Indian colonies rich cargoes of spices and sold them at a profit to less fortunate nations. Other nations feared that they would grow poorer, while Spain and Portugal would gain more and more wealth, thanks to these sources of profit. Consequently, it seemed necessary to take energetic steps to prevent such a calamity. Each national ruler therefore adopted the policy that seemed most likely to preserve and increase the wealth of his own nation. In almost all countries, the same policy was adopted, during the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. This policy is called mercantilism.

**Chief Features of Mercantilism.** — Mercantilism rested upon a set of principles or ideas which were regarded as axiomatic truths, although some of them are rejected by economists nowadays. These principles were:

(1) *Nationalism.* — Each National State was regarded as a unit. Statesmen were thinking of the wealth and power of the nation as a whole, rather than of individual citizens.

In other words, mercantilism was the economic expression of the growing spirit of nationalism.

(2) *Importance of Bullion.* — In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, people usually measured a country's wealth by its supply of bullion (gold and silver). Hence, each country desired to obtain as much gold and silver as possible. Spain and France even prohibited the sending of gold and silver to other countries, but were not very successful in enforcing the prohibition.

(3) *Favorable Balance of Trade.* — The supply of gold and silver in the country could be increased easily by acquiring colonies where there were rich mines of the precious metals. Spain had such colonies in Mexico and Peru. But for nations which did not possess mines, the best way of acquiring wealth was to maintain a "favorable balance of trade." As an English writer<sup>1</sup> said, "The means to increase our wealth and treasure is by Forraign Trade, wherein wee must ever observe this rule: to sell more to strangers than we consume of theirs in value." In practice, this meant that a country should export a large amount of goods, preferably expensive manufactures, and import only such raw materials and other commodities as could not be produced at home. Thus we find an English law of Queen Elizabeth forbidding the importation of knives, rapiers, daggers, lockets, saddles, harness, stirrups, bits, gloves, and a number of other articles, because they could be made in England.

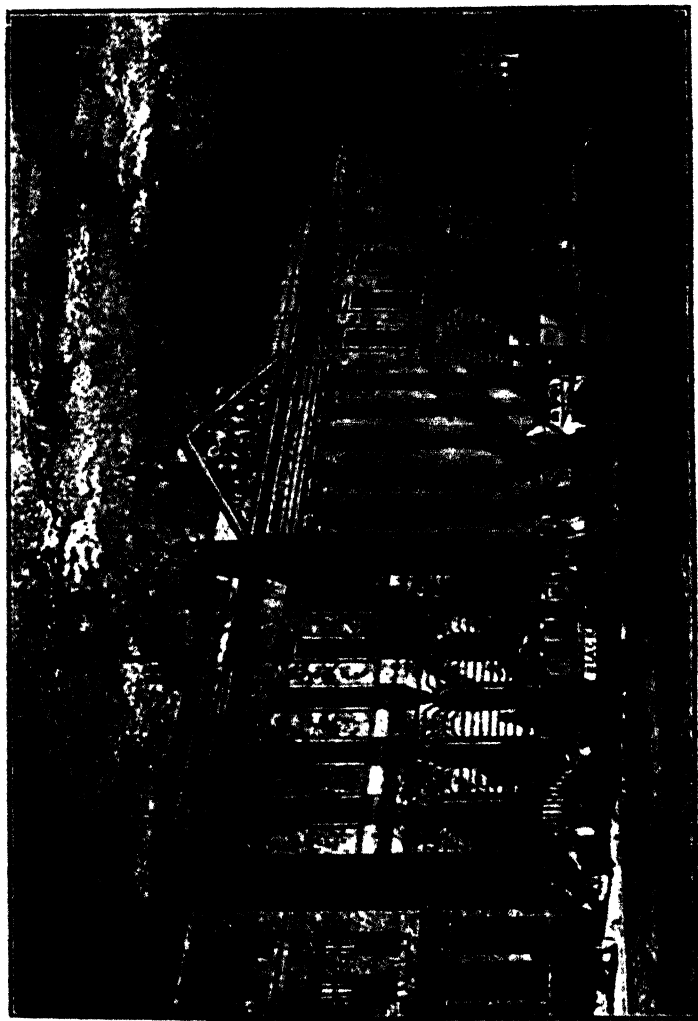
(4) *Encouragement of Manufactures.* — Hand in hand with the theory of the balance of trade went the idea of fostering home-industries, in order that the nation might have plenty of manufactures to export. For this purpose the government often gave special encouragement to new branches of industry and granted "bounties" (subsidies or premiums) to aid manufacturers and exporters of certain articles. On the other hand, it forbade the exportation of raw materials for the use of foreign competitors. For instance, the English gov-

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Mun.

ernment tried to prevent the sending of raw wool or of undyed woolen cloth to the Netherlands. Moreover, the government frequently enforced elaborate rules as to the quality of manufactured articles, so that the products of the country might win a reputation for excellence and be eagerly sought after by foreign purchasers. The regulations of Colbert,<sup>1</sup> the famous Minister of Louis XIV in the seventeenth century, were celebrated for the thoroughness with which they dealt with the processes of manufacture. Similar standards were enforced in other countries but not always so systematically. Furthermore, home industries were favored by means of protective tariffs or even by the prohibition of certain imports, as we have already seen. According to a list of English tariff rates compiled in the middle of the seventeenth century, more than eleven hundred articles were subject to import taxes or prohibitions.

(5) *Desire for Colonies.* — The particular feature of mercantilism which provided the economic motive for numerous wars in the eighteenth century was the desire for colonies. Colonies fitted in beautifully with mercantilist theories. The Spanish colonies, with their gold and silver mines, were considered particularly valuable. So also were the East Indies (owned by Portugal at first, and later by Holland), whence came spices worth almost their weight in gold. Even colonies which had neither metals nor spices to offer could at least provide the mother-country with a cheap supply of raw materials, timber and tar for ship-building, and food-products, thus making her less dependent on foreign countries. Then, too, the savages in the colonies, as well as the white colonists, would buy manufactured goods, and the manufacturers in the mother-country would enrich themselves by selling such goods to the colonies. As each nation strove, more or less systematically, to monopolize the trade of its own colonies, it is easy to see why colonial possessions became one of the chief stakes of war and diplomacy.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 163-164.



(From an old engraving)

### THE EAST INDIA HOUSE IN LONDON

This was the London headquarters of the English East India Company (see page 65).

(6) *Emphasis on Sea-Power.* — Finally, naval power was considered extremely important for the protection of colonies and trade, as well as for attacks on the colonies, commerce, and coasts of other nations. Consequently, each country of western Europe had a fairly large fleet of regular warships — wooden sailing-vessels armed with cannon. In addition, each government specially fostered ship-building, fishing, and the shipping business, because these branches of activity would make it easier to equip a large fleet in time of war. In those days merchant vessels could easily be used as warships if necessary. For example, the English fleet which preserved England's independence in the year 1588 by defeating the great Spanish Armada was largely composed of private vessels rather than of royal warships. It is no wonder that an English writer called the merchant-marine "the greatest jewel" of the realm, or that mercantilist statesmen like Colbert fostered ship-building.

#### THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY DEFEATS THE FRENCH AUTOCRACY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL SUPREMACY

**Mercantilism an Outgrowth of Autocracy.** — The mercantilist policies which have just been explained were originally adopted by more or less autocratic national monarchs. They were an outgrowth of autocracy. By means of mercantilism each king sought to promote the wealth of his own country in order that his own revenues (from taxes on commerce, etc.) might be increased and his own power strengthened. Spain and France were the two great examples of autocratic mercantilism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for in both countries mercantilism was the policy of autocratic sovereigns. Each had extensive colonial dominions, a formidable navy, and a valuable colonial and foreign trade.

**Mercantilism Retained by Two Non-Autocratic Countries.** — England and Holland, however, were examples of a different kind of mercantilism. Holland was a federal state with a semi-republican form of government, controlled by the bour

geoisie and the aristocracy.<sup>1</sup> England had been practically an absolute monarchy when she first began to acquire colonies in the sixteenth century; in fact, England was launched upon her career as a colonial and maritime power by absolute monarchs. But in the seventeenth century the English autocracy was converted into a limited monarchy, by two revolutions;<sup>2</sup> and the English government fell into the hands of aristocratic noblemen and wealthy merchants. The English revolutions were so important that we shall devote an entire chapter to them, when we tell the story of the rise of democracy. Just now, however, we need only to bear in mind that England became an aristocratic state like Holland.



A WEALTHY LONDON MERCHANT  
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The aristocratic governments of England and Holland continued to practise the mercantilist policies that autocratic rulers had invented. In fact, aristocrats were even more successful mercantilists than autocrats. Many of the noblemen and merchants who formed the governing classes in

<sup>1</sup> Such had been the situation in Holland (that is, in the United or Dutch Netherlands) since the overthrow of Spanish authority in 1581. The executive power of the Dutch Republic, in the seventeenth century, was vested most of the time in a Prince of the House of Orange, styled a "stadholder." In the eighteenth century this office was rendered hereditary and Holland became practically a limited monarchy.

<sup>2</sup> These revolutions, which marked the overthrow of autocracy in England, are discussed in Chapter X.



England and Holland had direct personal interests, as investors, in the success of their country's colonial and commercial enterprises. Because they had personal interests, they were more zealous and more consistent than an autocratic monarch would have been in seeking to increase their trade and their colonial empires.

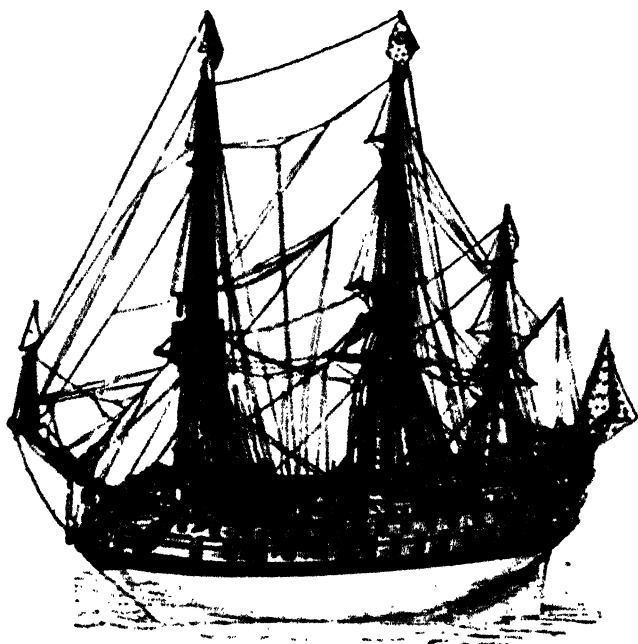
**England and Holland Allied.** — England and Holland, although they were bitter rivals and enemies in the middle of the seventeenth century, were brought together by a marriage and a revolution. The head of the Dutch government, Prince William of Orange, married an English princess, and thus became the son-in-law of King James II of England. It so happened that in 1688 the English aristocrats overthrew King James and invited Prince William and his wife to become sovereigns of England. In this way, the two rival nations were bound closely together. In the colonial wars of later years, they fought shoulder to shoulder against the autocratic King of France, and, later, against Spain. The two mercantilist aristocracies were arrayed against the two great mercantilist autocracies. In the long run, the aristocracies triumphed, and autocracy received a blow from which it never recovered. Although certain features of the conflict are familiar to every one who has studied American history, the broader aspects of this world-contest need to be emphasized.

**French Interest Divided.** — To France, the naval and colonial wars against England and Holland were merely "side-shows" connected with the more grandiose military conflicts in which Louis XIV and Louis XV engaged with their neighbors on the Continent of Europe. Between the years 1689 and 1763 there were four such wars: the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697), the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713), the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).<sup>1</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> These wars have been mentioned, so far as their Continental aspects are concerned, in Chapters VI and VIII.

each case, the French King was so deeply interested in obtaining territory in Europe and humbling his neighbors that he paid comparatively little attention to what was happening on the high seas or across the ocean. And in each case England was to be found in the ranks of the Powers opposed to France, usually taking a small part in the military campaigns on the Continent, but sending warships and troops to attack the French colonies.

**Naval Aspect of the War of the League of Augsburg.** — It was in the third of his ambitious wars of European conquest



THE "LOUIS XIV"

One of the Grand Monarch's warships.

that Louis XIV of France found himself opposed by England for the first time. So confident, however, was he in the might of his matchless army and the prowess of his navy<sup>1</sup> that he

<sup>1</sup> At this time he had almost 400,000 soldiers and 60,000 sailors.

entered the combat single-handed against Austria, Holland, Sweden, Spain, and several minor enemies, in addition to England. At the outset, his optimism seemed to be justified. While his armies were holding their own on the Continent, his battle-fleet defeated a combined force of English and Dutch warships in the English Channel. So much English merchant shipping was captured or destroyed that the more timid of English traders took to sailing under false colors in order to escape the French "privateers" or commerce raiders. Privateering, that is to say, sending out private ships to prey upon the enemy's commerce, was a very important feature in this as in the following wars, and it was practised by the English as well as by the French.

*French Sea-Power Weakened.* — For a time it was feared in London that Louis XIV would use a great fleet, like the Armada sent out by Spain a century earlier, to land an invading army in England. Once again nature came to Britain's aid, just as in 1588, when a storm had helped defeat the Spanish Armada. Part of the French fleet was scattered by a gale; then, with less than fifty ships, the French admiral was gallant, or foolhardy, enough to attack an Anglo-Dutch array of twice the size, and the results were what might have been expected. After this disaster, Louis XIV allowed his enemies to sail the high seas unmolested. He was spending too much money on military campaigns to spare the funds needed to repair the losses his navy had suffered.

*The War in America.* — Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, a colonial war was being fought in North America. The conflict was described by the English colonists as King William's War, because William III was then reigning. The French colony of Acadia (Nova Scotia) was conquered by a naval expedition from Boston, and the French, on the other hand, stirred up Indian tribes to attack New England towns.

*Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.* — As far as the colonies were concerned, it was an indecisive war. By the Treaty of

Ryswick (1697) France recovered Acadia and also regained Pondicherry, a French trading post in India, which had been taken by the Dutch. French sea power, however, could not be restored so easily.

**War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713.** — The peace was in reality nothing more than a truce. Less than five years elapsed before France was again at war with the coalition of Great Britain, Holland, Austria, and other States. This time, however, Spain was her ally, for Louis XIV had placed his grandson on the throne of Spain. Indeed, the principal issue to be decided was whether Spain, with her rich colonial empire, should be allowed to fall into the grasping hands of the Bourbon dynasty. A united Franco-Spanish empire, or even an alliance between the two countries, would be too powerful both on land and on sea for the comfort of other nations. Besides, the Spanish colonies in America would probably be thrown open to French trade, while other foreign merchants would continue to be barred out. That such fears were not imaginary, was proved when a French company was granted the exclusive right to sell negro slaves to Spanish America. The English were firmly resolved to prevent Spain's possessions from becoming the property of the French.

*Queen Anne's War in America.* — In America the War of the Spanish Succession was known as Queen Anne's War. It was almost a duplicate of the first colonial conflict. Once more the redskin allies of the French burned Yankee towns, while the English again conquered Acadia.

*England's Superior Sea-Power.* — England was now clearly superior to her enemy in sea-power, since Louis XIV with all his enormous military expenditures could not afford to fit up a strong battle-fleet. Consequently, the English were able to plunder the French West Indies, seize Spanish treasure ships homeward bound from America, and capture from Spain the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean and the commanding fortress of Gibraltar.

*Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.* — When peace was concluded at Utrecht in 1713, Louis XIV succeeded in maintaining his grandson's right to the Spanish throne. England, however, did not come out of the war empty-handed. (1) This time, the French colony of Acadia remained in English possession; it was henceforth known as Nova Scotia. (2) France recognized England's claims to Newfoundland and the territory around Hudson Bay.<sup>1</sup> (3) From Spain England received Minorca and the exceedingly valuable naval base of Gibraltar. (4) Finally, England obtained a contract (known as the "Asiento") to supply the Spanish colonies in America with 4800 African negro slaves a year, for thirty years, and also to send one shipload of merchandise annually to be sold in Spanish America.

This last-mentioned concession afforded an opportunity not only for a considerable amount of legitimate trade, but also for a great deal of smuggling. The one ship sent each year to Spanish America carried a heavier load of goods than the contract allowed, and additional merchandise was secretly brought to it in small boats from the English colony of Jamaica to replace what was sold, so that the "one ship" appeared to have the marvelous faculty of never becoming empty.

**Speculation in England: The South Sea Bubble.** — The right of trading with Spanish America and the islands in the Pacific was granted by the British government to a stock company, "the South Sea Company," with remarkable results. The speculators who controlled the South Sea Company were not content with the profits to be gained by commerce. They arranged to pay, with shares of the company's stock, the entire national debt of Great Britain, amounting to over a quarter of a billion dollars. The interest which the government would pay the company on the national debt could then be used to pay dividends on the company's stock. Hoping to make fabulous fortunes by sharing in the profits

<sup>1</sup> Also to the small island of St. Kitts or St. Christopher, in the West Indies.

of the company's financial jugglery, people rushed to buy stock and the price of shares soared to dizzy heights. Seeing the success of this venture, unscrupulous or foolhardy financiers floated new joint-stock companies by the score, promising to pay enormous dividends on every imaginable sort of enterprise, from paving streets to making perpetual motion machines. Hundreds of millions of dollars were sunk by harebrained investors in glittering get-rich-quick schemes. There could be only one result. In a few months many of the frauds were exposed. A panic struck the stock market in the year 1720, and along with other bubbles the "South Sea Bubble" burst. Men who had bought shares at £1000 apiece were glad to sell for £135.

**Speculation in France: John Law.** — Almost exactly the same thing happened in France. A Scottish gambler and speculator by the name of John Law persuaded the French Government that he had a "system" whereby the huge debt<sup>1</sup> piled up by Louis XIV could be paid off and the monarchy saved from bankruptcy. With the government's backing, he started a royal bank and floated a stock company to monopolize French colonial trade. At the same time he sought to pay the royal debt by issuing shares of stock in exchange for the promissory notes which the government had given its creditors. As in England, there was a mad scramble to buy shares, and then came a panic which left French investors sadder but wiser -- and poorer.

The English South Sea Bubble and John Law's "Company for the Indies" have been mentioned partly because they show how far capitalism had developed by the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and partly because they reveal the financial interests involved in the eighteenth-century struggle for colonies and commerce. Merchants, noblemen, government officials, cabinet ministers, even monarchs themselves, had economic stakes as well as patriotic pride in the dominions overseas.

<sup>1</sup> Three billion livres, equivalent to about six hundred million dollars.

**War of the Austrian Succession.** — After a long breathing-spell of thirty-one years,<sup>1</sup> France and Great Britain resumed their struggle in 1744, during the War of the Austrian Succession. Great Britain and Holland took the part of Austria, while France supported Frederick the Great of Prussia.<sup>2</sup> Poorly equipped and badly neglected as it was, the French navy received orders to prepare for a grand invasion of England. The expedition, however, never started, nor did France seriously challenge her enemy's sea-power. In America,<sup>3</sup> the British colonists, with the assistance of British war-ships, captured the French fortress of Louisburg (at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence), whence the French had been sending out privateers to prey on British commerce. To balance this loss, the French took possession of Madras, an important British post in India. Both places were returned to their former owners by the peace treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

#### FRENCH AUTOCRACY MEETS DEFEAT

**The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.** — The decisive combat was still to come. And it came with the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). In Europe, the struggle was really a continuation of an old quarrel between Frederick the Great of Prussia and Maria Theresa of Austria.<sup>4</sup> Curiously enough, in this conflict France fought side by side with her former enemy, Austria, and with Russia, Sweden, and Saxony, whereas Great Britain, always to be looked for on the opposite side, was the ally of Prussia. So acute had their rivalry

<sup>1</sup> Before war broke out between France and England there was an unimportant conflict, "The War of Jenkins' Ear," between England and Spain, in which the British made assaults on Spanish colonies but effected no permanent conquests.

<sup>2</sup> The European aspects of the war have been described in Chapter VIII, pp. 204-205.

<sup>3</sup> In America the war was called "King George's War" (1744-1748).

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter VIII, pp. 205-208.



NORTH AMERICA IN 1780



become, that France and England drew the sword in America and in India and on the seas two years before war was declared in Europe.

*The French and Indian War in America.* -- In America, the conflict was called the "French and Indian War." It began in 1754, when the French captured a fort which English colonists had built on the spot where the city of Pittsburgh now stands. England replied by sending General Braddock with 3000 regular soldiers from the mother-country to recapture the place. Braddock's troops, unfortunately for them, were used to European battle-fields, and when they were assailed in the midst of a colonial forest by unseen French and Indian sharpshooters, and heard the blood-curdling war-whoops of the savages, they broke into terror-stricken flight, leaving behind them a thousand dead and wounded. During the same year, an army from Massachusetts took possession of certain disputed districts in Nova Scotia and from that region ruthlessly transported 7000 French settlers to the British colonies; it is this episode which Longfellow has immortalized in his poem "Evangeline."

The following years witnessed campaigns in America on a scale far surpassing anything in previous colonial wars. The French now had about 60,000 colonists (and various friendly Indian tribes) to draw on; the British, almost 2,000,000 colonists besides reinforcements from across the ocean. Amazing as it may seem at first sight, the French, though vastly outnumbered, were so superior in military organization and energy that at first they were able to carry the war into the enemy's country.

In 1757, however, one of the ablest of all British statesmen, the famous William Pitt (Earl of Chatham), became head of the British cabinet<sup>1</sup> and aroused his countrymen both at home and in the colonies to put forth a supreme effort. Soon British regular and colonial armies were on their way to cap-

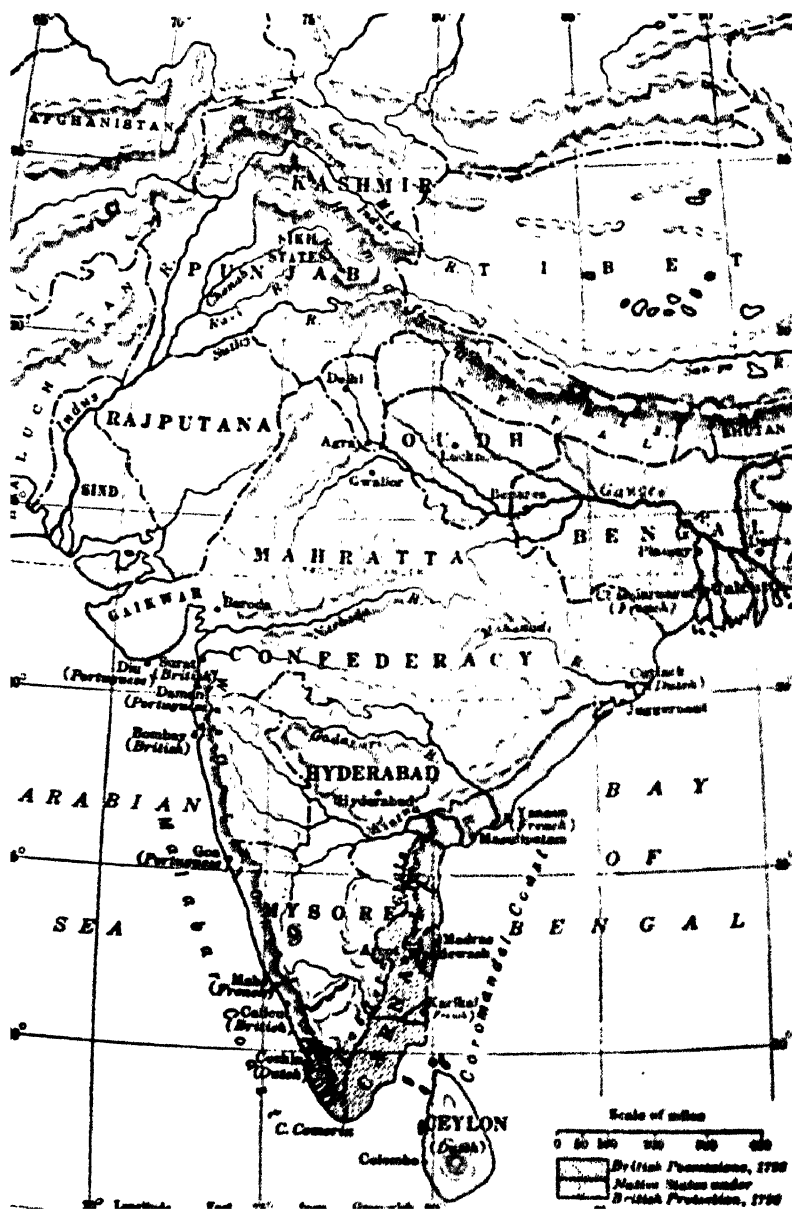
<sup>1</sup> Pitt was not prime minister in name, but he decided the policies of the government. Newcastle was nominally premier.

ture the French forts of Louisburg, Duquesne (renamed Fort Pitt, from which comes the name Pittsburgh), Niagara, and Ticonderoga. British warships conveyed General Wolfe with 7000 men up the St. Lawrence to assail the proud citadel of Quebec. This was indeed a difficult enterprise, because the heights on which the frowning fortress stood were held by a large garrison. Only by leading his men, under cover of darkness, up a steep bank to the plateau behind the city and then defeating the surprised defenders in a pitched battle, did Wolfe succeed in carrying the fortress. Thrice wounded, he lived just long enough to hear the shout "They run," and to be informed that it was not his own troops but the enemy who ran. After Wolfe's victory at Quebec (1759), the conquest of Montreal and other French strongholds in America was comparatively easy.



GENERAL WOLFE

**The Contest in India.** -- In the meantime, the French and English East India companies had been engaged in quite a different type of contest in India. Unlike North America, India was a very densely populated and, in an oriental way, a highly civilized tropical country, where colonization was out of the question. The few Europeans who entered India came not as settlers but as merchants, satisfied to establish trading posts along the coast, with warehouses for goods and sometimes also with forts for defense. England, France, Holland, and Portugal all had such posts.



INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

*Dupleix.* — Toward the middle of the eighteenth century the power of the native Emperor of India weakened, and the empire fell into such a state of anarchy, with local princes asserting their independence and quarreling with one another, that an ambitious official of the French East India Company saw an opportunity for something more than trade. Taking on the airs of an oriental sovereign, this man, Dupleix by name, raised an army of "Sepoys" or native soldiers, and began to interfere in the affairs of the native rulers. Soon he succeeded by skillful diplomacy in putting on the thrones of two important states upstart princes who would do his will, with the result that through them he could control most of southern India. Thanks to Dupleix, France seemed in a fair way to acquire political mastery of the great empire.

*Robert Clive.* — More than a match for Dupleix at the crafty game of setting up puppet princes was Robert Clive, a young Englishman who had been sent out to India as a clerk but who turned out to be an empire-builder. In the year 1751, with a mere handful of soldiers, this youth audaciously marched into the capital of one of the states which had fallen under French control, and there he held out against a large native army until with the help of reinforcements the British could overthrow the pro-French ruler and set up a protégé of their own. England thus gained control of the region called the Carnatic. Dupleix went home in disgrace.



ROBERT CLIVE

After a vacation of two years in England, Clive returned to India in 1756 only to discover that an English trading post at Calcutta, in the delta of the Ganges River, had been seized by the hot-tempered young Indian "nawab," or viceroy, of Bengal. Worse still, this same nawab had crowded 146 Englishmen into a small and ill-ventilated dungeon to die of suffocation on a hot and sultry night. Only 23 survived to tell the tale of that fearful experience. Clive promptly recaptured Calcutta, appropriated a near-by French trading post, and defeated the trouble-making nawab in the famous battle of Plassey (1757), though the nawab's army outnumbered his own by twenty to one. It was then an easy matter to depose the nawab, set up a more friendly prince to rule Bengal in his stead, and extort from the new nawab a generous "indemnity." Clive saw to it, also, that his own pockets were well filled. Against the French posts to the southward he next sent his victorious troops. Before the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Great Britain had taken the French forts in India.

**Sea-Power.** — Had there been a powerful French navy sailing the high seas, the historian might have quite another story to tell. The French fleet, however, which Louis XV was planning to send across the Channel against England, was badly defeated and partly destroyed in Quiberon Bay, on the coast of France, by a larger English fleet (1759). During the later years of the war, the superior British navy swept French commerce from the seas, while one by one the French colonies were being mastered. Though French and Spanish privateers destroyed or captured one out of every ten British merchant vessels, Britain's merchant marine gained much more than it lost, and the foundations of British commercial supremacy were firmly laid.

**Spain in the War.** — Too late to be of real help, Spain came to the aid of France in 1761. England could have asked nothing better. British naval expeditions speedily took possession of Cuba and the Philippine Islands, to use as pawns at the peace conference.

**Peace of Paris, 1763.** — At last France and Spain made peace with Great Britain, leaving their respective allies, Austria and Prussia, to come to terms separately. The treaty of Paris (1763) left France with only a few pitiful fragments of the broad colonial domains that had once been hers. A few small islands in the New World, a foothold on the African coast, and half a dozen trading posts in India were all that remained.<sup>1</sup> To her rival, Great Britain, was given the entire St. Lawrence Valley ("New France" or Canada), together with the whole region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. Western "Louisiana," that is, the western half of the Mississippi Valley, was ceded by France to Spain as compensation for Florida, which Spain had to yield to Great Britain. In India, though the French returned to their former trading posts, it was as peaceful merchants, powerless to oppose the growing strength of their rivals. In short, Great Britain was not only mistress of the seas but the greatest of all colonial Powers.

**Indirect Effects of the Colonial Conflict.** — Three indirect effects of England's victory were of the utmost importance:

(1) The principle of autocratic government was discredited and weakened, to a certain extent, by the fact that the two greatest autocratic colonial nations, France and Spain, were unable to defend their colonial empires against the mercantilist aristocracy of England.

(2) The French government was left in an exhausted and practically bankrupt condition. As Chapter XII will show, the bankruptcy of the French King led to a great revolution in France, in 1789, and thus helped to prepare the way for the ultimate downfall of autocracy.

(3) The Seven Years' War led to quarrels between England and her American colonies. The defeat of the French in

<sup>1</sup> France retained Martinique and Guadeloupe in the West Indies, St. Pierre and Miquelon off the Newfoundland coast, Gorée in Africa (Senegal being annexed by Great Britain), French Guiana in South America, and several trading stations in India.

America gave the English colonists a feeling of greater strength and security, and made them less timid about opposing their mother-country. Moreover, the English government after the Seven Years' War attempted to enforce the mercantilist system of commercial regulations on colonial trade more strictly than before, much to the displeasure of the colonists. The result was the American Revolution of 1776.

Like the French Revolution, the American War of Independence was of world-wide significance as a step away from autocracy and toward democracy. In the following chapters we shall deal with these revolutions in more detail. In this connection they are mentioned only for the purpose of showing how mercantilism, which had originally grown out of autocracy, not only caused a series of wars for colonial supremacy, but in the long run helped to undermine autocracy.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What were the first colonizing and commercial nations of modern Europe?
2. When did the Dutch, French, and English become colonizing nations?
3. Why were colonies valued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
4. What was "mercantilism"? On what principle did it rest? How widely was it adopted? What was its connection with sea-power?
5. Was mercantilism an outgrowth of autocracy or of democracy? Could it be reconciled with limited monarchy? What social classes were most benefited by mercantilism?
6. How did aristocracies become allied against autocracies in the commercial and colonial conflicts?
7. Make a list of the chief wars waged in Europe from 1689 to 1763, and discuss the naval and colonial aspects of each.
8. Indicate on a sketch-map the colonial boundaries of European Powers in North America in 1689. In 1713. In 1763.
9. What did England gain by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713)? By the Treaty of Paris (1763)?
10. How did colonial speculation lead to financial panics in England and France?
11. What was the "French and Indian War"? With what war on the continent of Europe was it identified?

## AGE OF AUTOCRAC

12. Who were Montcalm and Wolfe?
13. In what respects did India differ from American colonization and commerce?
14. Contrast the work of Dupleix in India with
15. What part did Spain play in the Seven Years'
16. Discuss the effects of the Seven Years' France. On the English colonies in America.
17. Some people have said that England built up by taking colonies from other countries. Make a list of colonies acquired by England up to 1763 and see where they were originally colonized by the English or taken from.
18. Are the Philippine Islands valuable to us as the colonies were valuable to European Powers? Were there still the same motives for gaining colonies?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Motives for colonization.** BEARD, *English History*; MERCANTILISM. TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*; VAN LOON, *Story of Mankind*, 317-322; DAY, *History*, 172.

**Colonizing and trading companies.** TICKNER, *History*, 352-355, 384-385; CHEYNEY, *European History*; SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S exploits. BEARD, *English History*.

**The Armada and English sea-power.** TICKNER, *History*, 398-403; CROSS, *History of England*, 392.

**Beginnings of the English colonies in America.** TICKNER, *and Social History*, 372-387; ELSON, *History of the Colonies*; BOLTON AND MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*; BEARD, *Readings*, I, 121-125.

**The French in America.** ELSON, *History of the Colonies*; MUZZEY, *American History*, 70-77; BOLTON AND MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, ch. iv; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *History of France*; FRANCIS PARKMAN, *Count Frontenac and New France*; COLBERT and the French colonies. ABBOTT, *History of France*, 73-81.

**The siege of Quebec.** ELSON, *History of the Colonies*; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 128-130; BEARD, *History*, 452-465; PARKMAN, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, chs. 1-4.

**The English in India.** TICKNER, *Industrial and Social History*, 448-452; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 90-91; ELSON, *History of England*, 720-721, 734-735, 808-809; ROBERTS, *History of India*, ch. ix.

**Dupleix.** MALLESON, *Dupleix*, esp. 35-40.



**Clive.** CHEYNEY, *Short History*, sections 509-514; MACAULAY, *Essay on Lord Clive*; ROBERTS, *Historical Geography of India*, ch. xi; MALLESON, *Lord Clive*.

**The battle of Plassey.** MALLESON, *Lord Clive*, 90-106.

**Settlement of Australia.** ROGERS, *Australasia*, 44-48; SCOTT, *Short History of Australia*.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, ch. ix; BOLTON AND MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, esp. ch. xx; ELSON, *History of the United States*, chs. viii-ix; MUZZEY, *American History*, ch. iii; EDGAR, *The Struggle for a Continent*; FISKE, *New France and New England*; POLLARD, *History of England*, ch. vi; FRANCIS PARKMAN, *Pioneers of France in the New World*; *The Jesuits in North America*; *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*; *The Old Regime in Canada*; *Count Frontenac and New France*; *A Half Century of Conflict: Montcalm and Wolfe*; J. T. ADAMS, *Founding of New England*.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

COOPER, *The Deerslayer*; *The Last of the Mohicans*; PARKER, *The Seats of the Mighty*; LONGFELLOW, *Evangeline*.

## PART III

### THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS

#### INTRODUCTION

In order to explain why people nowadays no longer believe in divine-right autocracy, and why civilized nations have adopted the particular forms of democracy that they have, we must turn back to the series of great revolutions which heralded the end of the age of autocracy.

The Dutch Revolution against Spain in the sixteenth century was one of the first important blows struck against the divine right of kings, but its consequences were not so far-reaching as those of the other revolutions and therefore we shall not need to devote special attention to it.<sup>1</sup>

More important were the four great revolutions that followed: the two successive revolutions in England during the seventeenth century; the American Revolution of 1776; and the French Revolution of 1789. All four have been referred to in the preceding chapters. They are now to be taken up in detail in the next four chapters, so that we may trace the

<sup>1</sup>In the sixteenth century the Netherlands (which then included Belgium as well as Holland) belonged to the King of Spain. Most of the Dutch people, who lived in the northern part of the Netherlands, adopted Calvin's religious teachings and became Protestants. As Protestants they had religious grievances against the King of Spain, for he was a Catholic. Moreover, burdensome taxes, commercial restrictions, and despotic government provided economic and political reasons for rebellion. The Dutch declared their independence in 1581 and established a federal government with a president (Stadtholder) and a congress (Estates-General) at its head. Their independence was formally recognized by Spain in 1648. The southern part of the Netherlands, that is, the region now called Belgium, remained under Spanish (Habsburg) rule.

weakening of autocracy, the development of democratic ideas, and the gradual formation of democratic institutions. We shall begin with the two English revolutions; next we shall observe how America took up the struggle for liberty; and then, returning to the Old World, we shall see how the epoch-making revolt of the French people spread the principles of freedom like glowing firebrands throughout the Continent of Europe.

Finally, in Chapter Fourteen, we shall turn our attention to a revolution which was accomplished not with bullets or bayonets, but with cotton and iron and steam. This was the Industrial Revolution. It was more gradual and less spectacular than the other revolutions. It began in England before the time of the American Revolution; it continued during the period of the French Revolution and during the early part of the nineteenth century. In fact, it never really came to a definite end. Though no glorious battle, no "shot that was heard round the world," no gallant deed of arms, occurred in this revolution, nevertheless it deserves to be classed with the others, because it helped to hasten the dawn of democracy. It did even more. It changed the everyday life of the common people, first in England, then in all civilized countries. Chiefly to it we owe our railways, steamships, factories, machines, mines, big cities, furnaces, skyscrapers, apartment houses, steel warships, trade unions, cheap newspapers, rapid postal service, multimillionaires, agricultural machinery — to mention at random only a few of its effects. In combination with the other revolutions, it was one of the principal factors in making the world what it is to-day.

## CHAPTER X

### AUTOCRACY IS OVERTHROWN IN ENGLAND

#### WHY THE ENGLISH PURITANS REBELLED AGAINST AUTOCRACY

**Special Significance of the English Revolution.** — The English Revolutions of the seventeenth century were especially significant. England's example affected the rest of the world so powerfully and so permanently that even to this day the political institutions of dozens of nations, from Europe to America and far Japan, are deeply rooted in the history of seventeenth-century England.

**Reasons for the English Revolution.** — Several facts should be borne in mind as reasons why a revolution occurred in England in the seventeenth century:

(1) England's autocratic Kings did *not have large royal armies*. Thanks to her insular position, England did not need large military forces for defense. If the English King Charles I had commanded an army like that of the French King Louis XIV, he might never have lost his crown or his head.

(2) The Kings who ruled England during the first part of the seventeenth century *were lacking in ability*. James I (1603-1625), the first of the Stuart dynasty in England, was so undignified and awkward in appearance, so cowardly in face of peril, that people were merely amused or irritated when he claimed to possess absolute, autocratic authority by a "divine right." His son, Charles I (1625-1649), was more kingly in appearance and more manly in character, but he made the mistake of telling the public that he was an autocratic sovereign. A wiser man would have wielded absolute power and said nothing about it.

(3) Moreover, there were *religious reasons* for popular dislike of the Stuart Kings. During the sixteenth century large numbers of middle-class Englishmen had adopted Calvinistic doctrines.<sup>1</sup> Because they desired a "purer" (that is, simpler and less ritualistic) form of worship, these people are usually called *Puritans*. There were three kinds of Puritans. (a) Some wished to reform the Anglican Church from the inside, by doing away with ceremonies, altars, statues, crucifixes, paintings, and stained-glass windows. (b) A second group of Puritans wished to abolish the Anglican system of bishops and archbishops, and establish instead the Presbyterian form of church-organization. These were the Presbyterians. (c) The third group consisted of Independents or Separatists, who desired to separate from the Anglican Church and form independent, self-governing congregations, free from all control. All three of these groups of Puritans were bitterly hostile to King Charles I, because he appointed non-Puritan bishops and because he tried to enforce the use of religious ceremonies which the Puritans detested.

(4) There were also *economic grievances*. Without the consent of Parliament, James I and Charles I imposed new taxes, which bore most heavily on the merchants, shipowners, manufacturers, and other middle-class townsmen. Such taxes simply added fuel to the fire, since the middle classes were already infuriated by religious oppression.

(5) All these factors combined to reinforce the *political opposition* to the King. The English Parliament had never been completely strangled, as the French Estates-General had been. Parliament still claimed the right to make the laws and impose the taxes. As the majority of members in the House of Commons were Puritans, the Puritan middle classes believed there would be little to fear if only Parliament could control the government.

**Attempts of Charles I to Rule without Parliament.** — King Charles I was just as obstinately determined to assert his own

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter IV, pp. 109-113, 120.

authority as the Puritans were to uphold Parliament. After quarreling with three successive Parliaments during the first four years of his reign, he resolved to get along without any Parliament at all, as Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIII were doing in France. For eleven years (1629-1640) he succeeded in ruling England by autocratic methods, without a Parliament.

The English people submitted, though there was rebellion in their hearts. The Presbyterians in Scotland, however, boldly took up arms against the King. In fright, King Charles reestablished Parliament, in the year 1640, and promised never to impose new taxes without its consent. Parliament demanded also that he promise never to appoint cabinet ministers without its approval, and that he give up his autocratic command over the army. These reforms, if granted, would have put an end to autocracy in England.

**Outbreak of Revolution.** — Rather than surrender his authority tamely, King Charles chose to fight. Parliament was equally resolute and raised troops in readiness for a struggle. Finally, in the year 1642, the King's soldiers and the Parliamentary forces came to blows. The "Puritan Revolution" (1642-1660) had begun.

#### THE PURITAN REVOLUTION SUCCEEDS — AND FAILS

**The "Cavaliers" at first Successful.** — At the outset the fortunes of battle favored the "Cavaliers" (supporters of the King). The noblemen and the country squires who loyally rallied around the royal standard made splendid cavalymen, since most of them had practiced riding, hunting, shooting, and fencing as their favorite sports.

**The "Roundheads" finally Victorious.** — Opposed to the Cavaliers were the "Roundheads"<sup>1</sup> or supporters of Parliament. Most of them were bourgeois Puritans from the towns

<sup>1</sup> This nickname was given them because the Puritans wore their hair short, instead of in long curls which were then in vogue.

and middle-class Puritan farmers. Among them were also a few noblemen, but only a few. Their troops were at first poorly organized and inexperienced. The tide of battle turned in favor of the Roundheads during the third year of the war, when an earnest Puritan army officer by the name of Oliver Cromwell reorganized the revolutionary troops. The



From Trull's "Social England," © Cassell

#### CAVALIERS AND ROUNDHEADS

This cartoon, published in 1642, shows Cavaliers at the left urging their dog to attack the Roundheads' dog, at the right. Notice the difference in the costumes of the Cavaliers and Roundheads.

Cavaliers were utterly routed, and the King himself was taken captive (1646).

**The Separatists Seize Power.** — No sooner had the Roundheads achieved victory than they broke up into factions. And soon the most radical faction, the Separatists, seized control of the government. They completed the Revolution by beheading King Charles I (1649) and declaring England a Commonwealth. The Commonwealth was a republic, at least in name, but it was not a democracy. The Separatist army officers who controlled the government did not dare

hold a free election, for they knew that the mass of the population opposed their rule. They were kept in power by the army, not by the will of the people.



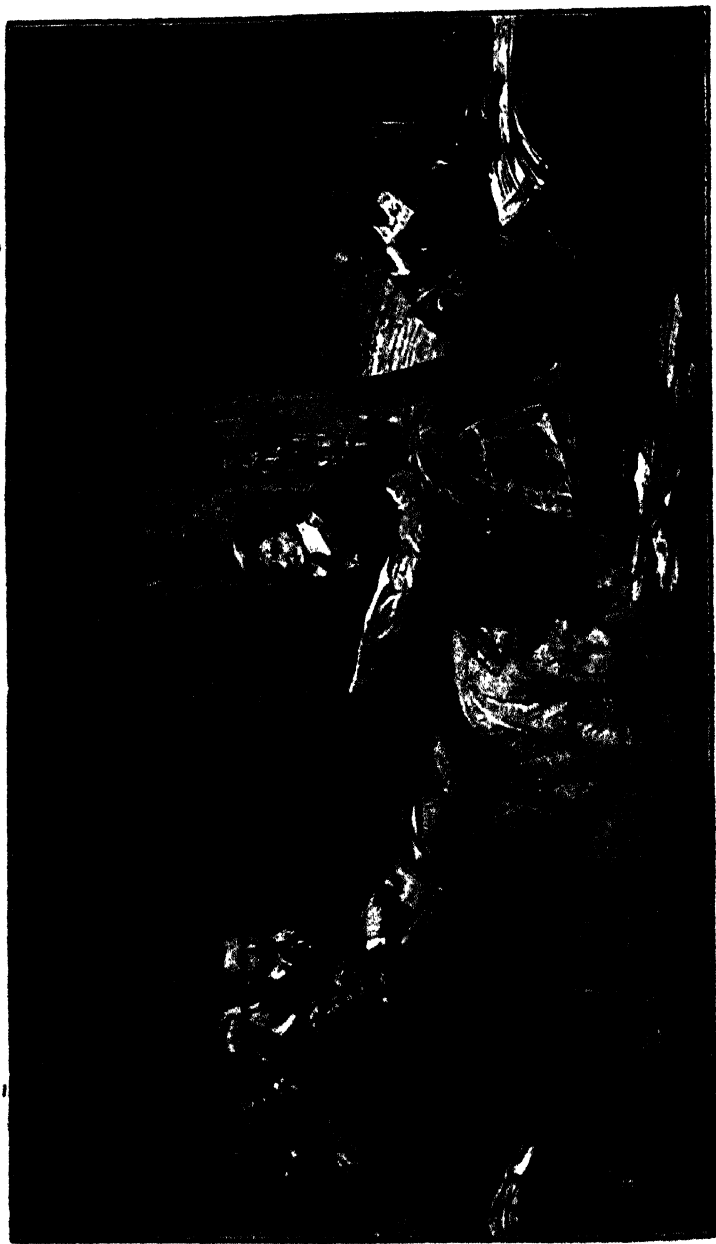
*From Traill, "Social England." By permission of Cassell, London, and Putnam's, N. Y.*

#### EXECUTION OF KING CHARLES I

King Charles is about to lay his head on the block shown at the right. The executioners, one of whom carries an axe, stand grimly behind him. A crowd of spectators may be seen in the background.

*Military Dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell.* — At length, one of the Separatist generals — Oliver Cromwell — set himself up as a military dictator. Cromwell was one of the most





#### OLIVER CROMWELL CONFERRING WITH LAWYERS

He is seated on a corner of the ex-King's bed. The letters "C R" on the bedstead stand for Carolus Rex (Charles King). What index of Cromwell do you get from this picture?

interesting characters in the whole drama. Before the Revolution he had been simply a prosperous farmer, and a member of the House of Commons, but the great upheaval made him a leader — first a victorious general, then supreme master of England. He was a man of iron will, fiery temper, stern convictions — not a cultured aristocrat. His voice was sharp and unpleasant, his face ruddy, his features irregular but strong. Biblical phrases were ever on his lips. He spoke and acted as though he believed God had chosen him as a special representative.

Few English monarchs have shown greater ability than Oliver Cromwell in promoting prosperity, enforcing law, and vanquishing foreign enemies. But even Cromwell found it impossible to provide a successful substitute for the old form of government. Many of the common people desired a monarchy, because they were accustomed to it. On the other hand, many of the soldiers hated the very thought of a King. Cromwell tried to find a compromise that would please both the conservative people and the republican soldiers.

*Cromwell as Lord Protector, 1653-1658.* — Cromwell and his supporters drew up a written constitution, which they called an "Instrument of Government." This was the first written constitution adopted by any important modern nation. According to the "Instrument of Government" England was a Commonwealth or Republic in theory. There was to be no King, no scepter, no crown. But Oliver Cromwell, who received the title of "Lord Protector" for life, was a King in all but name. He had most of the authority that Charles I had lost. He had even the right to name his own successor. The old institution of Parliament was revived, with a few modifications. The new Parliament, however, was little better than a farce. The noblemen would not accept seats in the new House of Lords. The House of Commons was so unmanageable that Cromwell impatiently dissolved it, ordered new elections, and dissolved it again. In short, Cromwell became in practice an autocratic dictator. His autocracy was

successful because he was an extraordinarily able statesman and because he had an irresistible army at his command.

**Collapse of the Commonwealth.** — The true weakness of the new form of government was revealed after Oliver Cromwell's death (1658). To take his place a genius was needed, and none was found. Oliver's son, Richard, who became Protector, was only a well-intentioned young man, not a genius. He was too weak to control the ambitious generals who aspired to become dictators, the republicans who dreamed of trying new political experiments, the royalists who wished to restore the Stuart Kings, and the Presbyterians who planned to force their particular creed on the whole country. Richard Cromwell was at least modest enough to admit his weakness and abdicate.

**The Restoration, 1660.** — For a time it seemed probable that England would be the victim of successive military dictators. One of the generals, however, ordered the election of a new Parliament. The new Parliament<sup>1</sup> immediately invited Charles II, son of the unfortunate Charles I, to return to England and ascend the throne of his father. The Commonwealth came to an end. By the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty (1660) the work of the Puritan Revolution was undone — at least so it seemed at the time. Charles II was welcomed home with blazing bonfires and with joyous ringing of bells. England slipped back into the old habits. Puritanical prohibitions against dancing and merry-making were forgotten. Anglican bishops returned to their cathedrals. Nobles regained their estates. Once more Anglicanism was the state religion, while Puritans were persecuted. Parliament was restored just as it had been in the old days.

**Permanent Results of the Puritan Revolution.** — Nevertheless, the traces of the Puritan Revolution could not be entirely erased. Many a ruined church and many a crumbling abbey remained to remind Englishmen of the intolerant

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, it was not a "Parliament" but a "Convention," because it was summoned without royal authority.

Puritan soldiers who had smashed the stained-glass windows and demolished the altars. Many a nobleman remembered that his silver-plate had been sold during the war, or that his estate had been seized by Roundheads. The upper classes had learned to dread popular revolutions. Ever afterwards they sought to avoid civil wars. The aristocracy's determination to prevent future uprisings of the people may be regarded as one important effect of the Puritan Revolution.



*From Traill's "Social England." By permission of Cassell and G. P. Putnam's Sons.*

#### PURITAN SOLDIERS TRANSFORMING A CHURCH

Why is one soldier removing the crucifix from the altar? Why are the others breaking down the railing? In many cases the stained glass windows were broken. Why?

In the second place, the tyranny of Cromwell's army taught the English people to abhor militarism. In the third place, the medieval idea that oppressive monarchs could be deposed had been revived by the Revolution. The right of revolution was soon employed again, but this time the upper classes took good care to avoid a general popular upheaval.

#### THE SECOND REVOLUTION SUCCEEDS

**Autocratic Spirit of Charles II and James II. —** Disastrous as had been the attempt of Charles I to make himself an

autocratic monarch, the Stuart Kings who ruled England after the Restoration still cherished the vain hope of fastening autocracy upon the country. Charles II (1660-1685) and James II (1685-1688) were at heart no less autocratic than James I and Charles I had been. It is barely possible that they might have succeeded, had they been men of different type. Charles II and James II, however, found the undertaking too much for their strength. Their failure meant the defeat of divine-right monarchy and the triumph of parliamentary government. Because it was the turning point in the long struggle against autocracy, the contest between the restored Stuarts and their people is worth an explanation.

**Charles II's Treaty with Louis XIV.** — Had the general public known the real aims of Charles II, they would probably have risen in arms against him. But they were not let into the secret when Charles signed a treaty (1670) with Louis XIV of France, whereby he promised to join the Catholic Church openly, and to aid Louis in the latter's wars, in return for an annual subsidy of £200,000 and the promise of French military aid to crush any rebellion which might arise in England. Imagine the indignation which would have burst forth, had the people realized that their own King was making England virtually a vassal of her chief rival, France, and at the same time planning to establish autocracy and Catholicism in England by means of foreign aid.

**Origin of the Two-party System.** — As Charles II had no legitimate children, the heir to the throne was his brother James. Because he was known to be a Catholic as well as a believer in autocracy, James was much more unpopular than Charles. One party in Parliament even proposed to pass a law, the "Exclusion Bill," which would debar James from inheriting the crown. In the debate over the Exclusion Bill, the members of Parliament became pretty clearly separated into two great factions. The origin of the two-party system in England may be traced back to this division of opinion. There could be only two parties on such a question; the answer

must be either yes or no. The bill to exclude James was favored by almost the same groups that had supported the Roundhead cause in the Puritan Revolution, namely, the middle-class Dissenters,<sup>1</sup> led by a few great noblemen. The pro-exclusionist party was called by a nickname — "Whig" — which had formerly been applied to rebellious Presbyterians in Scotland. On the other side were the "Tories," consisting chiefly of country clergymen, noblemen, squires, and, in general, people of conservative tendencies, who regarded the time-honored tradition of hereditary monarchy as something too sacred to be tampered with. Better submit to a Catholic monarch, they said, than bring about a civil war by trying to deprive James of his hereditary rights. The Tories were not strong enough to prevent the Exclusion Bill from being passed by the Commons, but in the House of Lords they outnumbered the Whigs and rejected the Bill.

*Both Parties Angered by James II.* — When James II came to the throne, in 1685, he soon antagonized even the Tories who had defended his claims. He defied Parliament by issuing, on his own authority, "Declarations of Indulgence" which practically nullified the laws against Catholics and Protestant Dissenters. He appointed Catholics as public officials and army officers. By these measures he angered Whigs and Tories alike. The Whigs were furious at his disregard of Parliament's authority and his encouragement of the Catholic faith which they hated. The Tories feared that a standing army, officered by Catholics, might prove as dangerous to the Anglican Church and as tyrannical as Cromwell's Independent Army had been.

**Immediate Cause of the Revolution.** — So long as the only heirs to the throne were James II's two Protestant daughters, Mary and Anne, people could look forward to the future with

<sup>1</sup> A Dissenter or Non-Conformist was a member of one of the various Protestant sects which opposed the Church of England. The Independents, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, and the Quakers were "Dissenters."

hope, for James was not a young man. But the outlook became gloomier when a son was born to James by his second wife, a Catholic. By the law of royal succession, the son, rather than one of the daughters, would inherit the throne, and the son would be educated in his father's religion. There seemed to be only one escape: Parliament might set aside the lawful King and his heir, and invite the elder daughter, Mary, to take the throne. The Whigs, who believed Parliament superior to the King, were quite willing to take this course. The Tories might have opposed it as a violation of the principles of hereditary monarchy, had not James II made himself so thoroughly unpopular during his brief reign.

**The Revolution of 1688-1689.** — In the end, Tory leaders joined with the Whigs in asking Mary and her husband, William of Orange (ruler of Holland), to come over to England and assume the crown. Accordingly, William and Mary landed in England, with an army, and entered London without opposition (1688). James II, deserted even by his soldiers, fled without a struggle. As far as England was concerned, it was a bloodless revolution. Only in Scotland and Ireland was there any real fighting and there the supporters of James II were soon defeated.<sup>1</sup> An irregular Parliament — irregular because it met without royal sanction — now formally presented the crown to William and Mary (1689) and declared that James had tried to break "the original compact between King and people" and had vacated the throne.

*Victory of Parliament over Autocracy.* — This peaceful revolution, often described by English historians as the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, marked the triumph of the aristocratic Parliament over autocratic monarchy in England. From this time forward England was a limited monarchy,

<sup>1</sup> In Ireland the Catholic supporters of James were decisively defeated by William in the famous battle of the Boyne (1690), the anniversary of which is celebrated by the Protestants or "Orangemen" in Ireland, to this day, as a great occasion.

and there could be little chance of any future monarch's attempting to practice the Stuart doctrine of absolute, divine-right monarchy.

*The Bill of Rights, 1689.* — Parliament confirmed its victory by passing a very important act or law known as the Bill of Rights (1689). This act declared that the sovereign must henceforth be a member of the Anglican Church. No future King was to claim the authority to "suspend" laws, or "dispense" (i.e. exempt) subjects from punishment for disobeying laws, as Charles II and James II had done. The King must not levy taxes or maintain an army without Parliament's consent.<sup>1</sup> Members of Parliament must not be arbitrarily imprisoned for their political actions, or deprived of their freedom to express their views. Prisoners must be tried by impartial juries. The Bill of Rights was practically a constitution, limiting the powers of the King and safeguarding the powers of Parliament.

*Other Important Laws.* — Several other important laws may be regarded as indirect results of the Revolution of 1688. The Toleration Act of 1689 granted to Protestant Dissenters,<sup>2</sup> but not to Catholics, the right to worship freely. The Act of Settlement (1701) provided that, since William and Mary had no children, after William's death the crown should go to Mary's sister, Anne, and, if Anne died without heirs, to her cousin, George, a German Protestant prince. Finally, the Act of Union (1707) made Scotland and England a united kingdom, with one Parliament.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF ENGLAND'S REVOLUTIONS

**Far-reaching Effects of England's Revolutions.** — The overthrow of autocracy and the triumph of Parliament in

<sup>1</sup> In 1689 the practice was begun of granting taxes and making army appropriations for one year at a time, and also of passing an annual Mutiny Act. Unless Parliament were called every year to pass the appropriations and the Mutiny Act, the soldiers would receive no pay, and in case of mutiny could not be punished by court-martial.

<sup>2</sup> See footnote on p. 261.



England had a world-wide significance. England, as a result of her two revolutions, came to be regarded all over the civilized world as the most liberal and progressive of nations. English political institutions were not only praised by foreigners but were imitated, in course of time, by many other countries. This historical fact has a vital bearing on our political problems of to-day. Even at this very moment we still cling fondly to many of the theories and the institutions inherited from seventeenth-century England, regardless of the fact that some of those theories and institutions are no longer applicable or useful in the twentieth century. What we inherit from England's revolutions may be summarized as follows:

(1) *Representative Assemblies.* — First of all is the idea that laws should be made, taxes imposed, and policies decided upon by a parliament or assembly, rather than by one man, or by a small body of ministers, or by the people directly.

(2) *Division of Assemblies into two Houses.* — Just as the English Parliament was composed of two houses, one more aristocratic than the other, so also the more recently created legislatures of most countries have been composed of two houses, and usually the upper house has been, at least at the outset, less democratic than the lower house. This statement holds true, not only of most American legislatures, but also of the French, Prussian, Japanese, Spanish, Italian, and many other parliaments established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Had it not been for the English influence, modern congresses might consist of three or more houses, as many medieval parliaments did, or of only one house.

(3) *Representation Based on Geographical Districts.* — A third result of English influence is the widespread acceptance, nowadays, especially in the United States, of the idea that each member elected to a representative legislature represents a particular town or district, rather than a social class or an economic class or a political party. If a visitor from Mars

thinking this idea rather quaint, should ask how it originated, we should have to make the following explanation. The old English Parliament, in the beginning, was based on four great social classes, — the aristocratic feudal aristocracy, the clergy, the middle-class farmers, and the bourgeoisie of the towns. The latter two classes, however, became merged in the House of Commons, and the other two in the House of Lords; and gradually the old idea of class-representation was lost. The representatives of the bourgeoisie came to be regarded as representatives of the towns from which they were elected; the "knights of the shire" or agricultural members, as representatives of particular counties. The assemblies established in the American colonies during the seventeenth century were patterned after the English House of Commons, and provided the model for later American legislatures. The system of representation which thus arose, more or less by chance, was praised and justified by political theorists, and was adopted by almost all civilized countries.

(4) *Individualistic Conception of Political Rights.* — The modern individualistic conception of political rights is largely an outgrowth of the English Revolutions, especially of the Puritan Revolution. In the Middle Ages, each different social class had different privileges and different obligations. Medieval parliaments, as we have seen, were mostly class parliaments and most legislation was class legislation. In seventeenth-century England, however, there grew up a spirit of individualism which was contrary to class distinctions. In part this new spirit was due to the fact that the middle-class "Roundhead" rebels disliked to recognize aristocrats as their social superiors; in part, to the fact that the Puritans and Independents were individualists in religion. If one man's opinion was as good as another's in religious matters, why not also in politics? Not all the Puritans drew this conclusion, but a few did. Levelers, or extreme Independents, held that all men were free and equal by nature, and that every man should have an equal voice in choosing representatives to

make the laws by which he was to be governed. This is the theory which prevails in most countries to-day. Men vote as equal individuals, rather than as members of different social classes, and politics is a matter of elementary arithmetic, since the votes of wise men and of foolish men, of rich and of poor, of radicals and of conservatives, of farmers and of financiers, all have equal weight and need simply to be counted. The individualist spirit has become so prevalent, that many if not most people to-day abhor the very thought of class-representation or class-legislation.

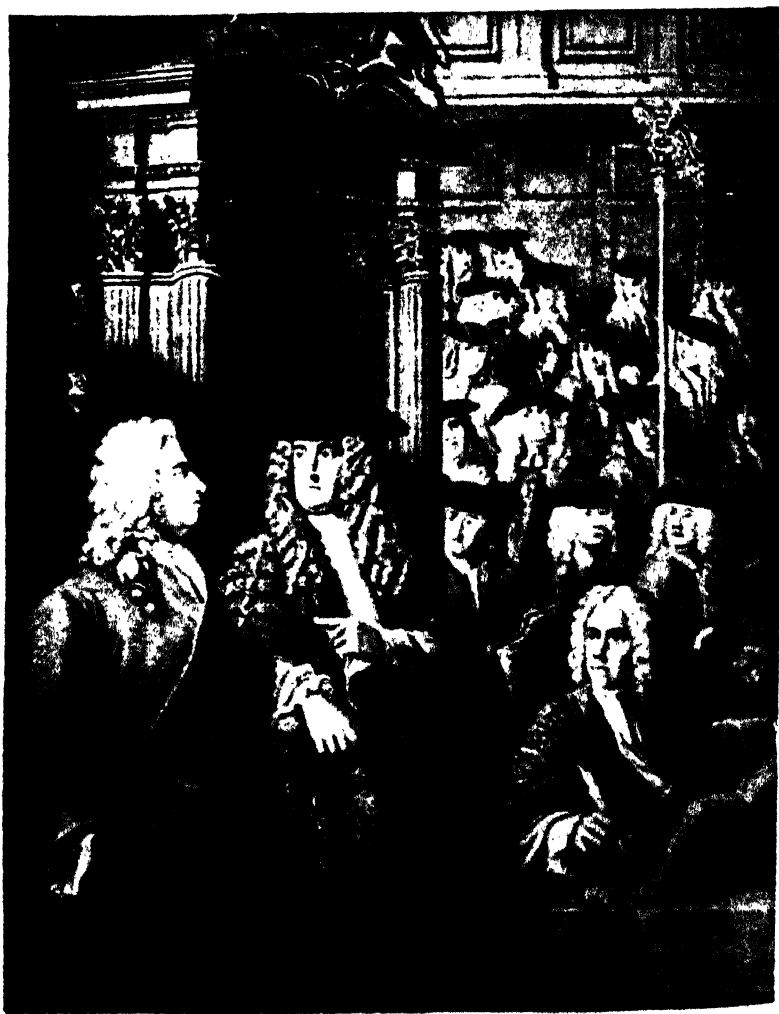
(5) *Two-party System.* — The idea that a two-party system is necessary for the proper operation of democratic government may also be traced back to English history. As we have seen, the question of passing the Exclusion Bill divided the English politicians, during King Charles II's reign, into two factions or parties, the Whigs and the Tories. These parties continued to exist long after that particular question had been settled, the Whigs desiring to reduce the King's power, the Tories to preserve it. In course of time, consequently, the two-party system became a well-established custom. Admirers of the English government declare that a two-party system has been the secret of English success. The idea is still popular in our own country and in some others, in spite of the fact that political issues to-day are so complicated that there is a strong tendency towards a "many-party" system in England itself.

(6) *The Cabinet System.* — Another popular feature of the English government, namely, the "cabinet system," may be regarded as an indirect product of the revolutions of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> It was the custom of the Stuart Kings to select a small group of influential politicians.

<sup>1</sup> Though the cabinet arose in the seventeenth century, its antecedents date back much farther. In the Middle Ages the King had been advised by a "Great Council," including the chief nobles and prelates of the realm. This had been superseded, practically, by a smaller "Privy Council." The "cabal" or cabinet was an inner circle of the Privy Council.

usually noblemen, as their advisers and assistants. The members of this group individually had charge of the various branches of administration, such as finance, or military affairs; they also met together with the King for the discussion of public matters. This small group of advisers was sometimes called a "cabal"; later it became known as a cabinet council or cabinet because it met in a small private room, or cabinet. Before the Revolution of 1688 the cabinet consisted of the King's personal favorites. After the Revolution, however, the important custom was established, gradually, of choosing the members of the cabinet from among the leaders of the party possessing a majority in the House of Commons. King William appointed Whigs to his cabinet when the Whigs controlled the Commons, and replaced them by Tories when the Tories gained a majority in the Commons. His successor, Queen Anne, though she would have preferred Tories, felt it wiser to appoint Whigs, during most of her reign. When George I, Anne's German cousin, came to the throne in 1714, the cabinet system was carried a step further. As George could speak no English, and was really more interested in German than in English affairs, he allowed his cabinet to manage affairs pretty independently. He did not even attend cabinet meetings.

Thus two essential features of the cabinet system had developed: first, the control of public affairs by the cabinet; secondly, the dependence of the cabinet upon a majority in the Commons. A third feature, the control of the cabinet by a "prime minister," appeared during the second quarter of the eighteenth century when a great Whig leader, Sir Robert Walpole, by means of bribery, electioneering, and skillful distribution of offices among his personal followers, managed to gain such control over the Whig party that he was generally recognized as the leader of the cabinet, the "prime minister." Walpole disliked the latter term; he pretended that his own position was no different from that of the other ministers or cabinet officers, but, strange to say, the title



**SIR ROBERT WALPOLE**

and fellow members of the House of Commons. Walpole is standing at the left, in consultation with the Speaker of the House.

which Walpole disclaimed is now a mark of honor. A majority of civilized countries (the United States being one exception) have cabinets with "prime ministers."

(7) *Development of Political Theories: the Theories of John Locke.* — Finally, the English Revolutions were responsible for a great development of the theories of natural rights and popular sovereignty. In justification of the two revolutions a number of books were written, expounding these theories. The most important was Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, published shortly after the Revolution of 1688. Since his father had been one of the Puritan rebels against Charles I, and since John Locke himself had been compelled to live as an exile in Holland during the reigns of Charles II and James II, he was naturally opposed to autocratic monarchy. Thanks to the Revolution of 1688, he was able to return to England and obtain a government office under William and Mary. Soon after his return, he published his famous *Treatises*, giving a theoretical justification of the revolution. Being fond of mathematics and science,<sup>1</sup> Locke tried to prove his political theories in the same logical manner that one would demonstrate a theorem in geometry. All men had natural rights of life, liberty, and property, he said. Men established governments for the protection of these rights, but if the government failed to fulfill its task, the people had the right of revolution, the right to overthrow the government. The people, then, is the real sovereign, the power behind the throne. This is the theory of popular sovereignty. As the "people" is simply a collection of individuals having equal rights, decisions must rest with a majority of the individuals. Incidentally, he also argued that since the purpose of government was to protect liberty, the government had no business to interfere with the religious convictions of the citizens; all beliefs should be tolerated excepting anarchism, atheism, and

<sup>1</sup>He thought he had solved the famous but impossible problem of constructing a square whose area would be equal to that of a given circle.

Catholicism. It is easy for us at present to pick flaws in Locke's arguments; but our ancestors a century and a half ago were not so critical. Locke's doctrines became exceedingly popular, in America, in France, and elsewhere. They provided a justification for the American Revolution; you will find them stated in the Declaration of Independence. They were constantly on the lips of the men who overthrew autocracy in France in 1789. They lie at the base of a great many of our institutions and ideas to-day.

**Democracy not a Direct Result of the English Revolutions.** — The English Revolutions, we may conclude, provided a number of institutions and theories which have had and still have a very important influence on our political life. In the way that we apply them to-day, these institutions and theories may appear quite democratic. In their origin, however, they were very far from democratic. Any one who doubts this statement should examine the character of the English government at the close of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century, after the revolutions.

*Parliament Undemocratic in the Eighteenth Century.* — The English Parliament in the eighteenth century was decidedly undemocratic. The upper house, or House of Lords, was composed of (a) hereditary "peers," i.e. noble landlords, and (b) Anglican bishops and archbishops appointed by the government. The other house, the Commons, was supposedly more democratic, since its members were elected. But, on the average, only one man in ten had a right to vote in the elections. The poorer classes had no real voice in choosing representatives. About half the members of the Commons were in practice appointed by rich noblemen, the elections being a mere farce. The representatives of the large towns were usually elected by the wealthy citizens, not by all the citizens. Moreover, a number of large cities had no representatives at all. Common workingmen and peasants had hardly any more voice in politics than they would have had if there had been no House of Commons. In short, Parlia-

ment really represented the upper classes, — noblemen, rich landowners, wealthy merchants, — and them alone.

*Aristocratic Character of the English Government.* — England was governed during the first half of the eighteenth century by an oligarchy of Whig nobles and millionaires, and her leading statesmen practiced the arts of bribery, corruption, and “graft” in a most shameless manner. The members of this oligarchy sometimes used their vast power patriotically; more often, however, they sought to enrich themselves and to promote the interests of their class. The aristocratic landowners, for example, put through a law granting themselves a “bounty” or premium for every bushel of wheat they exported when wheat was cheap at home. Who cared if this law, by encouraging the exportation of wheat, made bread dearer for the common people? Similarly, for the benefit of the merchants and manufacturers, the customs duties on imported raw materials as well as on exported manufactures were lowered or removed, and advantageous commercial treaties were made with other nations.

*Summary.* — The overthrow of autocracy in England resulted in the establishment of an oligarchy of nobles, squires, and merchants, and did not establish government by the whole people or for the whole people. The English revolutions did not produce democracy. What they did produce



AN ENGLISH LADY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



was a set of institutions, ideas, and theories which could be made democratic in later centuries, just as an old suit of clothes may be remodeled to fit a new wearer. Representative legislatures, bicameral parliaments or assemblies, cabinets, two-party systems, the majority rule, geographical elections, the theory of popular sovereignty, and "natural rights" are the "clothes" which our present-day democracy inherits from the seventeenth century.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why did a Revolution occur in England in the seventeenth century?
2. Who were the Puritans? The Anglicans? The Presbyterians? The Independents? The Dissenters?
3. How was religious opposition to autocracy combined with economic and political opposition?
4. Discuss the attempts of Charles I to rule without Parliament.
5. Who were the "Cavaliers"? Who were the "Roundheads"?
6. Who was Oliver Cromwell? Describe his military achievements, his religious convictions, and his political ideas.
7. What was the "Instrument of Government"? Did Cromwell believe in democracy?
8. How and why did the Puritan Revolution fail? Did it have any permanent results?
9. Who were Charles II and James II, and how did they pave the way for the final overthrow of autocracy in England?
10. How did the Whig and Tory parties come into existence?
11. Discuss the Revolution of 1688, with special reference to its immediate causes and results.
12. In what ways was the triumph of Parliament finally assured? What was the "Bill of Rights"? The Toleration Act? The Act of Settlement? The Act of Union?
13. What do we owe to the English revolutions of the seventeenth century?
14. What is the English "cabinet system," and how did it originate?
15. Explain the words "cabal" and "bicameral."
16. Who was George I? Walpole?
17. Discuss the political theories of John Locke and contrast them with the political theories of James I.
18. Explain whether the English revolutions of the seventeenth century established democracy or aristocracy.

19. There is a handsome statue of Oliver Cromwell outside the English Parliament buildings. Why do you think it was put there? Would a statue of any other man have been more appropriate?

20. Do you think the English Puritans of the seventeenth century would approve of political and religious conditions in our country to-day? Would we regard these Puritans as good citizens?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**The Dutch revolution.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 91-97.

**Puritanism.** GREEN, *Short History*, ch. viii, section 1; MACAULAY, *History of England*, I, 64-65, 83-85; GARDINER, *First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution*, 1-6, 13-17.

**Puritan emigration to America.** CHEYNEY, *Short History*, 404-405; FISKE, *Beginnings of New England*, chs. ii-iii.

**Trial and execution of Charles I.** FIRTH, *Cromwell*, 215-231

**The Commonwealth.** CHEYNEY, *Short History*, 453-460; OGG, *Governments of Europe* (1918 edition), 29-30; CROSS, *History of England*, 509-516; FIRTH, *Cromwell*, ch. xii.

**The Instrument of Government.** CROSS, *History of England*, 516-517. **Cromwell.** CHEYNEY, *Short History*, 444-464; CROSS, *History of England*, 517-525; BEARD, *English Historians*, 381-390; FIRTH, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. xx; ROOSEVELT, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. vi; GARDINER, *Oliver Cromwell*.

**The Revolution of 1688.** CHEYNEY, *Short History*, 498-513; OGG, *Governments of Europe* (1918), 31-33; BEARD, *English Historians*, 417-422.

**Sir Robert Walpole.** CHEYNEY, *Short History*, 546-549; BEARD, *English Historians*, 466-477.

**The cabinet system.** OGG, *Governments of Europe* (1918), 37-38; CROSS, *History of England*, 614-617; BEARD, *English Historians*, 594-607; MORLEY, *Walpole*, ch. vii.

**Beginning of political parties.** OGG, *Governments of Europe* (1918), 38-39; CHEYNEY, *Short History*, sections 432-434.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 261-293; CROSS, *History of England*, 427-517; POLLARD, *History of England*, ch. v; GARDINER, *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution*; GARDINER, *Oliver Cromwell*; MORLEY, *Oliver Cromwell*.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

RODENBERG, *King by Grace of God*; THACKERAY, *Henry Esmond*; BLACKMORE, *Lorna Doone*; SCOTT, *Rob Roy*; *The Cavalier*.

## CHAPTER XI

### AMERICA FIGHTS FOR LIBERTY

#### ENGLISH IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS DEVELOP IN AMERICA

Like a torch passed from runner to runner, the idea of political liberty has been passed on from one nation to another, each carrying it further toward the goal of democracy. England, as we have seen, stopped short after her seventeenth-century revolutions, and seemed to be content with an aristocratic Parliament and a limited monarchy. America next took the lead, starting where England left off.

**English Political Institutions Copied in American Colonies.** — The Englishmen who came to the American colonies in the seventeenth century naturally brought with them English ideas and English institutions. In the colonies, just as in England, personal liberties were protected by the Common Law and by the jury system. In each colony an assembly (or legislature) was formed, more or less on the model of the English House of Commons. The Virginia assembly or "House of Burgesses," to take one illustration, was almost an exact copy, inasmuch as it comprised two "burgesses" from each town or borough, and representatives from the counties, just as did the English House.

In most colonies, a Royal Governor, appointed by the King, served as the representative of the monarch in conducting the administration. The relations between the Royal Governor and the assembly in any one colony bore a striking resemblance to the relations between King and Parliament in England. The Assembly, like Parliament, claimed that no direct tax could be imposed, and no law passed, without its consent. Like Parliament, moreover, the

Assembly often held up appropriations in order to compel the Royal Governor to accept its policies or to appoint officials in whom it had confidence. The English struggle between an arbitrary executive and a representative assembly was reenacted on a small scale in each colony.<sup>1</sup> In this struggle, the colonists often justified their own claims by referring to Parliament's similar claims, or by quoting English writers on political theories, particularly Milton and Locke.<sup>2</sup> (To sum up: the beginnings of representative institutions in the colonies and the colonial theories about those institutions were by-products of the development of the English Parliament.)

**Radical Developments in America.** — (The political ideas and institutions transplanted from England, took deeper root and developed more rapidly in the New World than in the mother-country. Conditions in the colonies were more favorable to the growth of a democratic spirit.)



GEORGE WASHINGTON

The great hero of the American Revolution and the "Father of his Country." Commander-in-Chief of the American Army. First President of the United States (1789-1797).

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, this statement applies only to the eight colonies which had Royal Governors and the two (Pennsylvania and Maryland) which had "proprietors." Rhode Island and Connecticut possessed charters permitting them to elect their own governors.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 269-270 on Locke's theories.

(1) *America a Refuge from Oppression.* — A large number of the colonists had come to America in order to escape persecution or oppression. Puritans came to New England because they were persecuted by the Stuart Kings in England. Catholics sought freedom of worship in Maryland, and Quakers in Pennsylvania. Colonists of this sort, who had traveled three thousand miles to escape oppression, were not the kind of men to submit easily to renewed oppression.

(2) *Absence of Hereditary Aristocracy in America.* — Economic and social conditions in America were more favorable to democracy. In the colonies, there was never a powerful class of hereditary nobles, as in England. The New England colonies were settled by people of the middle and lower classes, aristocrats being conspicuous by their absence, and each farmer was an independent landowner, rather than the tenant of a feudal lord. It is true that in Virginia and other southern colonies, "gentlemen" of aristocratic descent acquired large "plantations" and lived almost like English nobles, but as the plantations were cultivated by negro slaves, the aristocracy of the South was based on the subjection of one race to another, rather than upon the subjection of some white men to others. There was so much unoccupied land that any white man could become an independent landowner by clearing a farm for himself in the frontier regions. Consequently, the possession of land was not a privilege confined to an hereditary aristocracy. White men were not divided so sharply as in England into superior and inferior social classes. There was a much greater spirit of equality. As William Penn once complained, the colonists seemed to "think nothing taller than themselves but the trees."

(3) *Growth of Self-government in America.* — The English Kings for a long time permitted a large amount of self-government in the colonies. The colonies were so far away, and communication across the Atlantic was so difficult in the days of sailing vessels, that it was not easy to exercise

very effective control from England. Moreover, since the colonies on the North American coast were at first considered rather poor and unprofitable, it hardly seemed worth while to interfere with their local affairs very systematically. Later, when the English Government finally awoke to the fact that the North American colonies were becoming important and valuable, an attempt was made to bring them under more thorough control, but it was then too late, for the colonists had become too strong and too independent to submit tamely. England's belated attempt to interfere with the rights of self-government which the colonists had learned to cherish simply drove the colonists to assert their complete independence by means of rebellion.

#### FRICITION DEVELOPS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE COLONIES

Considering the American Revolution not as an event in American history, but rather in its larger aspect, as a step forward in the world's progress toward liberty and democracy, we may view its causes in a new light. Without repeating all the details given in every history of the United States, let us try to summarize a few general features of the controversy between England and the colonies.

**King George III and Party Politics in England.** -- It must be remembered that in England colonial policies were closely connected with party politics. During the first half of the eighteenth century the Whigs had the upper hand in the House of Commons, and the English Government was actually conducted not by the Kings (George I and George II), but by Whig cabinets. In fact, George II once confessed that "Ministers are Kings in this country." As a general rule, the Whig leaders were willing to let the colonies tax themselves and manage their own affairs without much interference from London. The situation was suddenly altered, however, when George III ascended the throne (1760), young, ambitious, and determined to be a real King rather than a puppet of powerful Whig ministers. He wished to

## MODERN HISTORY

preside at cabinet meetings, to dictate policies, and to appoint or dismiss cabinet ministers at his pleasure. In short, he desired to revive autocracy in England. He promptly attempted to break the power of the Whigs by bribing a majority of the members of Parliament to support cabinet ministers of his own choice. When this scheme failed, he endeavored to split the Whig party. Among the Whigs there developed a difference of opinion on colonial questions. The chief leaders, especially (William Pitt (Earl of Chatham),



KING GEORGE III

thought that England should not impose taxes on the colonies. On the other hand, some of the less prominent Whig politicians, like George Grenville, believed that since England had spent enormous sums in defending her colonies against France,<sup>1</sup> the colonies should be willing to pay English taxes and obey English laws.

"Great Britain," said Grenville, "protects America; America is bound to yield obedience." Consequently, when George III adopted the policy of taxing America, he obtained the support of some of the Whigs, in addition to the support of the Tories, on whom he could always count as "the King's friends."

In vain Pitt and other Whig orators (notably Burke and Fox) opposed the King's colonial policy. Edmund Burke eloquently argued that it was unwise to tax the colonies. Pitt went even further. "It is my opinion," said he, "that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies."

<sup>1</sup> Particularly during the French and Indian War (1754-1763). See pp. 238-239.

## THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS

In spite of protests and warnings, George III and his ministers persisted in their policy and, when the colonists resisted, treated them as rebels. Even after war broke out, Pitt and other English politicians continued to sympathize with the colonists. These facts make it clear that when the colonists rebelled against English taxation, they were, in a sense, fighting the battle of the English Whigs against the King. The same King who insisted on taxing the colonies was endeavoring to make his own will supreme in England. The question was not merely whether England should rule the colonies, but also whether George III should rule England as an autocrat.

**The Economic Causes of the American Revolution.** — The economic causes of the American Revolution were highly important. Before the time of George III the taxes and restrictions which England imposed on colonial trade aroused little opposition because, being poorly enforced, they did not bear heavily on the colonists. But the taxes imposed during the early years of George III's reign were of such a nature as to anger the most influential classes of people in the North American colonies. Thus, the Sugar Act of 1764 imposed a tariff on all sugar or molasses imported by the colonists from foreign countries.<sup>1</sup> At that time New England merchants were carrying on a very profitable trade with the French and Spanish West Indies, to which they sold fish and lumber and slaves, and from which they bought large quantities of sugar and molasses (used for making rum). After the Sugar Act of 1764, British warships were stationed along the coast to prevent illegal trading; British tax collectors were empowered to search private houses for smuggled goods; various "dead-letter" laws against trading with foreigners were revived; and, in a word, the new duties were so strictly enforced that New England's commerce was gravely menaced.

<sup>1</sup> The duties imposed by the Act of 1764 were actually lower than those previously in force, but the old duties had not been strictly collected, whereas the new duties were.



Close on the heels of the Sugar Act followed a measure which was even more certain to arouse opposition. The Stamp Act of 1765 provided that stamps, costing from one cent to fifty dollars, should be placed on all newspapers, pamphlets, and legal documents, such as deeds, wills, mortgages, and promissory notes. This stamp tax was not the sort of tax which people would pay indirectly, without noticing it. On every newspaper the stamp would call the reader's attention to the tax. The business man or the lawyer would be irritated half a dozen times every day by having to put stamps on common business documents. The newspaper men, the business men, and the lawyers were most seriously affected, and they were the most influential classes in the community.

**Excitement in the Colonies.** — The Sugar Act and the Stamp Act nearly caused a rebellion. Lawyers made fiery speeches against the new taxes. James Otis declared, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Patrick Henry, another lawyer, boldly warned George III to remember the fate of Charles I. The newspapers came out with black borders as a sign of mourning. The houses of British officials were burned. Business was suspended on the day the Stamp Act went into effect. Thousands of people agreed not to buy any British goods until the stamp tax was repealed. Delegates from nine of the colonies met together at New York and formally denied the right of England to tax America. Benjamin Franklin asserted that the colonists would never submit to the stamp tax "unless compelled by force of arms."

**Repeal of the Stamp Act.** — The Stamp Act was repealed (1766) in time to avert bloodshed, but at the same time a Declaratory Act was passed, affirming in theory that the British Parliament had supreme authority over the colonies.

**Persistent Attempts of England to Tax the Colonies.** — Obstinately refusing to heed the signs of danger, George III and his ministers persisted in their attempts to tax the colonies. Only a year after the repeal of the Stamp Act, laws were passed imposing duties on glass, lead, paper, tea, and

various other articles imported into the colonies. Worse still, it was proposed that persons violating the law should be tried without juries, and that the revenue from the new taxes should be used to pay colonial governors, judges, and soldiers. As a result, no colonial assembly would be able to control the policies of a royal governor by holding up his salary. Therefore the colonists felt that they had a double grievance, economic and political.

By this time, so much hostility and suspicion had been awakened in the colonies that any tax imposed by England, no matter how trifling, was sure to be opposed. It was useless for the British Government to repeal all the taxes except that on tea. Even the tax on tea was hated and resisted. Instead of yielding to colonial opposition, George III and his advisers adopted harsh measures, such as sending troops to overawe the colonists, depriving Massachusetts of her rights of self-government, and closing the harbor of Boston to trade. Under these circumstances, Revolution became inevitable.

#### THE UNITED STATES, WITH FRENCH ASSISTANCE, WIN INDEPENDENCE

**The Patriots.** — At the outset, the colonists did not intend to precipitate a Revolution or to establish a new form of government. They seemed to be less concerned about theories of self-government than about particular taxes. When the "Patriots," or leaders of the opposition, organized in 1774 a "Continental Congress," composed of delegations from all but one of the colonies, they still regarded the King of England as their sovereign, and merely asked that no taxes or laws should be imposed on the colonies without the consent of the colonial assemblies. Even after blood had been shed at Lexington and Concord, in the spring of 1775, a second Continental Congress recognized George III as the "rightful sovereign," and again sent a petition to him.

**Colonial Leaders Simply Defending Old Theories.** — At this stage of the Revolution, the colonial leaders considered them-

selves loyal Englishmen, defending their historic rights as Englishmen. As Englishmen, they claimed, they could be subject to no laws or taxes without the consent of their representatives. The colonial assemblies, they believed, represented the colonies in the same way that Parliament represented Great Britain. Therefore, to impose taxes on the colonies without the approval of the assemblies was a tyrannical violation of the sacred and time-honored rights of Englishmen. If the colonists had stopped at this stage they would not have made any great contribution to democracy. They were simply affirming old English theories.

*Radical Ideas of Thomas Paine.* — In January, 1776, there was published in Philadelphia a pamphlet which represented



THOMAS PAINE

more radical and democratic theories. The pamphlet was entitled *Common Sense* and was written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman who had come to America and who sympathized with the colonists. The time had come, Paine declared, for the colonies to decide on a "final separation" from England. There was no reason for remaining loyal to the King. Monarchs, after all, had no "divine right" to rule their fellow men. Kings were merely "crowned ruffians." If

they had unlimited power, they were despots; whereas if they were constitutional monarchs, as the King of England was supposed to be, they were expensive figureheads. Paine's fiery pamphlet was published just at the psychological moment when

George III, turning a deaf ear to all petitions, was raising troops to crush the "rebellion" in America. Conciliation or compromise with England seemed impossible. In such circumstances, *Common Sense* was bought and read by thousands of colonists, who, no longer feeling veneration for the English monarchy, now felt justified in fighting for complete independence.

*Tories and Patriots.* — Some of the colonists, refusing to accept Paine's ideas, still remained loyal to the King. These were called "Loyalists," or "Tories." Another group remained more or less undecided and indifferent. A third group, the "Patriots," chose to fight for independence. This third group was probably a minority of the total population, but its choice decided the destinies of America. It was due to the courage and daring of this group that the Continental Congresses were formed, that the Declaration of Independence was issued, that new constitutions were drawn up for the individual colonies, and that the war was fought to a successful conclusion.

*The Declaration of Independence.* — The American Declaration of Independence, written for the most part by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776, was a landmark in the history of democracy. The doctrines expressed in this famous document were not new or original. Most of the ideas and even some of the phrases were taken from books written by English political philosophers in the seventeenth century, especially John Locke's *Treatises on Government*.<sup>1</sup> But the Declaration of Independence stated these old theories in a bolder and more uncompromising tone, and stated them not as abstract theories but as practical reasons for a Revolution.

Three important principles, all contrary to the doctrine of autocratic or "divine-right" monarchy, were eloquently proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence. (1) All men — not merely Englishmen — are endowed by their Creator with certain "inalienable rights," among which are

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 269-270.



**DRAFTING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**

Benjamin Franklin is on the left. Thomas Jefferson, the chief author of the Declaration, is seated back of the table.

life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. (2) Governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This is the basic principle of political democracy. (3) Hence it is perfectly justifiable to overthrow one government and establish a new one, by force of arms if necessary. This is the "right of revolution" — a right which many other nations were to use, in later years, as the method of establishing democracy. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration, went so far as to argue that frequent revolutions were a good "medicine" for democracy. "The tree of liberty," he said, "must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."

**French Jealousy of England.** — One other aspect of the revolt of the English colonies demands our attention. The American Revolution was important not only in the development of democracy, but also in the long struggle between France and England for colonial supremacy. Between the years 1688 and 1763 England contended with France in four wars,<sup>1</sup> the result of which had been to deprive France of her chief colonial possessions — Canada and the Mississippi Valley — and to eliminate her as a serious commercial rival of England. Naturally, the French Government cherished the hope of regaining its lost colonial possessions and commerce, or at least of weakening England.

**American War of Independence; England Opposed by France and Other Countries.** — The revolt of the thirteen colonies against England afforded France an opportunity to strike back at her hated rival. In 1777, after the American revolutionists had demonstrated their strength by winning a military victory at Saratoga, France allied herself with them. The following year she declared war on Great Britain.

<sup>1</sup> The war of the League of Augsburg, or King William's War (1689-1697); the War of the Spanish Succession, or Queen Anne's War (1702-1713); the War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War (1744-1748); and the Seven Years' War, or French and Indian War (1754-1763). These wars are discussed in Chapter IX.

Spain and Holland soon joined France. Most of the other European countries, disliking England's assertion of the right to search and seize neutral vessels carrying "contraband"



LAFAYETTE

Lafayette was a young French nobleman who, inspired by the noblest sentiments, volunteered for service in America and acted as an aide to Washington. Subsequently, he espoused the cause of liberty in his native country and played important rôles in the French Revolutions of 1789 and 1830.

goods in war time, formed a league of "Armed Neutrality" to defend their commercial rights against England. Thus Great Britain had to fight single-handed against America, France, Spain, and Holland as active enemies, while the rest of Europe was unsympathetic, if not hostile to her. To add to these troubles, there was a threat of rebellion in Ireland, and not all Englishmen favored war in the colonies. If Great Britain had been able to devote her entire attention to the colonies, the revolt might have been crushed. But she had to defend her own coasts against the danger of a Franco-Spanish invasion; she had to send fleets to fight the French

and Dutch in the North Sea, in the Caribbean Sea, and in the Bay of Bengal. Her troops were fighting on three continents.

*Results of the War.* — As results of the war (1778-1783), France regained only two very small colonies, while Spain obtained Minorca and Florida, and Holland was actually a loser. But France had the satisfaction of seeing England's oldest and most important colonies separated from the mother-

country. It was a serious injury, though not a mortal blow, to Britain's colonial empire.<sup>1</sup>

The war had an important effect upon France. Enormous naval and military expenditures helped to bankrupt the French royal treasury, and bankruptcy soon led to the fall of the French monarchy. Moreover, many Frenchmen, having aided the Americans to revolt against a King, were more ready to revolt against their own sovereign.

#### DEMOCRACY RESULTS GRADUALLY FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

**The American Revolution Primarily Destructive.** — The American Revolution was primarily destructive. It destroyed hereditary monarchy and hereditary aristocracy, as far as the thirteen colonies were concerned, but it left the colonists face to face with the problem of constructing a new form of government. During the Revolution, each colony revised its own charter or constitution, if it had one, or drafted a new one. The old colonial assemblies became the legisla-

<sup>1</sup> While the American War of Independence was in progress, Warren Hastings was strengthening the foundations of British empire in India. Lord Cornwallis, who surrendered to Washington at Yorktown in 1781, succeeded Hastings in 1785 and proved as successful in India as he had been unfortunate in America. Immediately after 1783, two other important extensions of British power occurred. One was the occupation of the Straits Settlements, which gave Great Britain control of the Malay peninsula in southeastern Asia. The other was the settlement of the vast island-continent of Australia, which had been almost unknown until the famous voyage of Captain Cook to Botany Bay in 1770. For many years Great Britain regarded Australia as a kind of open-air prison for her criminals, and the first English settlers (1788) were exiled convicts. The introduction of sheep-raising and the discovery of gold made the island a more attractive home for colonists, and thenceforth its development was rapid. To-day, with an area of almost 3,000,000 square miles, and a population of over 5,000,000 English-speaking people, Australia is a commonwealth as populous and three times as large as were the thirteen American colonies with which Great Britain unwillingly parted in 1783.



tures of the independent States. The old royal governors were supplanted by governors elected by the people or by the assemblies. As in colonial times, the franchise was limited to the landowners and wealthier classes. Oftentimes there was also a religious qualification excluding all except Protestants from the privilege of voting. Only men of considerable wealth were eligible for election to political offices. At the outset, therefore, the State Governments were far from democratic in our modern sense; they were simply the old colonial governments, with a few modifications.

**The Federal Constitution.** — In creating a federal government, the Americans did not have much to start with. During the War of Independence, a Continental Congress consisting of delegates from the States had taken charge of military and diplomatic affairs, but this was only a temporary makeshift. Towards the close of the War, a Constitution was adopted, the "Articles of Confederation" (1781), establishing a congress consisting of one house, in which each State had one vote. Under this first Constitution the United States were hardly more united than nations in a league of nations. A few years after the War, however, a new Constitution was drawn up by a Convention at Philadelphia (1787), and adopted by the States. This second attempt was more successful than the first. The Constitution of 1787, with few amendments, remains in force to this day.

The politicians who framed the Constitution did not intend it to be as democratic as we have made it. Some of them admitted quite frankly that they were afraid too much democracy would mean mob rule. They were just as hostile to unlimited democracy as to unlimited monarchy. Consequently, the framers of the Constitution used all their ingenuity in trying to invent a system of government that would not give too much power to any one man or to any one assembly, or to any one class, or to any one region. The federal government was not to have absolute authority over the

States, nor were the States to be absolutely independent. Each branch of the Federal Government — the President, the Judiciary, and the Congress — was to be more or less independent of the others, and its powers were carefully defined.



NORTH AMERICA ACCORDING TO THE TREATIES OF 1783

This is known as the "separation of powers." Each branch, moreover, was to be checked and balanced by the others, in accordance with an elaborate system of "checks and balances." The President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives were all to be elected separately and by different methods:

the President by "presidential electors" chosen by the people; the Senators, by the state legislatures; and the Representatives, by a direct vote of the people in each district.

*Lack of Democracy.* — In several respects the new federal government was undemocratic at first. (1) The whole system of "checks and balances" was designed to check the will of the common people as well as to safeguard against autocracy. (2) The Senate was elected by state legislatures, which were themselves undemocratic, since only the wealthier citizens were eligible, as a rule, to state legislatures. (3) Only about half of the white men, and none of the negro slaves, were entitled to vote for members of the House of Representatives, each State being allowed to decide on the qualifications necessary for voters. (4) Finally, the men who controlled the government in its infancy were aristocratic in spirit. They distrusted the common people. Washington was essentially an aristocrat. John Adams, our second President, candidly admitted his fondness for the "natural aristocracy" of wealth, birth, and education, and expressed his fear of unlimited democracy.

✓ *Jefferson's Democratic Ideas.* — America was not genuinely democratic, but it had made a good start. As time went on, a democratic spirit asserted itself more and more. Jefferson, the third President (1801-1809), believed that the only true aristocracy was an aristocracy of virtue and ability, not of wealth or birth, and that the best way to select men of exceptional virtue and ability as officials was by democratic elections. He favored the extension of the franchise so as to give more people the right to vote. Negro slavery he regarded as wrongful. One of his most interesting ideas was that the constitution should be revised every nineteen years, because each new generation had a right to choose its own form of government. The living should not be compelled to obey the laws of the dead. Jefferson was not able to carry out his ideas to any great extent, but the theories of "Jeffersonian Democracy" gradually gained force.

**The Demand for Democracy Strengthened by Social Changes.** — During the years that followed Jefferson's administration, the United States underwent two great social changes which strengthened the demand for real democracy. One was the growth of population in the regions west of the Atlantic coast, across the Allegheny Mountains. Several new States were formed. The people of these regions were of the frontiersman type, hardy pioneers, who cleared farms for themselves in what had been a wilderness. Such men were naturally inclined to be democratic and to dislike the aristocratic plantation owners and wealthy business men of the older States. At the same time, the towns of the eastern seacoast were growing into large cities, with factories and big industries. In the cities were thousands of wage-earners, who desired the right to vote and shared the frontiersman's dislike of "plutocrats" and aristocrats.

*Progress of Democracy in America.* — In the new States formed by the frontiersmen, democratic constitutions were adopted at the outset. Meanwhile, the workingmen of the cities in the older States were clamoring for the right to vote and many people were beginning to see the justice of the argument that all free white men should have equal political rights. One by one the older States amended their constitutions so as to do away with the old restrictions which had excluded the poorer white classes and non-Protestants from voting or holding office. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century most of these old qualifications were abolished. This meant not only that the State Governments became more democratic, but also that the Federal Government was democratized, since all men who can vote in State elections can also vote in Federal elections.

**Significance of the American Revolution.** — The establishment of an independent Republic in America was a great event in the history of democracy. Let us review briefly what the American Revolution accomplished.

1) In the first place, the American Revolution must be

regarded as a continuation or outgrowth of the English revolutions of the seventeenth century. America took the British institutions and theories of representative government and applied them more boldly and more thoroughly than the English themselves had done.

(2) The idea of the "right of revolution," the right of a people to overturn an oppressive government, was greatly strengthened by the American example.

(3) The American government was not thoroughly democratic at first. It was made more democratic gradually, during the nineteenth century.

(4) Owing to the peculiar circumstances in which the Revolution occurred, the Americans made a number of political experiments which profoundly influenced the later development not only of the United States but also of many other nations. Among these experiments may be mentioned: (a) The substitution of an elected President for an hereditary King. (b) The adoption of a written constitution as the basis of the government and as a check on the government. (c) The abolition of hereditary feudal aristocracy. (d) The separation of Church and State. (e) The establishment of a system of "separation of powers" and "checks and balances." (f) The creation of a decentralized federal republic. Hitherto political philosophers had believed the republican form of government unsuited to large countries. (g) The adoption of a more democratic franchise than existed in other countries. (h) The apportionment of representation (in the House of Representatives and in the State legislatures) on an arithmetical basis, one representative being assigned to each district containing a certain number of inhabitants.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What English political institutions were copied in America?
2. Did the English colonies in America have an hereditary aristocracy? What effect did this fact have upon the development of a democratic spirit?

3. Explain how friction developed between England and her American colonies.

4. Who was George III and what were his policies? Did all Englishmen approve of them?

5. Discuss the economic causes of the American Revolution. What were the Sugar and Stamp Acts? What people in the colonies were most hostile to these Acts?

6. In what sense did the colonial leaders stand for the defense of their rights as Englishmen?

7. Who was Thomas Paine and what was his contribution to the American Revolution?

8. What principles were proclaimed in the "Declaration of Independence"? Compare them with the political theories of John Locke.

9. Why was France involved in the War of American Independence? Were other countries involved? Describe the settlement of 1783.

10. Did the American Revolution immediately establish democracy? Explain your answer.

11. What was the difference between the first federal government of the United States (the Articles of Confederation) and the second federal government (the Constitution of 1787)?

12. Who was Thomas Jefferson, and what were his political theories?

13. Discuss the development of democracy in the United States.

14. Why was the American Revolution of world-wide importance?

15. What do we owe to the American Revolution?

16. Compare the old Greek or Roman city-state with our federal state.

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Colonial life before the Revolution.** BEARD, *History of the United States*, chs. ii-iii; ELSON, *History of the United States*, 198-210; BECKER, *Beginnings of the American People*, ch. v.

**Colonial government.** BEARD, *History of the United States*, 48-53; ELSON, *History of the United States*, 210-216.

**Navigation Acts.** ELSON, *History of the United States*, 216-219; MUZZEY, *Readings*, No. 22.

**George III.** MUZZEY, *American History*, 107-108; BEARD, *English Historians*, 492-504; CROSS, *History of England*, 738-741.

**The Stamp Act.** BEARD, *History of the United States*, 82-87; ELSON, *History of the United States*, 224-229; HART, *American History told by Contemporaries*, II, 381-382, 402-404, 407-412.

**The Townshend Acts.** BEARD, *History of the United States*, 87-90; ELSON, *History of the United States*, 229-230; HART, *American History*, II, 413-418.

**Thomas Paine.** MUZZEY, *Readings*, No. 36; HART, *American History*, II, 530-534; PAINE, *Common Sense*; M. D. CONWAY, *Life of Thomas Paine*, I, 61-67.

**The Declaration of Independence.** ELSON, *History of the United States*, 250-254; FISKE, *American Revolution*, I, 172-197; HART, *American History*, II, 537-539; BEARD, *Readings in American Government*, 21-25.

**What kind of man was George Washington?** W. R. THAYER, *George Washington*, 27-46, 231-240, 254-260; W. C. FORD, *George Washington*, I, 111-112.

**The Constitution.** BEARD, *History of the United States*, 139-160; MUZZEY, *American History*, 135-153.

**The first president.** H. J. FORD, *Washington and his Colleagues*, 1-25; WOODROW WILSON, *George Washington*, ch. x; W. R. THAYER, *George Washington*, ch. ix.

**The struggle between aristocracy and democracy.** BECKER, *The United States*, 34-47.

**Jacksonian Democracy.** BEARD, *History of the United States*, 238-250, 267.

**How the American Revolution was related to the struggle for liberty in England.** FISKE, *American Revolution*, I, 38-45, II, 6; HART, *American History*, II, 404-407 (Pitt's speech), II, 378-380 (Wilkes's article); BURKE, *Speech on Conciliation*.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, 322-340; BEARD, *History of the United States*, 64-269; MUZZEY, *American History*, chs. iv-vii; ELSON, *History of the United States*, chs. x-xviii; BECKER, *The Declaration of Independence*.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

FORD, *Janice Meredith*; CHURCHILL, *Richard Carrel*; COOPER, *The Pilot* and *The Spy*; MITCHEL, *Hugh Wynne*.

## CHAPTER XII

### FRANCE DEFIES THE AUTOCRATS AND ARISTOCRATS

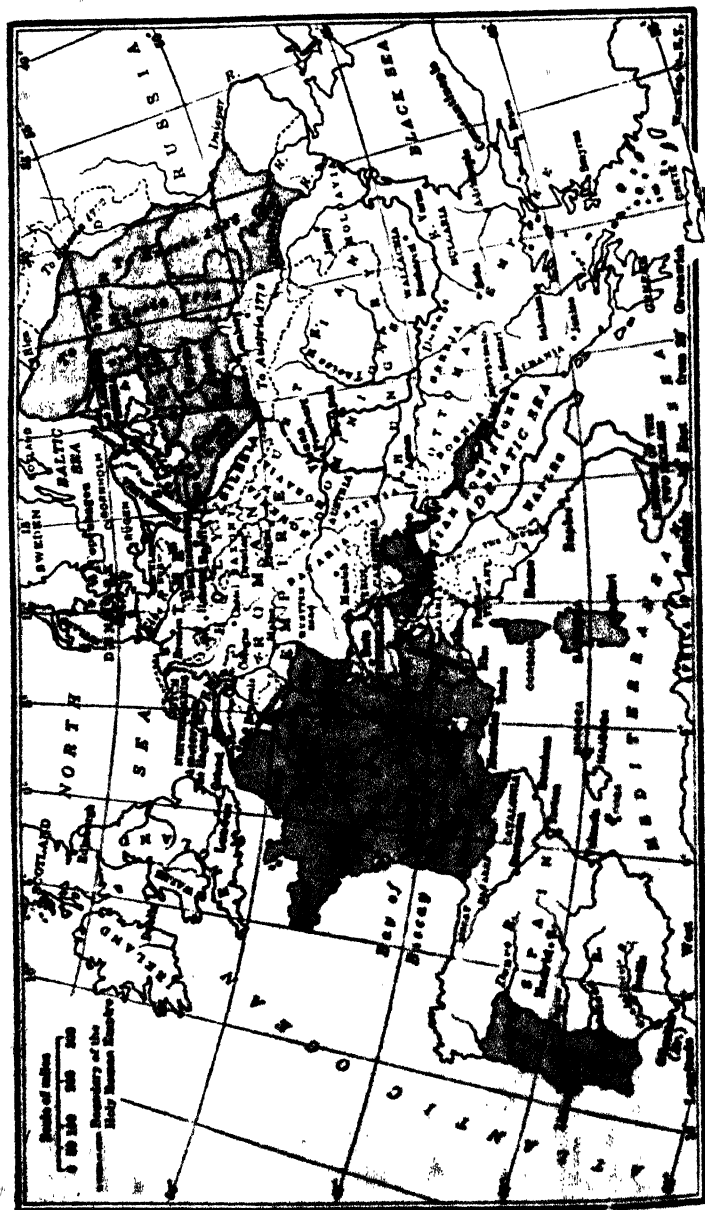
THE WAY IS PAVED FOR A GREAT REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

England destroyed autocracy and firmly established parliamentary government by the Revolution of 1688. Englishmen in America invoked the right of revolution and secured their independence and republican form of government by the war which lasted from 1775 to 1783. In 1789 France overthrew autocracy. The French Revolution of the eighteenth century, in its inception, was not primarily political or religious (as was the English Revolution of the seventeenth century), but social and economic.

**Social Difficulty in France: the "Privileged" Classes.** — The social difficulty was essentially this: the French people were divided into three classes, or "Estates," of which two, the clergy and the nobility, comprised fewer than 300,000 souls and were "privileged," while one, the "Third Estate," comprised more than 20,000,000 and was "unprivileged." The "privileged" were assured considerable financial income without much effort on their part, and at the same time they were practically exempt from taxation. The "unprivileged" toiled and paid the taxes. These inequalities were originally justified on the ground that the two privileged Estates performed highly useful services to the mass of people in the unprivileged Third Estate.

**The Nobles.** — So far as the nobles (Second Estate) were concerned, their privileges were tolerable while they lived on their estates in intimate relations with their peasants (who were tenants and serfs) and took an active part in





EUROPE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789

governing and defending the country. But since the time of Richelieu<sup>1</sup> early in the seventeenth century, the French nobles had largely been deprived of political power and military command; most of them had been attracted as purely ornamental figures to the royal court and seldom or never visited their landed estates or came into personal contact with their peasants. In other words the nobles became non-resident rent chargers. Formal serfdom declined, and feudalism disappeared as a political institution; but still the peasants were compelled to grind their grain at the lord's mill, to press their grapes in his wine press, to pay innumerable tolls and dues, and to submit to social customs some of which were degrading and all of which were annoying. The nobles despised the peasants, and the peasants hated the nobles. The situation was dangerous because the peasants constituted a large majority of the population of France.

*The Clergy.* — So far as the clergy (First Estate) were concerned, a distinction must be made between the thousands of country priests and the handful of bishops and archbishops. The former received niggardly salaries and did a prodigious amount of educational and charitable work; as a class they were good Catholics and devoted to their parishioners, and in return they enjoyed popularity. On the other hand, many of the higher clergy — bishops, etc. — were younger sons of noble families who drew fat salaries and neglected their religious duties for the pleasures and luxuries of the royal court; they were the special object of Voltaire's sarcasm and they shared the unpopularity of the nobility.

**"Unprivileged" Classes, the Third Estate.** — To support the privileged nobility and the privileged clergy, in addition to supporting the King and his government, was a crushing financial burden for the Third Estate. It has been estimated that in the eighteenth century a French peasant could count on less than one-fifth of his income for the use

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 157-159.

of himself and his family; four-fifths went in taxes to the King, in tithes to the clergy, and in rents and dues to the nobility. Another section of the Third Estate — the business-men and professional men of the towns (the bourgeoisie) — were not quite so badly off as the peasantry, but many



THE BURDEN OF PRIVILEGED CLASSES

This cartoon was drawn in 1789, the year of the Revolution. It shows a peasant carrying on his back a clergyman and a nobleman. What is the meaning of the cartoon? What popular feeling does it express?

of them suffered from numerous restrictions on industry which attended the royal enforcement of the economic policy of mercantilism.<sup>1</sup> The guilds monopolized the production of certain goods; the chartered companies monopolized trade in certain places and in certain wares; the internal customs lines prevented the free transit of merchandise and foodstuffs from one part of the country to another; the King monopolized salt and other necessary commodities

and manufacturing and trade were minutely regulated by the decrees which had been elaborated by Colbert.<sup>2</sup>

**Why the Revolution Occurred in France.** — Most of the social and economic abuses just mentioned — the existence of "privileged" classes, the heavy taxation of peasants, and the mercantilist restrictions on the commercial and industrial activities of the bourgeoisie — were not peculiar to

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter IX, pp. 224-228.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 163-164.

France in the eighteenth century. They existed in every country of Europe; and it is pretty certain that the peasantry, as a class, were in a better condition in France than in Russia or Prussia, or even in England. Then why was there a *French Revolution*? Three reasons may be given. (1) French autocracy was more inefficient than any other. (2) French philosophers were more influential than any others. (3) The French people were more affected than any other by English and American examples of revolution. Let us consider each one of these reasons in some detail.

(1) *Inglorious Reign of Louis XV.* — If Louis XV (1715–1774) had had the energy and ability of Frederick the Great, France might have been saddled with autocracy almost as long as Prussia. But Louis XV was neither great nor “enlightened.” He devoted himself to a life of ease and self-indulgence. He allowed his mistresses and favorites to rule him and France also. He took no pains to reform the administration or to economize in his expenditures. In fact, he attempted no reforms whatever and he spent more lavishly than Louis XIV. He wasted millions on idle personal pleasures and more millions on unsuccessful foreign wars. At the same time, he encouraged the upper classes to imitate his shameful and prodigal manner of living, with the result that the “privileged” orders vied with their worthless master in exacting more and more money from the “unprivileged.” The mass of the French people had paid dearly for Louis XIV, but the Grand Monarch at least had contributed to national prestige and glory. To glory and prestige, Louis XV contributed less than nothing, and the French people murmured against him.

(2) *“Enlightenment” of French Middle Classes.* — If the French people under Louis XV had been as universally illiterate and ill-informed as the Russian people under Catherine the Great, France might have escaped revolution almost as long as Russia. But, though many French peasants were ignorant and some were stupid, there were large numbers of

middle-class persons, as well as nobles and clergymen in France, who were well educated and quite used to thinking of the contrast between autocracy in theory and autocracy in practice. These persons furnished a sympathetic audience for the philosophers of the eighteenth century, and were further "enlightened" by them.

"Enlightenment" meant to these Frenchmen in part what it meant to Frederick the Great and other enlightened despots — the substitution of "reason" and "science" for supernatural religion. Voltaire was even more popular in his own country than abroad; at home he contributed potently to the undermining of religious authority. But "enlightenment" meant something more in eighteenth-century France. It meant a critical attitude toward existing political and social institutions and a sympathetic regard for "liberty," whether the liberty of ancient Greeks and Romans or the liberty of contemporary Englishmen. England was the country which had already destroyed autocracy and guaranteed personal liberties and which was now defeating France in one war after another, and it was from England especially that the French political philosophers drew their inspiration.

*Montesquieu.* — Montesquieu (1689-1755), a French lawyer and nobleman, a student of natural science, and an admirer of Isaac Newton and John Locke, wrote a famous book, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), in which he extolled the English government as the best and most rational.

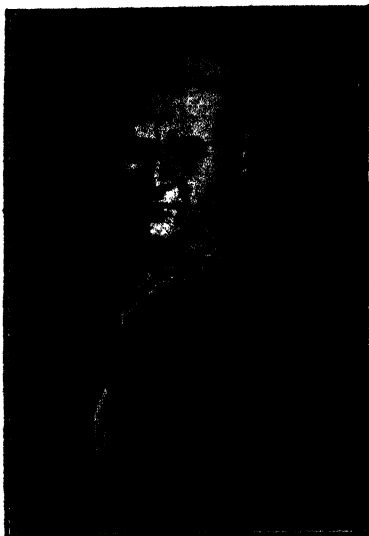
*Rousseau.* — A more radical philosopher was Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Napoleon later declared that if Rousseau had never lived there would have been no Revolution, and it is true that without Rousseau the French Revolution would have followed a different course. His *Social Contract*, published in 1762, exerted a profound influence upon political thought. Derived largely from earlier writers, particularly from John Locke, it became the gospel of modern political democracy. All government, according to its maxims, is the outcome of an agreement or contract by which

at the misty dawn of history all members of the state voluntarily bound themselves.<sup>1</sup> Hence all government rests upon the consent of the governed, and no ruler may arbitrarily deprive the individual citizen of his natural rights to life, liberty, and property. It was Rousseau who made famous the doctrine of "popular sovereignty."

*Quesnay.* — Economic policies were likewise studied and criticized by eighteenth-century philosophers. Thus a physician at the court of Louis XV, François Quesnay by name, pronounced mercantilism all wrong. He became the center of a little group of "economists" who argued for the abolition of all restrictions on trade and industry. "*Laisssez faire*,"

they said to the government, "Hands off! Don't interfere with business."

(3) *Influence of English and American Revolutions on France.* — When Louis XV died in 1774, he left his government on the verge of bankruptcy and the most thoughtful of his subjects under the spell of that revolutionary French philosophy which owed much of its popularity to the success of the English Revolution of 1688. Louis XVI (1774–1792), who inherited the decayed throne of France, was an upright and well-meaning prince, earnestly desirous of being a truly enlightened despot. One of his first acts was to appoint a reforming minister in the person of Turgot, and Turgot set out to equalize the burdens of taxation, to restore the credit



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

<sup>1</sup> This is not an historical fact. It was simply Rousseau's theory.

of the government, to remove restrictions on domestic commerce, and to suppress the guilds. But Louis XVI was not only well-meaning but weak-kneed, and when the nobles protested to him against any abridgment of their privileges he dismissed Turgot from office (1776).

This was the year in which the thirteen English-speaking colonies in America issued their Declaration of Independence, proclaiming to the world that "Man is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In the American Revolution many Frenchmen perceived a welcome opportunity of paying off old scores against England, and of putting their own philosophical theories into practice at a neighbor's expense. Louis XVI yielded to the popular desires, and France waged another war against England (1778-1783). The war was the last straw for the French treasury, and France sank completely into bankruptcy. The success of the Americans encouraged revolutionary agitation in France. The autocracy was alarmed, and royal ministers besought the nobles and clergy to surrender their privileges and shoulder some of the national burdens. In vain! Between the insistent demands of the royal treasury, on one side, and the firm refusal of the privileged classes, on the other, the well-intentioned Louis XVI wiggled and wobbled. As a last resort he consented to summon the Estates-General, a sort of national Parliament, which had not met since 1614.

#### THE ESTATES-GENERAL ARE TRANSFORMED INTO A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

**The Estates-General Convened in May, 1789.** — The Estates-General met at Versailles, in the palace of the Bourbon Kings, in May, 1789. The members had been elected by the French people, but not in the democratic manner of the present day. The clergy had elected three hundred representatives, who sat by themselves as the First Estate; the nobility had elected three hundred representatives, who sat



**THE OPENING SESSION OF THE ESTATES-GENERAL, 1789**

**The clergy sit on one side, the nobility on the other, and the Third Estate in the rear, facing the throne.**



by themselves as the Second Estate; and the rest of the French people — peasantry and bourgeoisie — had elected six hundred representatives (mostly bourgeois lawyers and journalists), who constituted the Third Estate. According to medieval custom, each Estate voted as a unit, and two out of the three Estates were sufficient to carry a measure. Ordinarily, in the past, the First and Second Estates had joined forces to outvote the Third Estate.

**Demand of the Third Estate for Control of Estates-General.** — Now, however, the Third Estate, conscious of the fact that it represented the bulk of the nation, and ably led by an energetic nobleman — Count Mirabeau — who had deserted his own social class to make common cause with the bourgeoisie, demanded a change in the organization of the Estates-General and in the system of voting. It demanded that the Estates-General should organize itself as a single body — a “National Assembly” — in which each member should have one vote, and a majority of those voting should be sufficient to carry a measure. The demand of the Third Estate was backed by a few of the liberal members of the Second Estate (including Lafayette), by a considerable group of the lower clergy in the First Estate, and by the undoubted sentiment of the nation at large. Bad harvests in 1788 had been followed by a severe winter, and when the Estates-General met in May, 1789, the peasants were in an extremely wretched plight, and the cities, notably Paris, suffered from a shortage of food. The increase of popular distress gave support to the Third Estate.

**The “Oath of the Tennis Court,” June, 1789.** — The majority of the Second Estate were bitterly hostile to the proposed transformation of the Estates-General into a National Assembly (which would be controlled by the bourgeoisie). At first, Louis XVI, unwilling to displease his beloved nobles, refused to grant the demand of the Third Estate and went

<sup>1</sup> At the outset the clergy sided with the nobility, but on June 17 the First Estate voted to join the Third Estate.

so far on June 20, 1789, as to shut its members out of the meeting-place in the royal palace. Then these members precipitated the Revolution. They proceeded to a great public building near by, which was sometimes used as a tennis court, and there with outstretched hands they took a solemn oath, as members of the "National Assembly," that they would not separate until they had drawn up a Constitution for France. The "Oath of the Tennis Court" was a defiance of the King and a declaration of the end of autocracy.

**Transformation of Estates-General into "National Assembly."** — A week later, the well-meaning Louis XVI, desirous of conciliating the Third Estate, granted the persistent demand of its members and directed the three Estates to sit together as a "National Assembly" and to vote "by head." Soon, however, a gradual movement of royal troops from the frontier fortresses toward Paris and Versailles made it appear that the King intended to overawe the National Assembly. The Assembly requested the withdrawal of the troops, and the King refused. Then Paris came to the rescue.

**The Fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789.** — The Parisian populace, goaded by hunger, felt that its own cause and the cause of the National Assembly were identical. For three days there was wild disorder in the city. On the third day — July 14, 1789 — the mob surged out to the east end of Paris, where stood the frowning royal fortress and prison of the Bastille, a symbol of Bourbon autocracy. The garrison of the Bastille was small, provisions were short, and the royal commander was irresolute. Within a few hours the mob was in possession of the fortress, which they razed to the ground, and the defenders, most of whom were Swiss mercenaries, were slaughtered. Frenchmen still celebrate the Fourteenth of July as their great national holiday.

**The Revolution in Paris.** — The attack on the Bastille was the first serious act of violence in the French Revolution. It showed that the people of Paris were with the Assembly rather than with the King. It put force behind the Assembly.

It also rendered Paris practically independent of royal control, for, during the period of disorder, prominent citizens organized their own local government (the Commune of Paris) and their own army (the National Guard).

Temporarily Louis XVI seemed to acquiesce in what had been done. He withdrew the royal troops. He recognized



THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE

Note the drawbridge over the moat, the Bourbon flag flying above the parapet, and the old-fashioned cannon.

the new government of Paris. He confirmed the appointment of Lafayette as commander of the new National Guard. He visited Paris in person and delighted the populace by adorning himself with a red-white-and-blue cockade (combining the red and blue of the metropolis with the white of the Bourbons), the colors of the new national flag of France.

Nevertheless, within a short time, members of the royal court were again scheming to increase the King's military force at Versailles. On the night of October 1, 1789, arriving

soldiers were given a supper at which toasts were liberally drunk and royalist songs were hilariously sung. News of the "orgy," as it was termed, spread like wildfire in Paris, where hunger and suffering were more prevalent than ever. The city was starving while Versailles was feasting. The reinforcement of the royal army, it was believed, not only would put an end to the independence of the National Assembly, but would complete the starvation of Paris. More excited grew the Parisians.

*The March of the Women of Paris to Versailles, October, 1789.* — On October 5, a long line of the poorest women of Paris, including some men dressed as women, riotous with hunger and rage, armed with sticks and clubs, screaming "Bread! bread! bread!" proceeded on the twelve-mile walk from Paris to Versailles. They were going to demand bread of the King. Lafayette and his National Guardsmen, who had been unable or unwilling to allay the excitement in Paris, marched at a respectful distance behind the women out to Versailles.

By the time Lafayette reached the royal palace, the women were surrounding it, howling and cursing, and demanding bread or blood; only the fixed bayonets of the royal troops prevented them from invading the building, and even the troops were weakening. Lafayette at once became the man of the hour. He sent the soldiers back to their barracks and with his own force undertook to guard the royal family. Despite his precautions it was a wild night. There was continued tumult in the streets and, at one time, shortly before dawn, a gang of rioters actually broke into the palace and killed several of the Queen's bodyguard.

*The Royal Family and National Assembly Transferred from Versailles to Paris.* — When morning came, the well-meaning King consented to do what was to prove fatal to him and fateful to the Revolution — to accompany the mob back to Paris. And so on October 6 there was a procession from Versailles to Paris. There were still the women and a host of

people of the slums, and the National Guardsmen and Lafayette on his white horse, but this time in the midst of the throng was a great lumbering coach, in which rode Louis XVI and his wife and children. All along the route, the mob shouted, "We have the baker and the baker's wife and the little cook-boy — now we shall have bread." To Versailles Louis never returned. The Parisians kept him thenceforth virtually a prisoner in their city. Moreover, the National Assembly promptly followed the King to Paris; and after October, 1789, not reactionary Versailles but radical Paris was the center of the Revolution.

The "Fall of the Bastille" and the "March of the Women to Versailles" were the two picturesque events which in 1789 rendered the National Assembly independent of the King and dependent upon the populace of Paris.

**Collapse of Autocracy and "Privileges."** — The attack on the Bastille was the signal in July for similar action outside of Paris; other towns substituted new elective officers for the former royal agents and organized National Guards of their own. At the same time the revolutionary action of the townspeople spread to the country districts. In many regions the oppressed peasants attacked and burned the houses of the hated nobles, taking particular pains to destroy feudal title-deeds. In some places residences of bishops were ransacked and pillaged. A few of the unlucky nobles and higher clergy were murdered, and others were driven into the towns or across the frontier.

Amid the universal confusion, the old system of local government completely collapsed. The intendants and governors quitted their posts. The medieval courts of justice, whether royal or feudal, ceased to function. The summer of 1789 really ended French autocracy, and the transfer of the central government from Versailles to Paris in October merely confirmed an accomplished fact.

**Popular Demand for Sweeping Reforms: the Cahiers.** — Originally the King had summoned the Estates-General

simply to help him out of financial difficulties. From the beginning, however, many of his subjects were convinced that his financial difficulties were closely associated with their own grievances and that the Estates-General should concern itself less with aiding the King than with helping the people. At the time of the election of the Estates-General, lists of grievances and demands for reform had been drafted in every part of the country. These documents, called *cahiers*, were not revolutionary in wording, for with wonderful unanimity they expressed loyalty to the King. But in spirit the *cahiers* reflected the idea which the philosophy of the century had made popular, that "enlightenment" required fundamental reforms in government and society. And when, in June, 1789, the Estates-General was transformed into the National Assembly, it was obvious that the *cahiers* would be heeded and that the work of the Assembly would go far beyond the original expectations of the King.

#### SOCIETY IS REFORMED AND MONARCHY IS LIMITED

**The National Assembly, 1789-1791.** — In May, 1789, the Estates-General met at Versailles. In June it was transformed into the National Assembly. Thenceforth the National Assembly was in session, first at Versailles, and, after October, 1789, at Paris, until September, 1791. The greatest and most permanent achievements of the French Revolution were effected during these two years, from 1789 to 1791; and, after the riots and disorders of the summer of 1789 and the "March of the Women to Versailles" in October of that year, they were effected without serious acts of violence. It was the "peaceful period" of the French Revolution.

(1) **Abolition of "Privilege": the "August Days."** — The most important achievements of the National Assembly were social and economic. The first was the abolition of privilege — the sweeping away of the basic distinction between the First and Second Estates, on the one hand, and the Third Estate, on the other, — a fundamental reform usually associated

with the "August Days" of 1789. On August 4, after the National Assembly had listened to a detailed report on the riots throughout the country, one of the nobles — a relative of Lafayette — arose in his place and declared that if the peasants had attacked the property and privileges of the upper classes, it was because such property and privileges represented unjust inequality, and that the remedy should be sought not in the repression of the peasants but in the suppression of privileges. It was immediately moved and carried that the Assembly should proclaim equality of taxation for all classes and the abolition of feudalism and serfdom. Then followed remarkable scenes. The members of the Assembly vied with one another in renouncing old vested rights. Serfdom was abolished. Tithes and all sorts of ecclesiastical privileges were surrendered. Feudal dues were ended. In fact, within a week, all special privileges, whether of classes, cities, or provinces, were formally swept away by vote of the National Assembly and with the consent of the King. The so-called "August Days" dissolved the medieval system of privileged classes in France.

*Gains of the Peasantry.* — The peasants gained most from the "August Days." They were now free to till their farms



FRENCH PEASANT  
SOWING GRAIN  
(From an old print.)

as they saw fit and to enjoy the fruits of their labor without paying tithes to the Church or feudal dues to the nobility. Subsequently, the great estates of the nobles were broken up and divided among the peasant tenants, who thereby became full owners (or proprietors) of the land they worked. Peasant proprietorship of small farms, a distinctive mark of French agriculture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, goes back in origin to the "August Days" of 1789.

*Gains of the Bourgeoisie.* — The bourgeoisie (or middle class of the towns) gained also. They were relieved of the

heaviest burdens of taxation and enabled to participate freely in politics and industry. Subsequently, their opportunities for financial profit were further increased by the abolition of royal monopolies, internal tariffs, and the guilds.

(2) **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.** — The second great achievement of the National Assembly was the clear statement of individual rights and liberties. The old society and government were disappearing. On what basis should the new be erected? England had its Bill of Rights (1689), and America had its Declaration of Independence (1776); France was now (1789) given a "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen." This document, which reflected the spirit of Rousseau's philosophy, became the program of the French Revolution and tremendously influenced later political thought. A few of its most striking sentences are as follows: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights." "The rights of man are 'liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.' " "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its enactment. It must be the same for all." "No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned, except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law." Religious toleration, freedom of speech, and liberty of the press are affirmed. The people are to control the finances, and to the people all public officials are responsible. "Since private property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified."

(3) **Anti-Catholic Legislation.** — A third achievement of the National Assembly was a revolution in the relations between the French State and the Catholic Church. The majority of the members of the Assembly were inspired with the skeptical, Deistic, and anti-Christian philosophy of Voltaire;



they believed that the Church, as then organized and conducted, was the natural ally of autocracy and was therefore in need of thorough reform. So the Assembly passed a series of drastic laws against the Catholic Church. One authorized the confiscation of the extensive lands owned by the Church. Another suppressed the monasteries and other religious establishments. A third guaranteed complete religious toleration. A final measure, styled the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," reduced the number of bishops and priests, and provided that they should be elected by the people, paid by the State, and separated from the sovereign control of the Pope. The King, much against his will, was forced to sanction a decree that obliged all the clergy to take a solemn oath of allegiance to the "Civil Constitution."

*Conflict between Church and State.* — A conflict speedily developed in France between the Church and the National Assembly. The Pope protested against the confiscation of church property and the expulsion of the monks, condemned the "Civil Constitution," and forbade Catholics to take the oath of allegiance. Clergymen who took the oath were excommunicated by the Pope. Clergymen who refused to take the oath were deprived of their salaries by the Assembly and threatened with imprisonment. Up to this time the bulk of the French priests, poor themselves and in immediate contact with the suffering peasants, had undoubtedly sympathized with the Revolution, but now their consciences forbade them to approve the anti-Catholic policies of the Assembly. Only a small minority of the clergy accepted the "Civil Constitution." The majority repudiated it and submitted to persecution. For the first time, a rift appeared in the popular support of the Revolution.

(4) **Financial Reforms: the Assignats and Equality of Taxation.** — The chief reason why the Assembly had authorized the confiscation of the property of the Church was to rescue the State from bankruptcy. In the early days of the Assembly the national finances were in the utmost confusion:

it was impossible to enforce the payment of direct taxes; indirect taxes were largely destroyed as a result of the "August Days"; and bankers could not be induced to make loans. In the emergency, the Church lands were seized and utilized as security for the issue of paper money — the *assignats*. As often happens in similar cases, the issue of paper money was so increased that in time it exceeded the security and brought fresh financial troubles to the State, but for the moment the worst difficulties were tided over. Meanwhile, direct taxes were again levied and collected for the national government, but, though they yielded more than they had done before the Revolution, they proved less burdensome to the masses because they were more evenly distributed. Equality of taxation was not least among the achievements of the National Assembly.

(5) **Establishment of Limited Monarchy.** — Amid all these sweeping changes of a social and economic character, the National Assembly enacted a series of political reforms, which were finally embodied in the written Constitution of 1791. The Constitution of 1791 established "limited monarchy" in France in place of autocracy.

*The Constitution of 1791.* — Following the example of England, the suffrage was not extended to all citizens, but only to "active citizens," that is, to citizens who paid direct taxes; and the right to hold office was restricted to property owners. Count Mirabeau, the most eloquent and energetic member of the National Assembly, wished to go still further in imitation of England and to establish in France a legislature of two chambers — a House of Lords and a House of Commons — and a government of ministers appointed by the King and responsible to the legislature. But Mirabeau was distrusted by the King because he was too "radical" and by many members of the Assembly because he was too "conservative," and his death in the spring of 1791 removed the last chance of importing the English form of limited monarchy into France.

The Constitution of 1791 did not provide for any House of Lords, but only for one chamber, styled the "Legislative Assembly," elected by all "active citizens." Similarly, there was no provision for cabinet government, because the King's ministers were not to sit in the Legislative Assembly



MIRABEAU

and their powers were sharply abridged. The King, it is true, was accorded a "suspensive veto," that is, the right to postpone for a time the execution of an act of the Legislative Assembly; but he and his ministers were deprived of all control over the army and navy, over the clergy, and over local government.

*Reorganization of Local Government.* — The local government of France, as well as the central government, was revolutionized. The old provinces and intendancies were abolished, and the country was divided anew into "departments," approximately equal in area and population. Each "department" was subdivided into districts and communes, — divisions which have survived in France to the present day. Simultaneously provision was made for a new system of law courts throughout the country. All local officials, whether judges or administrators of departments or clergymen, were no longer to be appointed by the King but elected by the people. Louis XVI at the beginning of 1789 was an autocrat; at the end of 1791 he was a monarch rigidly "limited."

#### FOREIGN POWERS INTERVENE

*Peaceful Character of French Revolution prior to 1792.* — Within two years (1789–1791) a remarkable revolution had

been accomplished in France. Autocracy had been supplanted by limited, constitutional monarchy. Serfdom and feudalism had been abolished. Privileges of every sort had been swept away. A great modern democracy had come into existence.

With the exception of some riots in the summer of 1789, there had been as yet no serious violence or bloodshed. The revolution had been peaceful. And peaceful and conservative it might have remained, if all Frenchmen had accepted the reforms of its first two years without protest.

**Opponents of the Revolution: the Émigrés.** — One class, however, was particularly hostile to the social reforms, and that was the nobility. The nobles inside the National Assembly, after their first show of enthusiasm for equality during the "August Days" of 1789, set to work to secure financial compensation for what they had surrendered and to prevent the enactment of further social legislation. Outside the Assembly, few nobles took kindly to the loss of property and privileges. Failing to incite a general revolt, large numbers of them emigrated from the country. Similarly, many of the clergy left France when the anti-Catholic measures of the National Assembly prevented them from following the dictates of conscience. These nobles and clergymen were called *émigrés* ("emigrants").

In general, the *émigrés* were anxious to regain their lost privileges and property, and from their voluntary exile they directed an untiring agitation against the new order in France. By means of pamphlets and intrigues, they sought, on the one hand, to stir up civil war in France, and, on the other hand, to induce foreign monarchs to intervene.

**Attempted Flight of Louis XVI.** — The royal family of France naturally sympathized with the *émigrés*. In fact, the two younger brothers of Louis XVI actually left the country and took charge of counter-revolutionary propaganda. And in June, 1791, Louis XVI himself and Queen Marie Antoinette escaped from Paris and fled toward the

northeastern frontier, apparently to join the émigrés at Coblenz. At Varennes, near the border, the royal fugitives were caught and sent back to Paris, which henceforth was for them rather a prison than a capital. The King's flight was most unfortunate in every respect. It showed conclusively that he was in league with the nobles and in opposition to the bulk of the nation. It enraged the émigrés because it failed, and it exasperated the revolutionaries because it almost succeeded.

**Sympathy of Foreign Powers with the Émigrés.** — *Edmund Burke and England.* — The émigrés did not lack sympathizers in foreign countries. The autocrats of Europe might be ever so "enlightened" themselves, but they could not approve of popular enlightenment which destroyed autocracy and swept away all distinctions between social classes. Even England, which had overthrown autocracy, could not fancy the abolition of class privileges; and in 1790 Edmund Burke voiced the feelings of the English upper classes in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, a bitter attack on the Revolution. Burke's book not only built up English prejudice, but admirably served the purpose of the émigrés on the Continent. Catherine the Great of Russia, the former patroness of French philosophers, complimented Burke, and the King of Poland sent him a gold medal.

**Leopold II of Austria, and the Threat of Foreign Intervention.** — Leopold II, who succeeded Joseph II in 1790 as sovereign of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor, was especially concerned: as the brother of Queen Marie Antoinette, he had a family interest in the fate of the French monarchy; and as the ruler of Belgium, he had a personal interest in preventing the spread of revolution. Leopold persuaded the weak Frederick William II of Prussia to join him in publishing the Declaration of Pillnitz (August, 1791), to the effect that the two monarchs considered the restoration of order and monarchy in France an object of "common interest to all sovereigns of Europe." Whereupon, Austria

and Prussia, urged on by the French émigrés, made preparations for armed intervention in France.

**Strengthening of National Patriotism in France.** — The French people recognized at once that foreign intervention, if successful, would undo the work of the Revolution. The masses — peasantry and bourgeoisie — were profiting from the abolition of privileges, and they had no desire to restore them. They certainly would not permit foreigners to restore them. The threat of foreign intervention strengthened the sentiment of national patriotism in France.

*Increased French Opposition to Louis XVI.* — The threat of foreign intervention also increased the opposition to Louis XVI and his wife. A number of radical political leaders began to urge the complete abolition of monarchy and the establishment of a republic. Most of these early “republicans” were Girondists, so called because their leaders came from the Department of the Gironde: they were cultured, eloquent, and intensely patriotic. The Girondists insisted that if foreign Powers should actually attempt intervention, it would be a good thing for France, inasmuch as the resulting war would force the King into an open alliance with the enemies of the country and would enable the French people to get rid of him. For partisan and patriotic motives, therefore, the Girondists welcomed foreign interference. Likewise, the majority of the Legislative Assembly, who were supporters of the Constitution of 1791 and the existing limited monarchy, were favorable to war; they felt it would consolidate the new order, and their chief representative, Lafayette, was ambitious for military glory. A mere handful of extreme radicals — men like Marat and Robespierre — opposed war on the ground that it would call forth a military dictator.

**Outbreak of Foreign War, April, 1792.** — When Leopold II refused to withdraw his troops from the frontier and to expel the émigrés from his territories, France declared war against Austria and Prussia (April, 1792). The French were enthusiastic. They believed they were waging a patriotic war in

behalf of liberty and equality. Men put on red liberty caps, and those who possessed no firearms equipped themselves with pikes and hastened to the front. Soldiers coming up from Marseilles sang a new hymn of freedom which Rouget de Lisle had just composed at Strasbourg — the inspiring “Marseillaise” that was to become the national anthem of France.

*Early French Reverses.* — Enthusiasm and patriotism were about the only assets the French had. Their armies were disorganized and badly disciplined. Provisions were scarce, arms inferior, and fortifications in need of repair. Lafayette, the commander-in-chief, had ambition greater than ability, and his attempted conquest of Belgium ended in dismal failure. Louis XVI secretly aided the enemy.

**Foreign Threats: Proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick.** — The Duke of Brunswick, commanding the allied Austrian and Prussian armies, invaded France from the East and issued a solemn proclamation to the French people. He declared it his purpose “to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France, to check the attacks upon the throne and the altar, to reestablish the legal power, to restore to the King the security and liberty of which he is now deprived, and to place him in a position to exercise once more the legitimate authority which belongs to him.” The proclamation stated further that French soldiers who might be captured “shall be treated as enemies and punished as rebels against their King and as disturbers of the public peace,” and that, if the slightest harm befell any member of the royal family, his Austrian and Prussian troops would “inflict an ever-memorable vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction.”

The Duke of Brunswick’s proclamation had an effect exactly opposite to what he intended. He wished to get the Parisians to overthrow the Constitution of 1791 and restore autocracy. Actually, he caused them to overthrow the constitutional limited monarchy and establish a revolutionary republic.



#### LOUIS XVI IN THE HANDS OF REVOLUTIONISTS

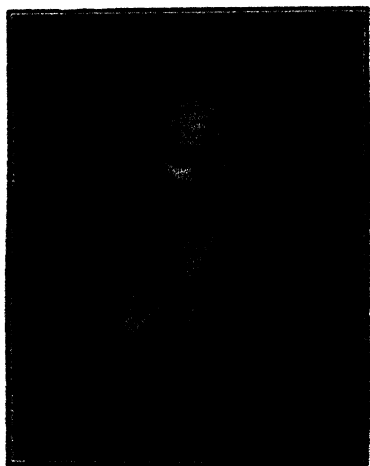
The night-caps, which are raised in the air, were emblems of the Revolution. Perhaps the picture makes Louis appear too noble and the crowd too ferocious, but it shows the spirit of the time.



**Popular Fury in Paris: Suspension of Louis XVI.** — In August, 1792, a mob broke into the royal residence in Paris, massacred the Swiss guards, and compelled the Legislative Assembly to imprison the King and to authorize the immediate election by universal manhood suffrage of a National Convention that would prepare a new (republican) constitution for France. The officials of the limited monarchy ceased to function, and Danton, the rough and courageous head of the Commune of Paris, became virtual dictator of the country. Lafayette protested against the overthrow of the Constitution of 1791 and surrendered to the foreign invaders.

**The September (1792) Massacres.** — The Austrians and Prussians continued their invasion of France. The news

that Verdun was besieged by the Allies was the signal early in September for a wholesale massacre of royalist prisoners in Paris. For three days Royalists were handed over by a self-constituted judicial body to execution by a band of hired cutthroats. Men, women, and children, nobles and magistrates, priests and bishops — all who were suspected of royalist sympathy — were butchered. The number of victims of these September massacres is estimated at 1600.



DANTON

**Dictatorship of Danton.** — Danton soon got the upper hand in Paris. He stopped the massacres. He assured the election of the National Convention. He infused new life into the French armies and appointed Dumouriez, a Girondist, to succeed Lafayette as commander-in-chief. On

September 20, 1792, the revolutionary troops won their first success against the invaders, at Valmy.

#### THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC IS ESTABLISHED

**The First French Republic Proclaimed.** — The very day on which news of the victory of Valmy reached Paris, the National Convention met. Amidst the wildest enthusiasm it decreed unanimously "that royalty is abolished in France." Year I of the French Republic was dated from September 22, 1792.

**Trial and Execution of Louis XVI.** — Louis XVI was brought to trial before the Convention in December. Legally there was no case against him, but his undoubted double-dealings with foreign Powers and his obvious distrust of the Revolution had enraged so many that he was condemned to death by a vote of 387 to 334. On January 21, 1793, he was beheaded near the overturned statue of his worthless predecessor, Louis XV, in the Place de la Révolution (now called the Place de la Concorde).

**Émigrés and Foreign Autocrats Defied by the National Convention.** — Almost simultaneously the National Convention decreed the perpetual banishment of the émigrés and proclaimed that the French people would "treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality, or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or negotiate with a prince and the privileged classes." Thus the threat of foreign Powers to suppress Revolution in France was countered by a threat of France to spread Revolution throughout Europe. The issue was clearly drawn between democracy and republicanism, on one hand, and class-privilege and autocracy, on the other. The monarchs and privileged classes outside of France were now thoroughly alarmed. Shortly after the execution of Louis XVI, they formed a "grand coalition" against the French Republic. To Austria and Prussia, already in the field, were added England, Holland, Spain, and Sardinia.

**Civil War in France.** — At the same time groups of peasant royalists in France, especially in the western province of La Vendée, rebelled against the National Convention. They were inspired by the propaganda of the Allies and by their own devotion to the Catholic Church and the cause of limited monarchy. To cap the climax, Dumouriez, the able general who had been winning victories for France since the desertion of Lafayette, went over to the enemy.



THE JACOBIN CLUB

**Parties in the National Convention.** — The treason of Dumouriez precipitated a reign of terror in France. Up to this time the National Convention had comprised three main groups: (1) the "Girondists," who represented chiefly the well-to-do bourgeoisie of the provinces, more radical in thought than in deed, sincere reformers, but distrustful of Paris and the lower classes and opposed to violence; (2) the "Mountainists" or "Jacobins," who were bourgeois themselves but mainly represented the working people of Paris. literal disciples of Rousseau, extreme radicals in thought.

word, and deed, distrustful of the conservative provinces and willing to go to any lengths to maintain a revolutionary republic; (3) the "Plain," the real majority of the Convention, occupying seats between the Girondists and the Mountainists, having no policies or convictions of their own but voting according to the dictates of expediency. At the outset the "Plain" voted usually with the Girondists, but the treason of Dumouriez (himself a Girondist) and the loud clamors of the Parisian populace against those who counseled moderation, caused the "Plain" to transfer support to the Mountainists. In June, 1793, following a demonstration by a Paris mob, the Convention voted to expel twenty-nine of its Girondist members. It was the beginning of bitter factional strife within the National Convention and of the sacrifice of the moderate Republicans to the radicals.

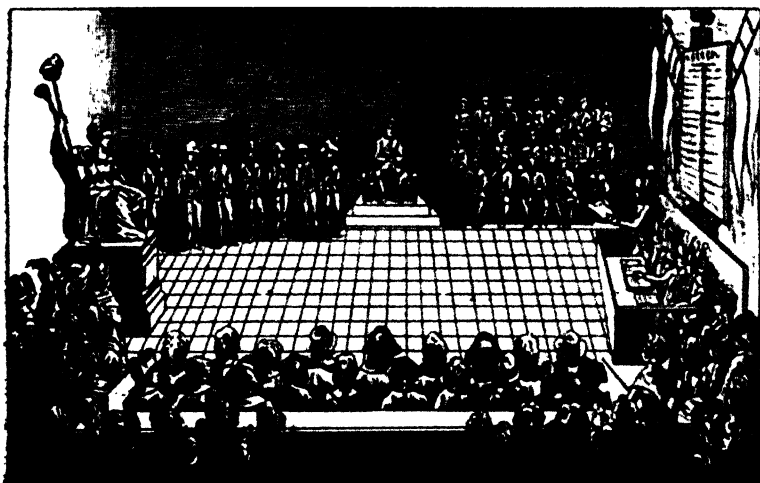
**Committee of Public Safety.** — In the spring of 1793 the Convention entrusted the supreme executive authority of the French Republic to a special committee styled the Committee of Public Safety. This small body, which included the chief Jacobin leaders, directed the national administration, appointed the local officials, and supervised the armies; it worked diligently and effectively.

**The Reign of Terror in France, 1793-1794.** — The general internal policy of the Committee of Public Safety, from the summer of 1793 to the summer of 1794, was terrorism. To the radical republican leaders it seemed that the occasion demanded complete unanimity in France. A divided nation could not triumph over united Europe. The only way in which France could present a united front to the world was by striking terror into the hearts of the domestic foes of the new order. And terror involved bloodshed — bloodshed which became fascinating to depraved groups of "patriots."

The chief agencies of the Committee of Public Safety in conducting terrorism were the Committee of General Security and the Revolutionary Tribunal. The former was given police power in order to enforce obedience throughout the

country. The latter was charged with trying and sentencing any person suspected of disloyalty to the Republic. Both were responsible to the Committee of Public Safety.

*The Law of Suspects.* — A decree of the National Convention, called the Law of Suspects, made liable to arbitrary arrest every person who was of noble birth, or who had held office before the Revolution, or had any relation with an



TRIAL OF THE GIRONDISTS

The statue of a woman with a night-cap on a staff represents the revolutionary Republic.

émigré, or could not produce a signed certificate of republican citizenship.

*The Guillotine.* — With such instruments of despotism, France was made republican by strokes of the guillotine. It is estimated that 2500 persons were executed at Paris during the Reign of Terror and close to 10,000 in other parts of the country. Domestic insurrection was cruelly suppressed, and many Royalists suffered death (including Queen Marie Antoinette). Even certain Republican factions were destroyed.

*Dictatorship of Robespierre.*—The chief advocate and director of the Terror was Maximilien Robespierre, an attorney from Arras and a fanatical believer in the gospel of Rousseau. Robespierre had such faith in himself as the prophet of Rousseau's gospel, and he was so sincere and honest, that for long he dominated the Jacobin party and the National Convention and utilized his position to stamp out opposition to his policies. He thought the Royalists should not be tolerated, and many of them were put to death. He thought the Girondists were too conservative, and their leaders were guillotined in October, 1793. He thought the Commune of Paris was too irreligious because it preferred Atheism to Deism, and its leaders were executed in March, 1794. He thought Danton, who counseled moderation, was a traitor, and Danton was guillotined in April, 1794. Finally, after



ROBESPIERRE

vain endeavors to put in full practice the theories of Rousseau, Robespierre himself was sent to the guillotine, by the wearied and more conservative members of the National Convention, in July, 1794. The death of Robespierre ended the Reign of Terror.

*Vigorous Prosecution of Foreign War.*—Meanwhile the Committee of Public Safety labored to defeat foreign intervention. In this matter the Committee could count on the enthusiastic support of the bulk of the French people, whose social and financial gains in the earlier stage of the Revolution would be lost by a triumph of the foreign foes. Frenchmen now went gladly to war singing the "Marseillaise" and displaying banners inscribed with the words "Liberty, Equal-

ity, Fraternity." Besides, the Committee of Public Safety possessed, in Lazare Carnot, a military organizer of extraordinary ability. While Robespierre was directing the Terror within France, Carnot was raising troops, drilling them, and hurrying them to the front. The work of Carnot was supplemented by the activities of the "deputies on mission," agents of the Committee of Public Safety, who kept in close touch with the French armies and were authorized to send to the guillotine any suspected or unsuccessful commander.

*Revolutionary Successes.* — In this way the French Republic met an armed coalition which would have staggered a Louis XIV. The country was cleared of foreign enemies. The war was pressed in the Netherlands, along the Rhine, in Savoy, and across the Pyrenees. So successful were the Republican armies that Carnot's popular title of "organizer of defense" was justly magnified into "organizer of victory."

**Social Reforms of the National Convention.** — In the midst of foreign war and of the Terror, the National Convention found time to further social reforms. Just as the National Assembly destroyed privilege, so the National Convention sought to lessen inequalities of wealth. The property of the émigrés was confiscated. A maximum price for grain was set by law. Large estates were broken up and offered for sale to poorer citizens in lots of two or three acres, to be paid for in small annual instalments. All ground rents were abolished without compensation to the owners.

Some of the reforms of the Convention went to absurd lengths. In the popular passion for equality, every one was to be called "Citizen" rather than "Monsieur." Ornate clothing disappeared with titles of nobility, and the silk stockings and knee breeches (*culottes*) which had distinguished the gentlemen, were universally supplanted by the long trousers which had hitherto been worn by the lowest class of workingmen (*sans-culottes*). To do away with the remembrance of historic Christianity, the year was divided anew

into twelve months, each containing three weeks of ten days, every tenth day being for rest and the five or six days left over at the end of the year being national holidays; the names of the months were changed and the revolutionary calendar made to date from the proclamation of the Republic, September 22, 1792.

*Metric System and Equality of Inheritance.* — Many of the reforms of the Convention proved to be of permanent value. Such was the establishment of a convenient and uniform system of weights and measures, based on decimal reckoning, the so-called metric system, which has come to be accepted by almost all civilized nations save the English-speaking peoples. Such, too, was the establishment of a fundamental principle of inheritance that has marked modern France — the principle that no person may bequeath his property to one direct heir to the exclusion of others but that all children must inherit almost equally. Besides, the practice of imprisoning men for debt was abolished, negro slavery was ended, and woman's claim on property was protected in common with man's.

**Middle-Class Control of the National Convention, 1794–1795.** — After the downfall of Robespierre (July, 1794), the National Convention ceased to press reforms in behalf of the lower classes and came more and more under the influence of the moderate, well-to-do bourgeoisie. The law against suspects was repealed and the grain laws were amended. The Revolutionary Tribunal was suppressed, and the name of the *Place de la Révolution* was changed to the *Place de la Concorde* (meaning "Peace Square").

**The Republican Constitution.** — The written constitution of the first French Republic was prepared by the National Convention during the last year of its session and after it had passed under bourgeois influence. This constitution, which went into effect in 1795 and was known, therefore, as the Constitution of the Year III (of the Republic), entrusted the legislative power to two chambers, chosen by indirect



election — a lower house of five hundred members, to propose laws, and a Council of Ancients, of two hundred and fifty members, to examine and enact the laws. The bourgeois distrust of the lower classes showed itself again in restricting the suffrage to taxpayers who had lived at least a year in one place. The executive authority of the Republic was vested in a board of five members, styled Directors, and elected by the legislature. The Board of Directors, or "Directory," was to enforce the laws and appoint the ministers of state, or cabinet, who should be responsible to it.

**Failure of Foreign Intervention: Break-up of the Grand Alliance.** — The year 1795 marked the virtual close of the Revolution in France. The National Convention came to an end, and the Constitution which it had drafted for the Republic went into effect. At the same time the foreign coalition,<sup>1</sup> which had been formed to intervene in France and destroy the work of the Revolution, was broken up by the continued military victories of the Republicans. By the Treaties of Basel the Kings of Prussia and Spain humbled themselves to make peace with the French Republic, and Holland did likewise by the Treaty of the Hague. Only Austria, Sardinia, and England remained at war with France, and the latter two in half-hearted fashion.

**Expansion of France.** — The armies of the French Republic were already in possession of Savoy, Belgium, and the part of Germany west of the Rhine.<sup>2</sup> They had succeeded where the armies of Louis XIV had failed. They had secured the "natural boundaries" of France — the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the River Rhine. In all the conquered territory the political and social reforms of the French Revolution were introduced.

<sup>1</sup>The coalition against France included Austria, Prussia, England, Spain, Holland, and Sardinia.

<sup>2</sup>The conquest of the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine was not formally recognized until several years later, when Austria made peace and a number of territorial changes were effected in Germany. See pp. 338, 350.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY  
BECOMES INTERNATIONAL

**The Warlike Character of French Democracy.** — The Revolution, beginning as a peaceful domestic reorganization of France, was eventually transformed, by foreign war and foreign conquest, into a forceful reorganization of Europe. Democracy was proving quite as warlike as autocracy. Autocrats and democrats alike felt they had good reason for fighting: the French Republicans, in order to make the world safe for liberty and equality; the autocrats, in order to preserve civilization.

**Attempt of Poland to Imitate France.** — At the very time when the French Republicans were forcing constitutional government upon the Belgians and Germans on the left bank of the Rhine, the autocrats of Prussia, Russia, and Austria were depriving the Poles of constitutional government and appropriating their country. Ever since the First Partition of Poland in 1772, the Poles had been struggling to reform and strengthen their government. At last in 1791 they adopted a written constitution resembling closely the French Constitution of 1791: Poland became an hereditary limited monarchy, with a cabinet and with a parliament elected on a liberal suffrage; class distinctions and privileges were swept away; civil equality and religious toleration were proclaimed; and serfdom was mitigated, preparatory to its complete abolition.

**Foreign Intervention in Poland.** — Neighboring despots took no more kindly to revolution in Poland than in France, and Poland was much less able than France to defend herself against foreign intervention. In 1792 Catherine the Great of Russia intervened, overthrew the constitution of the preceding year, and annexed to Russia all the eastern provinces of Poland. Frederick William II of Prussia utilized the opportunity to appropriate Danzig and the



THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

western provinces of Poland. By this Second Partition, Poland was reduced to a third of her original area.

**Final Partition of Poland and the Preservation of Autocracy in Eastern Europe.** — The Poles rose in arms and fought valiantly and stubbornly to free themselves. But they were too few to withstand the combined might of Russia and Prussia. In 1795 — just after Prussia made peace with the French Republic — the Third, and final, Partition of Poland was arranged among the autocrats of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Poland as an independent state ceased to exist, and Eastern Europe was thereby preserved from revolution, republicanism, democracy, equality, or any of those other "evils" which were then flourishing in France and threatening Western Europe.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. In what ways did the French Revolution differ from the earlier revolutions in England and America? Did the American and English revolutions have any influence on France?
2. Discuss the social classes in France before the Revolution, explaining the difference between the "privileged" and the "unprivileged." What were the three "Estates"?
3. Were the French people worse off than the people of other countries? Why did the great revolution occur in France rather than in some other land?
4. Who was Montesquieu? Rousseau? Quesnay? What were the chief ideas of each of these men?
5. Was Louis XVI a strong man? Why did he summon the Estates-General?
6. What were the Estates-General? What were the demands of the Third Estate as voiced by Mirabeau? What was the King's attitude toward these demands?
7. What was the Oath of the Tennis Court? Why was it revolutionary?
8. How did the National Assembly differ from the Estates-General?
9. What did the attack on the Bastille and the march of the women to Versailles show about the attitude of the people of Paris toward the National Assembly? How and why did Paris become the center of the Revolution?

10. Discuss the collapse of autocracy and "privilege" throughout France.

11. What were the chief reforms adopted by the National Assembly? Which social classes gained most from these reforms? Which classes lost most?

12. Compare the French "Declaration of the Rights of Man" with the English Bill of Rights and the American Declaration of Independence. Which came first? Do they all assert the same rights?

13. What caused the conflict between State and Church in the French Revolution?

14. How was the French monarchy "limited" by the Constitution of 1791? Was this Constitution democratic?

15. What changes did the Revolution bring about in the local government of France? How long did these changes last?

16. Who were the émigrés, and what did they think of the Revolution? What was the attitude of the royal family toward the émigrés?

17. What was the attitude of England toward the French Revolution? Of Austria? Of Prussia?

18. How did fear of foreign interference influence the revolutionaries in France?

19. What was the Legislative Assembly? What were its chief political parties, and what attitude did each of these parties take toward the question of foreign war?

20. What was the cause of the war between France and the other Powers? What result did the war have as far as Louis XVI was concerned? Did the war make the revolutionists more radical or more conservative?

21. When and under what circumstances did France become a Republic?

22. Compare the National Convention with the Legislative Assembly with special reference to: the length of time it lasted; the degree of radicalism shown by the political parties which were represented in it; the reforms which it accomplished.

23. Discuss the causes and conduct of the Reign of Terror.

24. Who was Robespierre? Why is he famous in history? Contrast his ideas with those of Oliver Cromwell and those of George Washington.

25. How did Carnot help to bring about the success of the revolution?

26. How did the middle classes influence the National Convention during the last year of its existence?

27. What form of government was established in France by the Constitution of 1795? Was it republican? Was it democratic?

28. It might be interesting to make a comparison of the three great revolutions — English, American, and French. You might use the

following points for comparison or contrast: What happened to the King in each case? Did the revolutionists believe in democracy? Did they establish a permanent government? How democratic was it? Did they desire religious freedom? Did they accomplish any social and economic reforms?

29. In order to remember the events of the French Revolution more clearly, it might be a good plan to make a diagram, with one vertical column for the Estates-General, one for the National Assembly, one for the Legislative Assembly, one for the National Convention, and one for the Directory. Then in each column you could indicate the dates, and draw a horizontal line under them; then the form of government, and draw another horizontal line across the page; then the chief political reforms; the chief social and economic reforms; religious reforms; and chief leaders. You will be surprised to see how much this will help your memory.

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Louis XVI and his court.** LOWELL, *Eve of the French Revolution*, ch. ii; BELLOC, *French Revolution*, 41-48, 48-50.

**Louis XVI's reforms.** MATHEWS, *French Revolution*, 91-110; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 235-248.

**The Encyclopedia.** LOWELL, *Eve of the French Revolution*, ch. xvi.

**The Estates-General.** MATHEWS, *French Revolution*, 111-124; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 251-255; STEPHENS, *French Revolution*, I, 55-66.

**The cahiers.** LOWELL, *Eve of the French Revolution*, chs. xxi-xxii; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 248-251.

**Mirabeau.** MATHEWS, *French Revolution*, 152-153; BELLOC, *French Revolution*, 56-63; STEPHENS, *French Revolution*, I, 63-67, 310-339, 409-433; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 262-267.

**The Oath of the Tennis Court.** MATHEWS, *French Revolution*, 119-124; ANDERSON, *Constitutions* . . . illustrative of the history of France, 12; FLING, *Source Problems on the French Revolution*, 3-63.

**Fall of the Bastille.** MATHEWS, *French Revolution*, 125-137; STEPHENS, *French Revolution*, I, 128-145.

**The August Days.** MATHEWS, *French Revolution*, 138-141; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 255-259; ANDERSON, *Constitutions, etc.*, 11-12; HERBERT, *Fall of Feudalism in France*, 101-110.

**Declaration of the Rights of Man.** Text in ANDERSON, *Constitutions, etc.*, 58-61, or ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 259-262.

**Danton.** BELLOC, *French Revolution*, 70-74; BELLOC, *Danton, A Study*; BUESLY, *Life of Danton*; MADELIN, *Danton*.

**Robespierre.** MATHEWS, *French Revolution*, 186-187, 252-265; BELLOC, *French Revolution*, 79-85; ANDERSON, *Constitutions, etc.*, 160-167; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXIII, 416-420; BELLOC, *Robespierre*.

**Attitude of America toward the Revolution.** BEARD, *History of the United States*, 171-184

#### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, ch. xv; HAZEN, *The French Revolution and Napoleon*; BOURNE, *The Revolutionary Period*, chs. vii-xv; MADELIN, *The French Revolution*; JOHNSTON, *The French Revolution*.

#### HISTORICAL FICTION

DICKENS, *A Tale of Two Cities*; DUMAS, *La Comtesse de Charny*; FELIX GRAS, *The White Terror*.

## CHAPTER XIII

### NAPOLÉON CONSOLIDATES THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE AND COMMUNICATES IT TO EUROPE

#### NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE ESTABLISHES A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

**Devotion of French People to Basic Principles of the Revolution.** — By 1795 the way was being rapidly prepared for ending the French Revolution with a military dictatorship. A large majority of the French people were still staunchly loyal to the chief *social* reforms of the Revolution — the abolition of class distinctions and privileges, the extinction of serfdom and feudalism, the destruction of monopolies and guilds. But while they were devoted to the ideal of equality, they were sick and tired of that sort of "liberty" which gave sanction to mob riots and reigns of terror and religious persecution. The Catholic Church was gradually regaining its hold on the French people, and there was renewed respect for authority.

**Lack of Popular Devotion to Republican Form of Government.** — Politically France was now a Republic, governed by a Directory, in accordance with the Constitution of the Year III (1795). But the Republic had been proclaimed in the midst of hysterical excitement and was maintained only by force and violence. At heart the bulk of the people were not loyal to it. The middle classes thought it too weak to guarantee them permanent possession of what they had gained from the Revolution. The workingmen of the towns complained because it denied them political rights and social benefits. The peasants, so long as they retained their lands without tithes or feudal dues, were quite indifferent as to



the form of political government: they were not special champions of republicanism.

**Impossibility of Royalist Restoration: the Attitude of Louis XVIII.** — Under the circumstances, the French Revolution might promptly have closed, as did the English Revolution of the seventeenth century, with the restoration of monarchy. If only the heir to the throne — Louis XVI's brother, who in 1795 assumed the title of Louis XVIII<sup>1</sup> — had had the good sense to identify himself with his own nation, to accept the principal social reforms of the Revolution, and to offer to France a constitutional government, modeled on that of England, he might speedily have overturned the Directory and reestablished Bourbon authority. But Louis XVIII did nothing of the kind. He declared that everything must be restored precisely as it was at the beginning of 1789, absolute monarchy reconstituted, the new rights suppressed, the new land-system abolished, and every person concerned in the Revolution punished. To add insult to injury, Louis XVIII redoubled his appeals to foreign autocrats to intervene in France.

**French National Patriotism.** — Whatever doubt there might be as to the devotion of the French people to "liberty" and "equality," there could be no doubt as to their patriotism. The Revolution, as soon as it embroiled France in foreign war, developed a strong sentiment of national patriotism. Hitherto, patriotism in France meant popular loyalty to the King; henceforth, it meant loyalty to the nation at large. The nation became at once the basis and the object of patriotic devotion. We have already seen how the nation responded to the call to arms and how the revolutionary soldiers defeated and broke up the European Coalition. For patriotic reasons, if for no other, the French soldiers would

<sup>1</sup> He took the title of "Louis XVIII" because he recognized as "rightful" King of France "Louis XVII," Louis XVI's young son, who never actually reigned but died in prison in 1795, two years after the execution of Louis XVI.

not receive Louis XVIII or any other prince who allied himself with foreigners.

*National Patriotism Enshrined in the Army.* — As the patriotism of the revolutionary soldiers saved France from foreign intervention, so the patriotism of the people exalted the French army. Frenchmen were divided in their allegiance to the Republic and the Directory but not in their admiration for the Army. From the Army came naturally the dictator who consolidated the Revolution in France and communicated it to Europe. The dictator was Napoleon Bonaparte.

**Napoleon Bonaparte, the Idol of the Army.** — Napoleon Bonaparte in 1795 was twenty-six years of age. He had been born of a poor but aristocratic Italian family on the island of Corsica shortly after the island was purchased by France, and had been educated at a military school in France. There was nothing striking about his appearance; he was undersized, with a pale face looking out under a tangled mop of hair. But from boyhood he had been restless and domineering, ambitious and selfish. Outwardly at least he had sympathized with the Revolution and the overthrow of monarchy. (As a disciple of Rousseau, he had associated himself for a time with Robespierre, and as an able engineer and artilleryman he had been of service to Carnot in 1793 by expelling the English from the harbor of Toulon. Now, in 1795, he posed as a friend of "law and order" and defended with cannon the National Convention against the last mob-riot in Paris.)



NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE AS A  
YOUNG MAN

Thenceforth the rise of Bonaparte to fame was rapid, and he never neglected an opportunity to utilize fame in order

to gain personal power. In 1796 he married Josephine Beauharnais, an intimate friend of the most prominent member of the Directory; and this gave him political influence. In the same year he was put in command of the French army directed against Italy and Austria; and this gave him military renown.

The European Coalition had been broken up in 1795, it will be remembered, by the Treaties of Basel and the Hague, in accordance with which Prussia, Spain, and Holland had made peace with the French Republic. England, Sardinia, and Austria, however, still remained in the field, and it was against the latter two Powers that in 1796 Napoleon Bonaparte — then but twenty-seven years of age — undertook a military campaign in Italy.

**His First Italian Campaign, 1796.** — With lightning rapidity, with infectious enthusiasm, and with brilliant tactics, he led his forces across the Alps, humbled the Sardinians, and within a year disposed of five Austrian armies and occupied every fort in northern Italy. Sardinia was compelled to cede Savoy and Nice to the French Republic, and, when Bonaparte's army approached Vienna, Austria stooped to make terms with this amazing Republican general. By the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797), the French Republic secured Belgium and the Ionian Islands; Austria obtained Venice as partial compensation for her sacrifices; and a Congress of the Holy Roman Empire was to assemble and arrange for the transfer to France of the German states on the western bank of the Rhine.

**His Egyptian Campaign, 1798.** — England alone remained at war with the French Republic; and in order to bring England to terms, Bonaparte conceived the idea of attacking India by way of Egypt. It was an idea borrowed from the ancient Greek conqueror, Alexander the Great; it was foolish, but it appealed to popular imagination and to the young general's ambition. Bonaparte got his army safely to Egypt and performed there in 1798 many spectacular feats. He

made stirring speeches and sent home bombastic reports. He called the Pyramids to witness the valor of French soldiers. He praised and flattered the Mohammedan natives. He encouraged the close study of Egyptian antiquities.<sup>1</sup> But his actual military successes were few and fruitless. He was checked in Syria, and a great naval victory won by the celebrated English admiral, Lord Nelson, near the mouth of the Nile, cut off the French forces in Egypt from their base of supplies in France. General Bonaparte, luckily escaping the English warships, returned home in 1799. He arrived in Paris at a fortunate moment for himself. "

**Unpopularity of the Directory, the Government of the French Republic.** — The Directory, which governed the Republic, was highly unpopular. Almost none of its members had any ability except in the practice of bribery and corruption. National finances were again in chaos, as they had been at the beginning of the Revolution. The Royalists were gaining strength and the Parisian workingmen were growing restless. The Directory maintained itself and the Republic only with the active assistance of the Army.

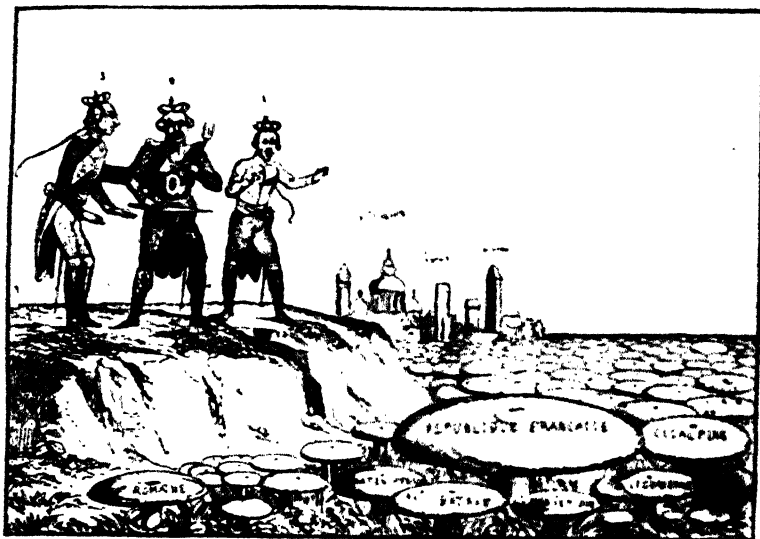
**Direction of Dependent Republics.** — Every day the Army gained bigger in influence. Not only had it rounded out France to her "natural boundaries," but it was employed in surrounding the enlarged French Republic with a string of dependent republics. Holland was transformed into the "Batavian Republic," and Switzerland into the "Helvetic Republic." The political institutions of the several Italian states were revolutionized, republics supplanting absolute monarchies throughout the peninsula.

**Second Foreign Coalition Against the French Republic, 1799.** — To the autocratic monarchs of Europe it was apparent that the Revolution was more dangerous to their security in 1799 than it had been in 1792, for it was now propagated

<sup>1</sup> It was an army officer on this Egyptian Expedition who discovered the famous Rosetta Stone, by aid of which the Egyptian hieroglyphics were first deciphered.

by a victorious army. Consequently,\* while Bonaparte was in Egypt, England experienced no great difficulty in persuading Austria and Russia to join her in a Second Coalition against the French Republic.

*Failure of the Directory to Cope with the Situation.* — In conducting the campaign of 1799 against the Second Coalition



MUSHROOM REPUBLICS

This cartoon, published during the Consulate, shows the King of Prussia (1), the Russian Emperor (2), and the Austrian Emperor (3) viewing with alarm the new republics that have sprung up like mushrooms almost over night. One mushroom is the French Republic; others are the Roman, Parthenopean, Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine Republics, which France had created in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. The Prussian King says: "Lord, how they grow! It's frightful." The Russian Emperor adds: "They would be very good to eat." The Austrian Emperor replies: "Don't touch them, they are poisonous."

the Directory of the French Republic proved itself thoroughly incompetent. The French Army without Bonaparte lost as many battles that year as it had won with him three years before. It was driven from Italy and most of the

dependent republics \* collapsed. Frenchmen, who had infinite faith in the Army, laid the blame for military disaster upon the Directory.

At this moment Napoleon Bonaparte arrived from Egypt. He was the "strong man" to whom Royalists and Radicals alike turned. He was the conquering hero of the whole nation. He personified the Army. And his personal ambition was equal to his fame and opportunity.

**The Coup d'État of November, 1799: the Directory Supplanted by General Bonaparte as First Consul.** — With the aid of his soldiers, General Bonaparte in November, 1799, effected a *coup d'état*, that is, a violent overthrow of the government. He turned the Directory out of doors and put an end to the Republican Constitution of the Year III. He then promulgated a new Constitution which in theory continued the Republic but in fact established a military dictatorship. The principle of popular sovereignty was retained as well as the practice of electing national representatives, but the whole machinery of government was strictly subordinated to an official known as First Consul, and the First Consul was General Napoleon Bonaparte.

The First Consul at once performed a popular act. He called for a referendum (*plébiscite*) of the French nation on the question of confirming the new Constitution. So great was the popular disgust with the Directory and so unbounded was the faith of all classes in the military hero who consulted them, that his Constitution was approved by a large majority.

**Second Foreign Coalition Broken up by Bonaparte.** — General Bonaparte knew that his dictatorship rested less on political votes than on military victories; and accordingly he turned his attention immediately to the armed forces of the Second Coalition. By flattery and diplomacy he induced the half-insane Tsar of Russia (the son of Catherine the Great) to withdraw from the Coalition; and against the Austrians he hurled the French armies now inspired by his

own organizing and fighting genius. The result was that in 1801, by the Treaty of Lunéville, Austria made peace a second time with the French Republic and renewed the provisions of the Treaty of Campo Formio. In the following year (1802) England signed the Treaty of Amiens, retaining of her naval conquests only the two islands of Ceylon and Trinidad. General and First Consul Bonaparte thus destroyed the Second Coalition. For the first time since 1792 France was at peace with the world. The Revolution was saved from foreign intervention.

**General Bonaparte Made Emperor as Napoleon I, 1804.**—Prodigious was Bonaparte's popularity in France. By popular vote in 1802, he was made Consul of the French Republic for life. By another popular vote, in 1804, his office was rendered hereditary and its name changed. Henceforth he was Napoleon I, Emperor of the French.

**Democratic Basis of the French Empire, 1804-1814.**—The establishment of the Empire did not signify the undoing of the work of the Revolution. The word "republic" still appeared alongside of the word "empire." The principle of popular sovereignty was still recognized. The social reforms of 1789 were still intact. The tricolor was still the flag of France. The "Marseillaise" was still the national anthem. A few changes, it is true, were made in externals: the title of "citizen" was replaced by that of "monsieur"; the revolutionary calendar gradually lapsed; the titles of the nobility, though not its privileges, were revived.<sup>1</sup>

#### NAPOLÉON CONSOLIDATES THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

Napoleon Bonaparte did not undo the Revolution. He completed and consolidated it; and herein lies his chief title to enduring fame.

<sup>1</sup> The famous "Legion of Honor" was instituted in 1802 to reward meritorious public service; all persons, without distinction of social rank, were eligible.

**Centralization of Administration.** — Napoleon thought a serious mistake had been made by the National Assembly when it provided for popular election of all local officials — judges, heads of the Departments, etc. It permitted too much independence and inefficiency in local administration, and it was contrary to French political traditions and to his own military instincts. He provided, therefore, that all important local officials should be appointed by, and responsible to, himself. From his time to the present, France has been a highly centralized State, the chief authority in the Departments being exercised by "prefects" appointed by the central government at Paris.

**Relationship of Church and State: the Concordat of 1801.** —

Napoleon thought an even more serious mistake had been made by the National Assembly when it antagonized the Catholic Church. He recognized that the majority of the French people were Catholics at heart, and that their religion was closely associated with their patriotism. Though he positively refused to return to the Church its property which had been confiscated during the Revolution, he made a treaty (or Concordat) with the Pope (1801), whereby the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was set aside, the lower clergy henceforth being appointed by their bishops, the bishops being appointed by the Pope on the nomination of the French Government, and all the French clergy being paid by the State. Napoleon's Concordat regulated the relations of Church and State in France from 1801 to 1905 and it still regulates them in Alsace-Lorraine.

**Financial Reforms: the Bank of France.** — Napoleon thought likewise that the Revolution had not adequately solved the financial problems which had precipitated and attended it. With these problems he grappled. He increased the national income by more careful collection of taxes. At the same time he reduced the public expenditures by rigid economy, by the severe punishment of corrupt officials, and by the practice of obliging foreign peoples whose lands



he invaded to support his armies. He retired depreciated paper-money and revived protective tariffs. The crowning achievement of his financial readjustments was the establishment (1800) of the Bank of France, which has been ever since one of the soundest financial institutions in the world.

**Educational Reforms: the University of France.** — Napoleon's imagination was fired by two reforms which had been begun by the National Convention — one in education, and the other in law — and he resolved to complete them. In education he developed a system of public schools of all grades — primary schools, grammar schools, high schools, technical schools, and normal schools — culminating in the "University of France," which supervised the whole system and the officials of which were appointed by the State. This system of State-controlled popular education was not fully carried into effect in the time of Napoleon, because funds needed for education were used by him for war, but it did wonders in promoting patriotism, if not scholarship, and it remained the goal of educational progress in France throughout the nineteenth century.

**Legal Reforms: the Code Napoléon.** — A similar work was done in law. Surrounding himself with expert legal advisers, whom he literally drove to labor, Napoleon completed and published great Codes of Civil Law, Criminal Law, and Judicial Procedure. These Codes reduced the many and often conflicting laws of the land to a clear, simple system, so that every person who could read was able to know what was legal and what was illegal. Moreover, they embodied the most significant social measures of the Revolution, such as civil equality, religious toleration, equality of inheritance, and abolition of serfdom and feudalism. It is true that many harsh penalties were retained and that the position of woman was made distinctly inferior to that of man. But, on the whole, the "Code Napoléon" long remained not only the most convenient but the most enlightened set of laws in the world.

**Public Works.**—Napoleon proved himself a zealous benefactor of public works and improvements. With a very moderate expenditure of French funds, for prisoners of war were obliged to do most of the work, he enormously improved the means of travel and trade within the country and thereby promoted the economic welfare of large classes of the inhabitants. The splendid highways which modern France possesses are in large part the result of Napoleon's efforts, and so are many of the bridges and canals. Likewise he improved Paris; he projected broad avenues, and adorned the city with precious works of art which he dragged as fruits of victory from Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands. Paris doubled its population during the dictatorship of Napoleon and began to lay claim to being the pleasure-city of Europe.

**Attempted Restoration of a French Colonial Empire.**—Napoleon also sought to restore the French colonial empire which had been lost by Louis XV. In 1800 he prevailed upon Spain to cede to France the extensive territory in America—called Louisiana—lying west of the Mississippi River. Soon afterwards he dispatched an army to make good the French claims to the large island of Haiti. But the colonial ventures of Napoleon ended in failure. A revolt of the natives in Haiti and the appearance of an English fleet in the West Indies caused him to relinquish the island in 1803, and in the same year he sold the entire Louisiana Territory to the United States.

If we except these brief and unfortunate colonial exploits, we may pronounce Napoleon's consolidation of the Revolution eminently successful. His manifold achievements within France enlisted the support of many and varied classes—the business interests, the bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and the sincere Catholics. Basing his authority on the principle of popular sovereignty and preserving the chief social reforms of the Revolution, he was enabled to build up and exercise an enlightened despotism more despotic (and more enlight-

ened) than that of a Louis XIV, a Frederick the Great, or a Catherine the Great.

#### NAPOLÉON COMMUNICATES THE REVOLUTION TO EUROPE

**Napoleon's Use of French Revolutionary Enthusiasm to Further his Personal Ambition.** — If Napoleon had been content to complete and consolidate the social achievements of the Revolution within France, he might have reigned many years in peace and handed on to other members of the Bonaparte family a French monarchy which would have contrasted most favorably with the old-time autocracy of the Bourbons. But before Napoleon came on the scene, the French Revolutionaries had already proclaimed it their policy to overthrow autocracy and privilege throughout Europe, if necessary by force of arms. With this policy Napoleon was in accordant sympathy. He knew that in pursuing it he would have the bulk of the French people solidly behind him and the active support of the best and most enthusiastic army in Europe. He knew that it would afford him splendid opportunities to satisfy his personal ambition.

The dictatorship of Napoleon therefore meant war, not peace. Foreign war, in the minds of his people and his soldiers, meant the communication of the Revolution to Europe. In Napoleon's mind it meant conquest and personal glory.

**Personal Ambition of Napoleon Serves to Communicate Revolutionary Ideas to Europe.** — Already we have observed how, during the Revolution, France absorbed Belgium, the German Rhineland, and Savoy. We have also observed how, at the beginning of Napoleon's dictatorship, this enlarged France was surrounded by a string of dependent republics — Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. Now, when Napoleon became Emperor, he continued the process of annexing or dominating foreign peoples. Northwestern Italy — Piedmont and Genoa — was incorporated into France. North-central Italy was created the "Kingdom of Italy," with

Napoleon as King and his step-son, Eugene Beauharnais, as Viceroy. The Kingdom of Naples, in southern Italy, was entrusted to Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, as King. Holland was transformed into a monarchy, with Louis Bonaparte, another of Napoleon's brothers, as King. In 1806 the sorry Bourbons of Spain, who ever since 1795 had been the dupes of France, were prevailed upon to abdicate; and Napoleon promoted his brother Joseph to the throne of Spain and put his brother-in-law Joachim Murat on the throne of Naples. To all these regions the social reforms of the French Revolution were communicated: civil equality, religious toleration, abolition of serfdom and feudalism, equality of inheritance. In all these regions the "Code Napoléon" was introduced, and political institutions — both central government and local administration — were modeled on those of France. From all these regions, in return for the blessings of the Revolution, soldiers were conscripted to swell the armies of Napoleon. Military dictatorship in France signified French ascendancy in Europe, and French ascendancy in Europe signified social reform — and war.

**Foreign Hostility to French Ascendancy: Austria and England.** — Two European Powers were persistently hostile to French ascendancy. One was England and the other was Austria. The Habsburgs of Austria could never forgive the French Revolutionaries for putting Queen Marie Antoinette to death, and they could never forget that the French Revolutionaries had despoiled them of ownership of Belgium and predominance in Italy. Against Napoleon the Habsburgs of Austria had even greater grievances: not only did he maintain and defend the work of the Revolutionaries, but he seemed more bent on conquests than had Louis XIV, and his assumption of a new title of "Emperor" was an insult to their old title of "Holy Roman Emperor." Twice he had forced them (in 1797 and in 1801) to sign humiliating treaties. They longed for revenge.

England's hostility was of a different nature. The English

people, dominated by a privileged aristocracy and aroused by the diatribes of Edmund Burke, had gone to war with France because of the radical social reforms of the Revolution and the execution of Louis XVI. But very speedily the conflict between England and France, at least to the middle classes in the two countries, took on the character of a continuation of the century-old struggle for commercial and colonial supremacy. The English not only were mindful of the assistance which France had given to the rebellious English colonists in America (1778-1783), but also were resolved that the French Republic should not regain the colonial empire and the commercial importance which the Bourbon monarchy had lost in the eighteenth century. Now, when Napoleon extended French influence over Belgium and Holland, along the Rhine, and throughout Italy and Spain, England was threatened with the loss of valuable commercial privileges in all these regions and was further alarmed by the ambitious colonial projects of Napoleon. Only a year after she signed the Treaty of Amiens, England renewed the war against France. As hitherto the upper classes in England had obtained the support of the English masses by terrifying pictures of the radical "excesses" of the French Revolution, so henceforth they enlisted popular support at home by representing Napoleon as a dreadful despot, the arch-enemy of liberty and humanity.

**William Pitt, the Special Enemy of Napoleon.** — William Pitt (1759-1806), the son of the Earl of Chatham, was a strenuous advocate of colonialism and the very embodiment of the Englishman's prejudice against everything French. As prime minister of England he revived his father's policy of stirring up other Powers to fight France, of aiding them always with large sums of English gold and occasionally with small detachments of English troops, and of utilizing England's superior navy to seize the colonies and commerce of France and of her allies. This was precisely what Pitt did in the war which broke out anew in 1803. It was precisely what



#### BATTLE OF JENA

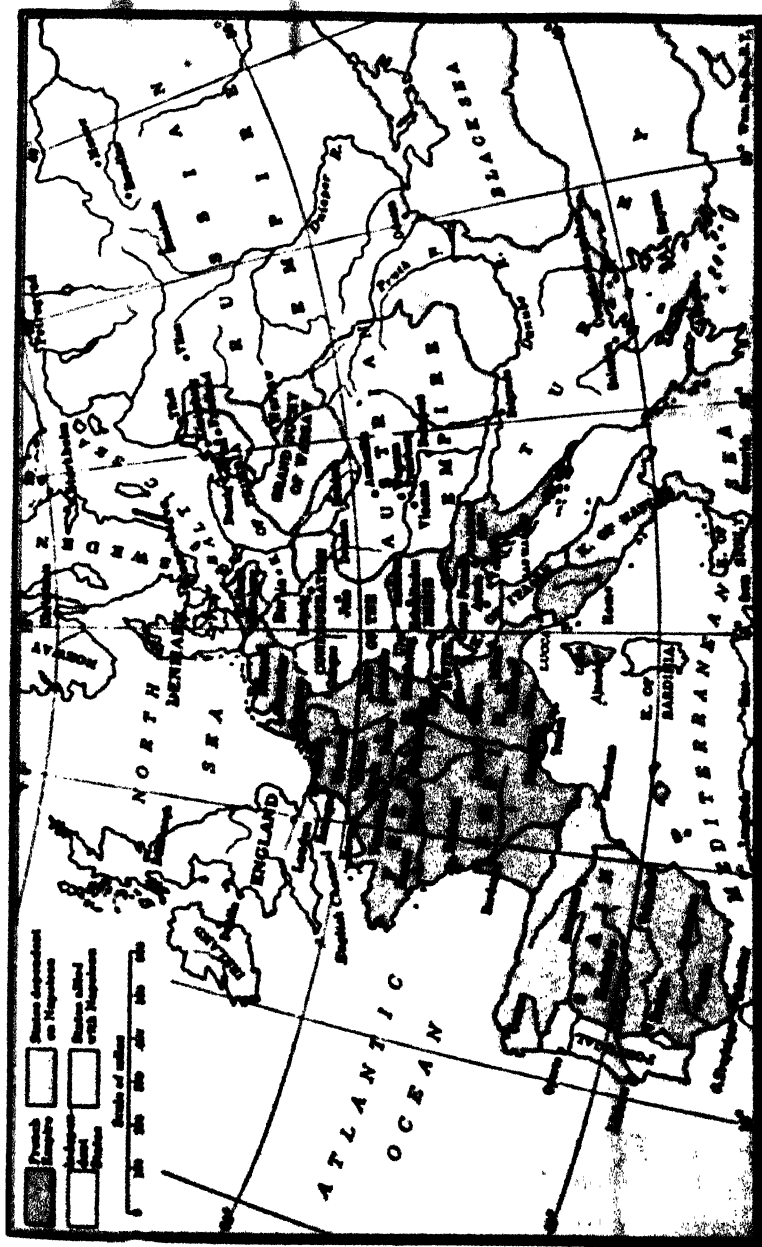
Why was it important? Note the regular lines of infantry, the charge of the cavalry, the ornamental but unpractical uniforms, and the absence of trenches, telephones, big guns, machine-guns, and other present-day weapons.

The Confederation of the Rhine promised to support Napoleon with an army of 63,000 men.

Germany was at the feet of France, and the ambition of a long line of French monarchs and statesmen — Henry IV, Richelieu, Mazarin, Louis XIV — was thus achieved by Napoleon. A mere upstart of the French people had humiliated Austria and destroyed the work of Frederick the Great.

**The French Revolution Communicated to Germany.** — To the German states which composed the Confederation of the Rhine were now communicated the social reforms of the French Revolution. The principles and provisions of the "Code Napoléon" were put in force. Feudalism and serfdom were abolished. Religious toleration was decreed. The equality of all citizens before the law was recognized. Southern and western Germany, through contact with France, was revolutionized politically and socially.

**Political and Social Reforms in Prussia: Baron vom Stein.** — In Prussia, too, something like a revolution occurred. King Frederick William III (1797-1840) was a weak monarch, but he had a very far-sighted minister in the person of Baron vom Stein, who perceived that his country had been defeated and dismembered because its people were less patriotic than the French. He argued that the explanation of French patriotism was to be found in the social reforms of the Revolution, and that in order to develop popular patriotism in Prussia, the Prussian Government must effect radical social reform. Accordingly, in 1807, Stein, with the approval of King Frederick William III, issued an Edict of Emancipation, which abolished serfdom throughout Prussia. Henceforth land might be freely bought and sold, and all occupations and professions were open to all citizens alike, whether nobles, commoners, or peasants. Other reforms followed speedily: the introduction of free-trade, the abrogation of guild privileges, the grant of a liberal measure of local self-government, the improvement of public education, and the



EUROPE AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER, 1812



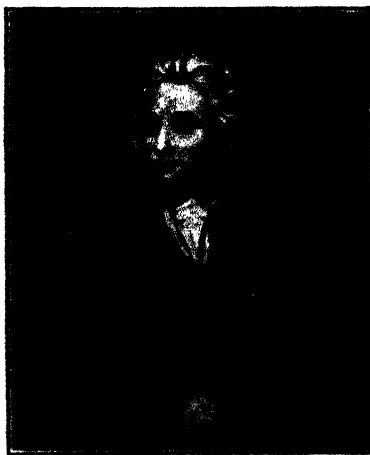
establishment of the University of Berlin. Simultaneously, through the efforts of Scharnhorst, the minister of war, the Prussian army was reorganized on the French model; compulsory military service was introduced; and Napoleon's stipulation that the army should not exceed 42,000 men was evaded by replacing each body of 42,000 men by another of the same size as soon as the first was well trained. Thus every able-bodied Prussian would receive military training and would be ready to serve in case of war. By means of these reforms the patriotism of the Prussian people was quickened and Prussia was prepared for a later "war of liberation" against Napoleon and the French.

*Autocratic Character of Prussian Reforms.* -- Reforms in Prussia, it should be noted, sprang not from the people, as in France, but from the King and his ministers. They were *social and military* reforms, decreed and enforced from above. In Prussia there was no admission of popular sovereignty and no constitutional government. Autocracy remained, and, by reason of the fact that it was now more intelligently benevolent than ever before, it stirred popular enthusiasm and received popular support.

**National Awakening in Germany.** -- Many persons in southern and western Germany were favorably impressed by the awakening and regeneration of Prussia. Though they enjoyed the social reforms which the French brought them, they resented the fact that the reforms were brought by foreigners. The Prussians, on the other hand, were not foreigners; they were Germans too, and they were effecting noteworthy reforms of a truly German character. Why should not Prussia take the lead, instead of France, in regenerating Germany? Some day, perhaps, all Germany might be united as a great national state under the leadership of Prussia. Ever brighter burned the national patriotism of the whole German people. It was a curious and unexpected result of the French Revolution and the conquests of Napoleon.

## ENGLAND SUCCESSFULLY DEFIES NAPOLEON

**English Naval Successes: the Victory of Trafalgar, 1805.** — Meanwhile England continued the struggle with France. While Napoleon was overpowering Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and reorganizing Germany, the English on their "tight little island" were strengthening their commercial and colonial position. At one time (in 1803-1804) Napoleon had made elaborate preparations for an invasion of England; at great expense he had gradually collected on his side of the English Channel, especially at Boulogne, a host of transports and frigates, a considerable army, and an abundance of supplies. But Pitt's success in forming the Grand Coalition caused Napoleon to withdraw his army from Boulogne and to use it against the Allies on the Continent. England



LORD NELSON  
The great naval hero.

was thereby saved from immediate danger of invasion, and she soon won a naval victory of great importance. In October, 1805, the combined French and Spanish fleets, issuing from the harbor of Cadiz, encountered the English fleet under Lord Nelson, and were worsted in a terrific battle off Cape Trafalgar. Lord Nelson lost his life in the Battle of Trafalgar, but from that day to the present English supremacy on the high seas has not been successfully challenged.

**Extension of English Commerce and Colonial Empire.** — English naval supremacy, firmly established by the Battle of Trafalgar, prevented Napoleon, after he conquered Germany, from renewing his design to invade England. It also

enabled England to secure the bulk of ocean trade and to appropriate overseas colonies. France herself had few colonies worth taking. But Spain and Holland, which were now dependent on France, had rich and extensive colonial empires, and the English did not hesitate, therefore, to despoil Holland and Spain. From Holland they took Ceylon, Guiana, and South Africa. From Spain they took Trinidad and Honduras, and they encouraged popular insurrections against Spain in South America.

**The Economic Struggle between Napoleon and England.** — Napoleon recognized that he could not bring England to terms on the battlefield; his only ~~hope~~ was in the field of economics. England, it must be remembered, had become, thanks to the long series of colonial wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the chief commercial nation of the world; she had a larger number of citizens who made their living as shipowners, sailors, and traders than any other country. Then, too, as we shall see in the next chapter, it was during the French Revolution and the dictatorship of Napoleon that the Industrial Revolution occurred in England -- the introduction of machine manufacture and the factory system which fostered the growth of a wealthy industrial class and enabled England to make goods more cheaply and in greater quantities and to sell them more easily, at lower prices, both at home and abroad, than any other people in the world. Against this "nation of shopkeepers," as Napoleon contemptuously dubbed the English, he built up what was called the "Continental System."

*The "Continental System": Napoleon's Decrees.* — By a series of Decrees (1806-1810), Napoleon undertook to prevent the importation of English goods into the Continent. He argued that the enforcement of these decrees would deprive his rivals of their chief markets, ruin English manufacturers and merchants, throw thousands of English workingmen out of employment, and create such hard times in the British Islands that the masses there would rise against their Gov-

ernment and compel it to make peace with him on his own terms.

*The English "Orders-in-Council."* — The English Government, dominated by such statesmen as Lord Castlereagh and George Canning, replied to Napoleon's Decrees with "Orders-in-Council," which made liable to capture all vessels trading with France and her dependents and provided further that in certain cases neutral vessels must touch at a British port. The English purpose was to prevent everyone but themselves from trading with the Continent.

*English Difficulties.* — The English by virtue of their sea-power could enforce their Orders-in-Council, though in so doing they had some trouble with neutral Powers. The stubborn effort of Denmark, for example, to preserve its freedom in politics and trade was frustrated in 1807 when an English fleet bombarded Copenhagen and captured the Danish navy. From that time until 1814 Denmark was naturally an ally of Napoleon. Against the Americans, too, who took advantage of the Continental System to secure a good deal of international trade, the English vigorously applied the Orders-in-Council; and the consequent ill-feeling culminated in the War of 1812 between England and the United States.

*More Serious Difficulties of Napoleon.* — On the whole the English had less trouble with the Continental System than did Napoleon. Napoleon was between the devil and the deep sea. If he enforced the System, he increased the cost of living and aroused popular opposition to himself. If, on the other hand, he failed to close the entire Continent to English goods and to prevent smuggling, he lost his chance of bringing England to terms. As a matter of fact, Napoleon enforced the System sufficiently to cause great discontent on the Continent and not enough to stir up the English people against their Government.

*English Policy on the Continent, 1806-1814.* — England was not backward in fanning the flames of popular discon-

tent on the Continent. Her policy was clearly stated by Canning in 1808: "We shall proceed upon the principle that any nation of Europe which starts up to oppose a Power (France) which, whether professing insidious peace or declaring open war, is the common enemy of all nations becomes instantly our ally."

*Peninsular War in Spain and Portugal.* — When, in 1808, the Spanish and Portuguese nations rose in arms against the despotic interference of Napoleon in their political and



ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON

The British general in the Peninsular War and subsequently the victor of Waterloo.

economic affairs, England dispatched an expeditionary force, under Sir Arthur Wellesley (subsequently Duke of Wellington), to aid them. This was the beginning of the so-called Peninsular War, which lasted from 1808 to 1813 and served to expel the French from Spain, to restore the Spanish Bourbons, to intensify national patriotism, and to bring Portugal under English influence.

*Napoleon's Last Great Military Success, 1809.* — While Napoleon was embarrassed by the Peninsular War, Austria made an unsuccessful attempt to free herself from the domination of Napoleon. Defeated in the battle of Wagram (1809), she was forced to cede Trieste and a strip of Yugoslavia to France and to consent to the marriage of a proud Habsburg princess — the Archduchess Maria Louise — to Napoleon. From this marriage was born a son who received the high-sounding title of King of Rome.

*Napoleon's Growing Egotism and Selfishness.* — The defeat of Austria in 1809 was the last great triumph of Napo-

leon. Already his head was turned by too many successes and too much power. He had always been ambitious and selfish, but now his selfishness and ambition surpassed all bounds. Having started his career as a "child of the Revolution" and a missionary of the gospel of "equality," he became a self-centered despot. Thousands upon thousands of human lives he was sacrificing in combats that no longer were



NAPOLEON ON STILTS

A cartoon drawn at the time of Napoleon's downfall. By attempting to stretch his power from Spain to Russia, the Emperor brought about his own fall, the cartoonist seems to believe. The scepter is falling from Napoleon's hand.

in defense of France and the Revolution. At any time between 1807 and 1813 he might have made a general and lasting peace which would have assured France her "natural boundaries" and guaranteed the perpetuation of the social reforms of the Revolution within her territories. But "natural boundaries" had no charm for Napoleon; he was in the business of conquering for conquering's sake, and he would

brook no opposition to his own will. When the Pope opposed him, he incorporated Rome into the French Empire and imprisoned the Pope. When his brother Louis, King of Holland, opposed him, he dethroned Louis and annexed Holland to the French Empire.

**Tsar Alexander of Russia.** — In contrast to Napoleon was the Tsar Alexander (1801-1825), a sympathetic, kind-hearted man, who could not endure the sufferings which the enforcement of the Continental System inflicted upon the Russian peasants. He could not understand why Russia must pay for Napoleon's struggle with England, and gradually he relaxed the enforcement of the System within Russia. His action pleased England, but angered Napoleon.

**War Between Alexander and Napoleon.** — Napoleon decided to punish the Tsar. He assembled a large army: some 250,000 French veterans; 150,000 Germans from the Confederation of the Rhine; 80,000 Italians; 60,000 Poles; and detachments of Dutch, Swiss, Danes, and Yugoslavs; in all, a motley host of more than 600,000 men. The Tsar Alexander made counter preparations; by promising Norway to Sweden, he obtained Swedish support and collected an army of 400,000 men:

*Napoleon's Invasion of Russia.* — In June, 1812, Napoleon invaded Russia. To his surprise and disappointment, the Russians did not risk an open battle but steadily retreated before him. For eight hundred miles he pushed on until in September he occupied Moscow. The very night of his triumphal entry into the old Russian capital, the city was set on fire, probably through the carelessness of its own inhabitants. Barracks and foodstuffs were alike destroyed, and the burning of Moscow became the signal for a general rising of the Russian peasants against the foreigners who brought such evils in their train. Unable to procure supplies, Napoleon evacuated Moscow and retraced his steps toward Germany.

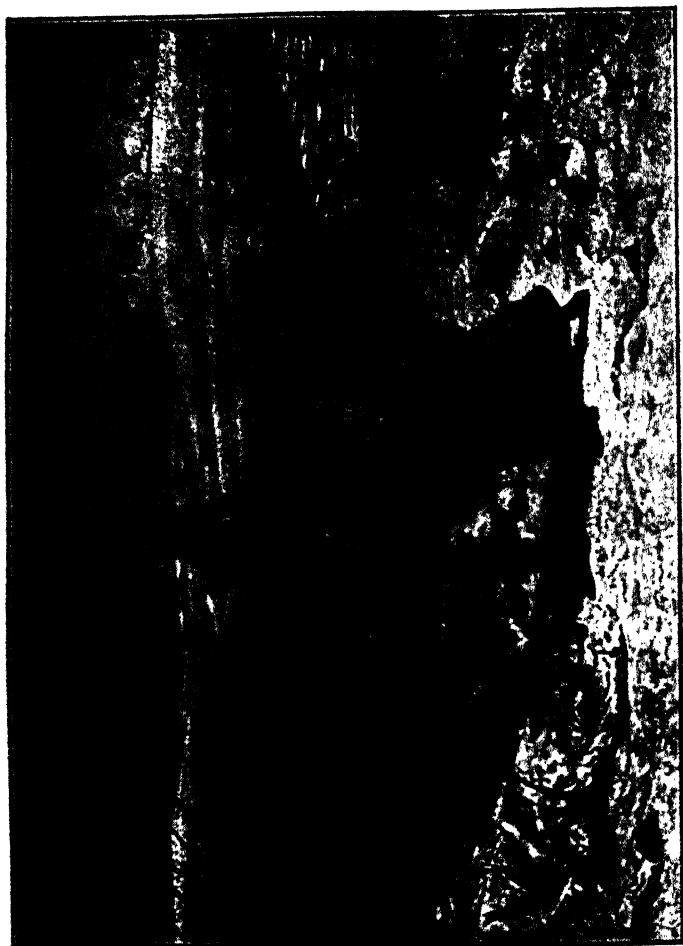
*Napoleon's Terrible Retreat.* — The retreat from Moscow is one of the most horrible episodes in history. To the deadly attacks of the pursuing Russians, were added the severity of the weather and the barrenness of the country. Steady downpours of rain changed to freezing storms of sleet and snow. The desolate country, which the army had pillaged during the summer's invasion, grimly mocked the retreating host. Thousands of soldiers, overcome by exhaustion, dropped by the way. A mere remnant of Napoleon's Grand Army got back into Germany — and they in miserable plight, half-starved and half-clad. Fully half a million human lives were sacrificed upon the plains of Russia to the selfish ambition of one man.

#### THE ALLIES OVERTHROW NAPOLEON AND RESTORE THE BOURBONS

**The Final Coalition against Napoleon.** — Napoleon's disastrous retreat from Russia was the beginning of the end. The elated Russian army pursued him into Germany, where national patriotism was already aroused against him. Prussia, regenerated by Stein and Scharnhorst, wanted only such an opportunity as this to place herself at the head of all the German States and to wage the long-expected War of Liberation. The Confederation of the Rhine crumpled up like a house of cards, and most of its members joined the Alliance of Russia, England, Sweden, and Prussia. Austria, after a slight delay (she had already been beaten by Napoleon in three wars, and the daughter of her Emperor was now Napoleon's wife), also joined the hostile Alliance.

**"Battle of the Nations," October, 1813.** — The decisive battle between Napoleon and the Allies was fought in Saxony, near Leipzig, in October, 1813. The "Battle of the Nations," as it was called, lasted three days. Napoleon was overwhelmed: he sacrificed another 40,000 lives, besides 30,000 prisoners and a large quantity of artillery and sup-





#### RETREAT OF THE FRENCH ARMY FROM MOSCOW

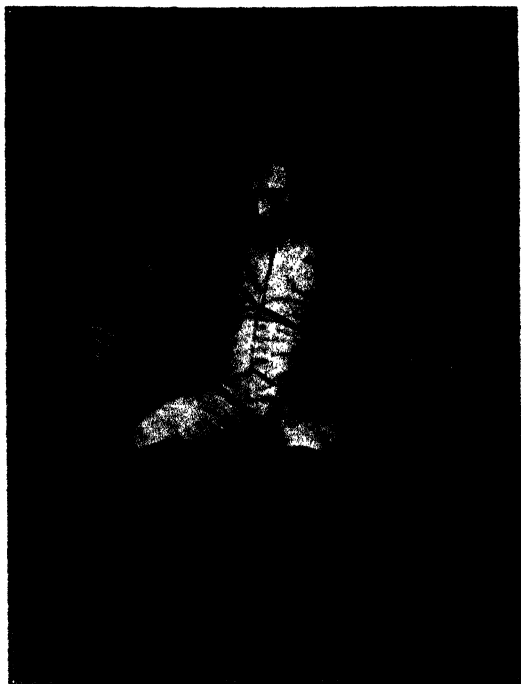
In those days soldiers sometimes took their families with them on long campaigns.

plies. Within a fortnight he recrossed the Rhine into France. Germany was "liberated."

**Foreign Invasion of France, 1814.** — Early in 1814 the Allies invaded France simultaneously from Belgium, from the German Rhineland, from Italy, and from Spain. Napoleon was at bay, and he fought desperately and madly. But this time the Allies were thoroughly united and thoroughly determined. In March, 1814, the four Great Powers in the Alliance — England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia — agreed not to make peace separately nor until Napoleon had been overthrown. They redoubled their military efforts.

**Surrender of Napoleon.** — At

the end of March, 1814, Paris surrendered to the Allies; and in April Napoleon abdicated and retired to Elba, a small island near the shores of Corsica. His military dictatorship both in Europe and in France was ended.



NAPOLEON IN 1814

The self-made Emperor is here shown after his defeat. It would be interesting to read the thoughts which furrow his brow. Does he regret his unbridled ambition; or does he remember the thousands who perished on the retreat from Russia; or does he think of maneuvers that might have saved the day?

**French Revolution not undone by Allied Success in 1814.** — Foreign intervention in France, which had failed in 1792, succeeded at last in 1814. If it had succeeded in 1792, it undoubtedly would have destroyed the work of the French Revolution; it would have restored the autocracy of the Bourbons and the privileges of the upper classes. But much had happened between 1792 and 1814: the Revolution had been consolidated within France and communicated to Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and Spain — all western Europe; radical social reforms had been promulgated in Prussia; and national patriotism had been mightily stimulated in Spain, in Italy, and in Germany. The autocratic sovereigns of Europe could not deal with France in 1814 as they would have done in 1792; they now had to consider the wishes and desires of their own peoples. Consequently the Allies, at last in possession of France, had no serious thought of restoring social and political conditions as they had been prior to the Revolution. Their major quarrel was now not with the Revolution but with Napoleon.

The Tsar Alexander, to whom more than to any other person was due the triumph of the Allies, was a benevolent and "enlightened" autocrat, who was considerate of popular wishes and anxious to promote a lasting peace. Talleyrand, the man of the hour among Frenchmen, who himself had been conspicuous first as a Revolutionist and afterwards as a minister of Napoleon, was emphatic that his fellow countrymen would not tolerate absolute monarchy of the old kind.

**Restoration of the Bourbons in France: Louis XVIII's Compromise with the Revolution.** — Between Talleyrand and Alexander it was arranged, with the approval of the Great Powers, that the Bourbons should be restored to the throne of France, but with the understanding that they should fully recognize and confirm the chief social and political reforms of the Revolution. It was likewise arranged by the Treaty of Paris (1814) that France should surrender most of her conquests but should retain the boundaries of 1792. So

the brother of Louis XVI returned to the throne of France (1814). He kept what old forms he could: he assumed the title of Louis XVIII "King of France by the Grace of God"; he reckoned his reign from the death of Louis XVI's young son (1795); and he substituted the white banner of the Bourbons for the red-white-and-blue flag of the Revolution. But Louis XVIII, cynical and very fat, was neither so foolish nor so principled as to insist upon the substance of the old autocracy. He confirmed the social achievements of the Revolution and of Napoleon and granted a Constitution to the French people in the form of a Royal Charter.

*The Royal Charter of 1814: France a Limited Monarchy.*—The Charter

of 1814 guaranteed most of the individual liberties which had been proclaimed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man

of 1789 and set up a government modeled upon that of England — a King, a Chamber of Peers, and a Chamber of Deputies. If Mirabeau, the most prominent Revolutionary from 1789 to 1791, had come to life again in 1814, he would doubtless have been highly pleased with the Charter of Louis XVIII.

The "Hundred Days" and Waterloo, 1815. — Here we might close this chapter, were it not for the fact that per-



LOUIS XVIII

Compare him with Louis XIV. Note that democratic long trousers have come into style. The King is holding his Charter in his hand. Why did the artist put the Charter in the picture?

sonal ambition still seethed in the brain of Napoleon Bonaparte. It was but natural that Napoleon, for whose ambition the whole Continent of Europe had been too small, should feel cramped on the tiny island of Elba. He knew that not all Frenchmen took kindly to the gouty old Louis XVIII and that the Allies were bickering among themselves over the final peace-settlement. Accordingly, in March, 1815, Napoleon left Elba and made an attempt to recover his throne and his power. In France he was well received, but the Allies again united against him. At Waterloo, in Belgium, he encountered an English army under the Duke of Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher (June 18, 1815). It proved to be an Allied victory and the last battle of Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon abdicated a second time and surrendered to the English. His restoration had lasted only a hundred days. France finally settled down under Louis XVIII and the Charter of 1814.

**End of Napoleon.** — The English banished their amazing prisoner to the rocky island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic, where he lived unhappy and quarrelsome until his death in 1821. Napoleon was the most selfishly ambitious man of modern times and a criminal destroyer of human life; yet it was Napoleon who consolidated the Revolution within France and communicated it to Western Europe.

#### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. In the year 1795 did the French people strongly desire "equality"? "Liberty"? A Republic? A restoration of the Bourbon Kings? In what sense were they patriotic?

2. Explain how Napoleon Bonaparte became a military dictator.

3. Discuss the causes and results of Bonaparte's first Italian campaign. His Egyptian expedition.

4. What was the Directory, and why was it overthrown? What is a *coup d'état*?

5. How did Napoleon save the Revolution from its foreign enemies? Was there any connection between this achievement and the end of the French Republic?

6. When and how was the French Empire established? How long did it last? Could you call it democratic in any sense of that word?

7. Explain in detail what Napoleon did to preserve or consolidate the reforms which had been accomplished by the Revolution.

8. Who were the "prefects"? How did they differ from the "intendants" of Richelieu's time?

9. What were the provisions of the Concordat of 1801? How long did they remain in force?

10. Why were Napoleon's legal reforms important?

11. Describe Napoleon's attempt to make France a great colonial Power again. Why did the attempt fail?

12. How did Napoleon use his power to satisfy his personal ambition? How did his ambition help to spread revolutionary principles into other countries, outside of France? What countries were most directly affected by French Revolutionary ideas?

13. Who was Pitt the Younger, and how did he personify English opposition to Napoleon?

14. Discuss Napoleon's reorganization of Germany and show how it was connected with Stein's reforms in Prussia. In what general characteristic did the reforms in Prussia differ from the corresponding reforms in France?

15. Explain the significance of sea-power in the time of Napoleon.

16. What was the "Continental System"? Were its results more favorable for France or for England? Why?

17. Explain how and why Napoleon was overthrown.

18. Were the results of the French Revolution destroyed by the defeat of France in 1814?

19. What form of government was established in France after the overthrow of Napoleon? Compare the Charter of 1814 with the Constitution of 1791 and with the Constitution of 1795. Which was most democratic? Which was least democratic?

20. What became of Napoleon after his surrender to the Allies in 1814?

21. Do you think Napoleon was as great a man as George Washington? Was he a greater general? Was he a wiser statesman? Did he make a more unselfish use of his power? Would France have been better off if he had followed Washington's example?

22. How did Napoleon's career affect the United States? Look up the story of the Louisiana Purchase and the War of 1812.

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Napoleon's early life.** JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*, 1-25; ROPES, *The First Napoleon*, 1-28; FOURNIER, *Napoleon the First*, 1-71 (1903 edition in one vol.).

**The Italian Campaign.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 307-318; JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*, 27-40; FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 72-110.

**How Napoleon seized power.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 318-326; JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*, 41-93; FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 154-187; HASSALL, *Life of Napoleon*, 50-58.

**Napoleon's reforms, 1799-1804.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 334-337; JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*, 93-101; FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 221-241.

**Were they beneficial?** Compare ROPES, *The First Napoleon*, 302-308, with SEELEY, *Napoleon*, 299-315.

**Changes under the Empire.** FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 391-414.

**The Battle of Trafalgar.** FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 308-309; MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, II, 186-198 (1893 edition).

**Tilsit.** JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*, 142-147; ROSE, *Life of Napoleon*, II, ch. xxvii (2 vol. edition); FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 385-390; HASSALL, *Life of Napoleon*, 146-173.

**The Continental System.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 345-350; BEARD, *English Historians*, 520-537; ROSE, *Life of Napoleon*, II, ch. xxvi, first part; FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 503-520; MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, II, ch. xviii, especially 272-291, 356-357.

**The Russian Campaign.** JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*, 177-187; FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 536-579; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 356-360; ROSE, *Life of Napoleon*, II, ch. xxxii.

**Regeneration of Prussia.** HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany* (1916 edition), II, 270-286, 293-302; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 360-365; SEELEY, *Life and Times of Stein*, I, 430-447.

**Waterloo.** JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*, 223-234; ROSE, *Life of Napoleon*, II, ch. xl; FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 694-720.

**Napoleon at St. Helena.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 369-371; FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, 721-743; ROSE, *Life of Napoleon*, II, ch. xlii.

**Effect of Napoleonic wars on America.** BEARD, *History of the United States*, 188-201; MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution* (use index).

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, I, ch. xvi; JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*; FOURNIER, *Napoleon*; FISHER, *Napoleon*; ROSE, *Life of Napoleon I*; ROSE, *Personality of Napoleon*; SEELEY, *Short History of Napoleon the First*; ROPES, *The First Napoleon*; HAZEN, *The French Revolution and Napoleon*; BOURNE, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*; SLOANE, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (4 vols).

### HISTORICAL FICTION

EMILE ERCKMANN AND ALEXANDRE CHATRIAN, *The Conscript and Waterloo*; TOLSTOY, *War and Peace*; THACKERAY, *Vanity Fair*; DUMAS, *The Whites and the Blues*; CONAN DOYLE, *The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard*.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION BEGINS IN ENGLAND

#### WHAT THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION WAS

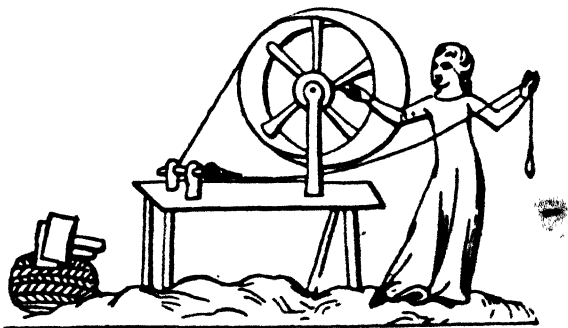
While the spectacular drama of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars was being enacted on the Continent of Europe, something occurred in England that in the long run has made the siege of the Bastille and the battle of Waterloo seem almost insignificant by comparison. This something was the Industrial Revolution. No other event in all modern history has made more tremendous changes in the life of the common man, or opened up wider vistas of human progress, or caused keener suffering and discontent.

Try to imagine what present-day civilization would be like without machines and factories, without railways, automobiles, or steamboats, without telegraphs, telephones, or cheap newspapers, without moving pictures, without farm machinery — and you will begin to have just a faint idea of what the Industrial Revolution meant to the world, what it means to you and me to-day. Had it never occurred, you would have to travel by stagecoach or on horseback or in a slow sailing vessel; your clothes would be of "homespun" cloth, woven by hand from thread *spun* on the old-fashioned spinning wheel; this book would have been printed by a hand-press such as Benjamin Franklin used, and would have been very much more expensive than it is; all the things you use, from shoes to pencils, would be laboriously made by hand. There would be fewer and smaller cities, fewer and more expensive books and newspapers, fewer millionaires, fewer opportunities to make money. Our political



and social problems would be altogether different from what they are. Most of us would be toiling on farms or working with hand-tools or turning the spinning wheel or weaving on the hand-loom, as our ancestors did in colonial times.

**Definition.** — The Industrial Revolution may be defined as a fundamental change or series of changes in the methods of producing cloth, iron and steel, and other manufactured goods. A brief list of its most striking features will perhaps help the student to understand the narrative that follows.

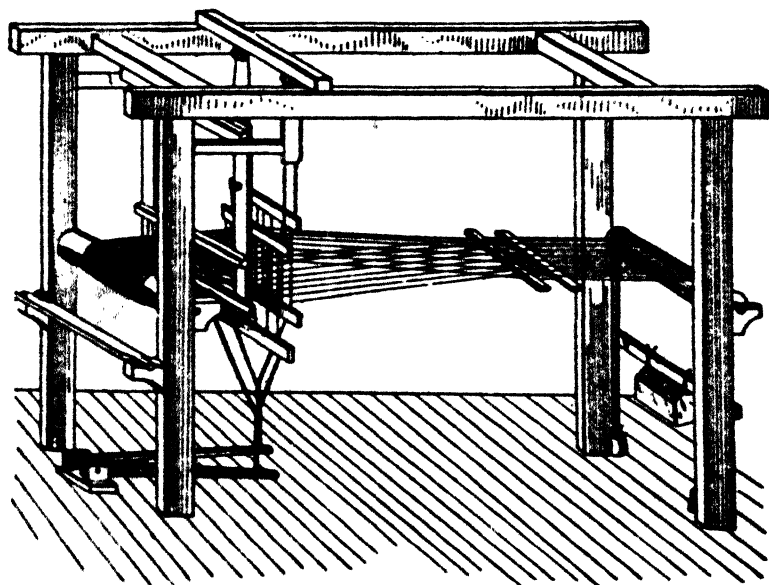


A SPINNING WHEEL

Probably you have seen some of the spinning wheels that were used by our great-grandmothers. This very old picture shows the kind of spinning wheel used long before our great-grandmothers were born. It was very clumsy, without any foot-pedal to turn the wheel.

(1) Machines driven by steam engines or by water power were invented to take the place of human labor in manufacturing cloth and other commodities. (2) The age of iron and coal was ushered in by a long series of inventions which made it possible to produce and use coal, iron, and steel on a large scale. These materials had been comparatively little used before the eighteenth century. (3) The invention of the steam locomotive and the steamboat revolutionized transportation and commerce. (4) Millions upon millions of working people who had previously labored in their own homes with hand-looms or simple tools, now left their homes

to work as wage earners in the factories, mines, and mills, which had hitherto been very few but speedily became exceedingly numerous. This change produced almost incredible suffering and hardship at first, and also intense dissatisfaction, among the working classes. (5) Capitalism gained immensely in power and importance, as the new factories,



"AN OLD-TIME LOOM"

The wooden frame held the lengthwise threads ("warp") while the shuttle attached to the crosswise thread ("wool") was woven back and forth by hand.

mines, and railways were owned and controlled by capitalist employers. (6) The old restrictions imposed upon industry and trade by the guilds and by mercantilist statesmen were swept away to clear the field for free business competition. This, however, was a temporary phase. (7) Industry and commerce expanded enormously, soon overshadowing agriculture, flooding the market with machine-made goods at low prices, and raising the standard of living. (8) Population,

increasing at an unheard-of rate, was more and more concentrated in industrial and commercial cities, until the majority of the population were no longer to be found living in the country, but in overgrown and overcrowded cities.

**Time and Place.** - It is more difficult to attach a date and a label to such a change than to political or military events. Economic history has no Waterloo, no peace treaties, no elections, to serve as milestones. Machines are not made overnight; often they are the product of many experiments and combine features of preceding inventions; and once they are "invented" they must ordinarily go through a long process of improvement before they become thoroughly successful. Therefore it is better to say that the Industrial Revolution had its beginnings in the seventeenth century or earlier, that its progress became very noticeable in England during the second half of the eighteenth century and still more so in the nineteenth century, and that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it has been communicated first to one country and then to another, throughout the world. In this chapter we shall tell the story of the Industrial Revolution in England from its beginnings down through the great changes of the eighteenth century and on into the first half of the nineteenth century.

#### HOW MACHINES WERE INVENTED

**No Machines in Ancient Times.** - When one considers how useful machinery is to us and how many thousands of new inventions are patented every year, it may seem strange that men lived on this earth thousands of years, perhaps thousands of centuries, before they began to invent machines. Even the ancient Greeks and Romans, so highly civilized in other respects, had no machines.<sup>1</sup> During the Middle Ages and early modern times windmills and water wheels for pumping water and grinding grain came into use, as well as cannon

<sup>1</sup> To be strictly accurate, they had a few machines, but these were exceptions to the rule and were not of much practical importance.

and guns, and a number of ingenious contrivances like the printing press and the spinning wheel. These might be called the first faint glimmerings of the dawn of the age of invention. But the dawn itself was not visible until the eighteenth century.

**Inventions Depend on Favorable Conditions.** — The chief reason for this backwardness, this apparent lack of inventive ability, was that men had neither the motive nor the means for constructing machines. Had James Watt lived among the cannibal tribes of tropical Africa, he would probably never have thought of inventing a steam engine, much less would he have been able to construct one. The great age of modern invention could not come until European commerce had developed to such a point that there was a tremendous demand for more and more manufactured goods; otherwise it would not have been worth while to spend years of labor and thousands of dollars experimenting with mechanical inventions to replace hand-labor. Nor would many machines have been constructed unless the hand-workers, especially carpenters and blacksmiths, had become skillful enough to carry out an inventor's ideas. Nor would machinery have developed very far without the help of science. To be sure, some of the first machines were invented by men who knew little or nothing of scientific theories, but in the later development of such machines science played a great part. To sum up, then, we may say that three conditions — economic demand, technical skill, and scientific knowledge — were necessary before mechanical inventions could revolutionize human life.

**Primitive Methods of Making Cloth.** — One of the first industries to be transformed by the invention of machinery was the making of cloth, that is, the textile industry. In ancient times, wool had been made into thread by women with the aid of a small stick ("spindle"). The spinner would attach a wisp of wool to the end of the spindle and then by twirling the spindle she would twist the fibers of the wool

into thread or yarn. Weaving, too, was done by hand. The weaver would fasten a number of threads lengthwise on a clumsy wooden frame or "loom"; then another thread was attached to a small piece of wood (the "shuttle") by means of which it could more easily be woven back and forth across the lengthwise threads.

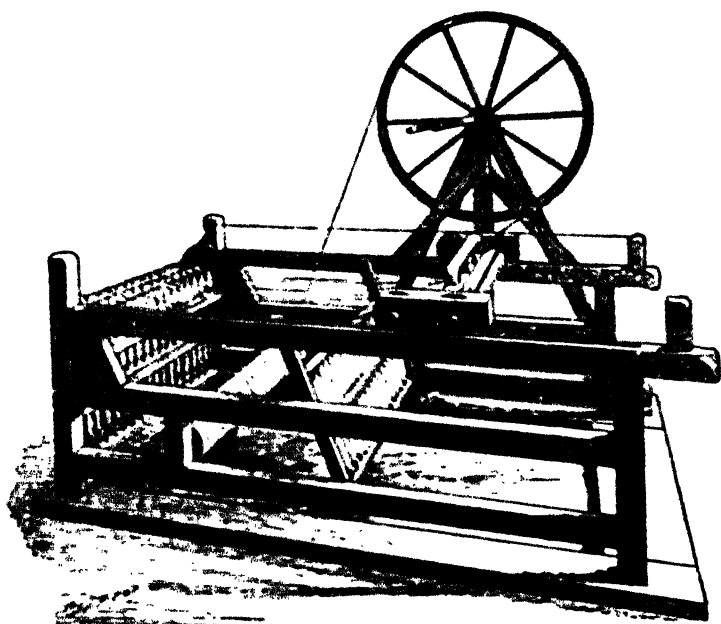
**Early Improvements: The Spinning Wheel.** — The primitive processes were gradually improved. About the fourteenth century, some one had the bright idea that the "spindle" might be fastened in a wooden frame and twirled by a belt attached to a wheel. Thus the spinning wheel originated. Later on, another inventor added a foot-treadle to turn the wheel, so that the spinner could use both hands to twist and draw the fiber. Many other improvements were made, until before the eighteenth century the spinning wheel had become a very useful and efficient instrument.

**The First Spinning Machines.** — Even with their spinning wheels, however, five persons could hardly spin yarn fast enough to keep one weaver busy. In the early eighteenth century, when England's growing export business called for more and more cloth to sell, the demand for a more rapid method of spinning thread was very strong, and many an ingenious mechanic busied himself to invent such a method. As early as 1738 a machine was patented by means of which thread could be spun rapidly and automatically, without being touched by human hands.<sup>1</sup> The power was furnished, at first, by two donkeys; later, by a water wheel. This machine, however, was too crude to be a practical success.

*James Hargreaves and the Spinning Jenny.* — Almost thirty years later, a weaver who was also a good carpenter, happened to see his wife upset her spinning wheel, so the story goes, and as he noticed the wheel continuing to spin, the idea struck him that several spindles might be set in a frame and operated by one wheel. Accordingly, he made

<sup>1</sup> John Wyatt and Lewis Paul worked together in constructing this machine and both claimed the credit for inventing it.

a frame with eight spindles and devised a pair of bars or clamps to take the place of human fingers in guiding and holding the threads, so that one person by turning the wheel and moving the bars could spin eight threads at a time. He called it the Spinning "Jenny" as a compliment to his wife. When his neighbors discovered that he had made a



A "SPINNING JENNY"

The number of spindles tells how many threads this machine could spin at the same time.

machine which might rob them of their work, they broke into the house and smashed the Jenny. James Hargreaves, for such was the inventor's name, moved to another town and began to sell Jennies, some of them big enough to spin over a hundred threads at a time, and before long he had earned a small fortune by his invention. \*

*Arkwright's Water-frame.* — Just about the same time, an ignorant but shrewd barber or wigmaker 'y the name of

Richard Arkwright, realizing that great profits could be made with a spinning machine, attempted to solve the problem in an entirely different manner. In his machine, loosely twisted strands of fiber were drawn out between pairs of rollers and then automatically twisted into hard, firm thread by revolving spindles, also automatic. His first machine was run by horsepower, but later he found a way of using waterpower, and consequently his invention is known as the "water-frame" or water-machine. Arkwright probably got the idea from others, but he had enough business ability to make it a paying proposition. Soon he had a number of factories or mills, where his water-frames were making money for him at such a rate that the former



SIR RICHARD ARKWRIGHT

"the father of the factory system."

barber rolled in wealth; he was one of the first millionaires made by machinery.

*Crompton's Mule, 1779.* — Neither Hargreaves nor Arkwright, however, had found the final solution. The thread made by the Jenny was fine but weak, that made by the water-frame was strong but coarse. Combining the two machines in such a way as to use the good points of both was the work of Samuel Crompton, a young man who had learned to spin on the Jenny and who thought he could improve it. After five years of experimentation, he built what is called a spinning mule, because, like the animal of that name, it was a hybrid. He put twenty or thirty spindles on a movable carriage or frame in such a way that when the carriage was pulled out a certain distance from the rollers

through which the unspun fibers were fed, each spindle would draw out a length of fibers, twisting as it went; and then, after the fibers were twisted tightly enough to stand the strain, the rollers were stopped while the carriage was pulled still farther away so as to stretch the thread and make it finer. Then the carriage was moved back to its original position while the spindles wound up the length of completed thread. By this process stronger and finer thread could be spun than by hand, and spun very much more rapidly and cheaply. In its first form the mule required much attention and many of its parts had to be operated by hand; in later years, however, it was made almost completely automatic, and is still in use to-day.

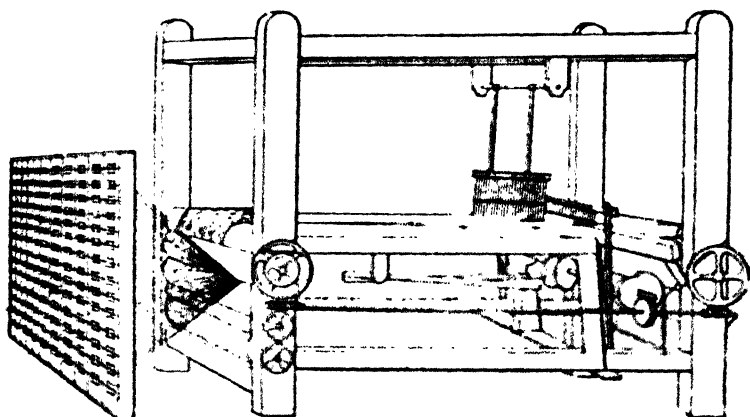
The manufacturers who purchased Crompton's first mule, as a model for the construction of others, never paid him what they promised, and as he took out no patent he could not prevent them from using his invention. While many a factory owner was making huge profits by it, Crompton himself remained poor to the day of his death.

**Cartwright and the Automatic Loom.** — A few years after the invention of Crompton's mule, an English clergyman by the name of Cartwright happened to hear a friend say that the new spinning machines would soon be producing more thread than all the weavers of England could use. Some one, he replied, ought to invent an automatic weaving machine. The thing was impossible, his friend declared. The clergyman, however, had recently seen an automatic chess-player exhibited in London and was sure that an automatic loom would be comparatively easy to invent. Though he knew almost nothing about weaving or about mechanics, he confidently grappled with the problem, thought out a plan, and hired a carpenter and a smith to carry out his ideas. The machine was clumsy, but it worked after a fashion. The first few manufacturers who tried to use it could not make it pay. Not until a number of improvements had been made by later inventors was the new auto-



matic loom generally adopted. By the year 1813 there were 2400 of them in England; twenty years later, 85,000. But thousands of hand-loom weavers still fought the losing battle against machinery.

**Inventions Used at first only in Cotton Industry.** — The new machines for spinning and weaving were at first used almost exclusively by the makers of cotton cloth. The reason is interesting. Before the eighteenth century, cotton cloth had been regarded in England as a luxury and was



CARTWRIGHT'S POWER LOOM

Cartwright used cog-wheels and levers to do the work of human hands

chiefly imported from India, although a few English manufacturers tried to compete with the more skillful Indian weavers. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the makers of woolen cloth persuaded Parliament to prohibit the use of "calico" (as Indian cotton cloth was called) in order to protect the woolen industry, then England's greatest pride, from foreign competition. The result was not quite what Parliament expected. As people still wanted cotton goods rather than woolens, English cotton weavers were able to do a thriving business. Not only were these cotton manufacturers anxious to increase their output by

means of machinery, but they were free to do so, being unhampered by the mercantilist regulations to which the older and more important woolen industry was subject. Hargreaves's Jenny, Arkwright's water-frame, Crompton's mule, and Cartwright's automatic loom brought about an enormous expansion in the cotton trade,<sup>1</sup> while the spinners and weavers of wool clung stubbornly to the old methods of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. In course of time, however, the new machines were applied to wool and also to linen and silk, but cotton had obtained a lead over its competitors.

**Water Power.** - For a number of years the power to run the spinning-machines and automatic looms was provided by water wheels. In the 1770's and 1780's cotton mills sprang up like mushrooms along swift rivers and streams. By 1788 there were 143 water-power cotton mills in England. Toward the end of the century, water began to be displaced by a new source of power, the steam engine.

#### STEAM BECOMES THE SERVANT OF MAN

**James Watt and the Steam Engine.** - James Watt is commonly called the inventor of the steam engine, but he really did no more than improve it. Even before he was born, steam engines of various types had been invented by other men, one of these types being used in English coal mines to pump out the water which so often flooded the pits.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These were the most revolutionary of the inventions in the cotton industry, but there were many others. A carding-machine to prepare the cotton fiber in loose strands ready for weaving had been invented in 1748 by Lewis Paul and was improved by Arkwright in 1775. Snodgrass invented a scutching-machine in 1797 to clean and open the fibers. James Bell devised a new method of printing colored patterns on cotton cloth in 1783. The invention of the cotton gin, to separate the seeds from the fibers of the raw cotton, by Eli Whitney, an American, in 1792, was especially important.

<sup>2</sup> The engine most generally used for this purpose was Newcomen's "fire-engine," invented in the year 1705. Other steam engines had been invented still earlier.

James Watt was working as a maker and repairer of scientific instruments at the University of Edinburgh when a model of this engine was brought to him for repair. In the model, he observed, much heat and time were wasted, because with each stroke of the piston the steam in the cylinder had to be condensed by cooling, and then the cylinder had to be heated up for the next stroke. After puzzling over the problem for some time, Watt decided to let the steam escape through a valve into a separate condensing chamber which would be

kept cool constantly while the main cylinder remained hot.



JAMES WATT

When Watt tried to construct such an engine he encountered difficulties that would discourage most men. No iron-workers seemed skillful enough to make the cylinder perfectly round or the piston rod absolutely smooth and straight or the valves tight. He had just about given up his experiments when a wealthy friend, who thought the engine

might be used profitably in his own coal mines, paid the inventor's debts and persuaded him to persevere. Finally, in the year 1769, Watt's first steam engine was finished. It was called "Beelzebub," quite appropriately, as it not only breathed fire and smoke but acted like the devil. Watt's friend, to make matters worse, was no longer able to give him financial help. Fortunately, a wealthy hardware manufacturer of Birmingham, Matthew Boulton, took an interest in the invention, brought "Beelzebub" to his factory for repair, and formed a partnership with Watt for the manufacture of steam engines.

**Applications of the Steam Engine.** — The first engines Boulton and Watt sold were designed as pumps to drain

the water out of coal-mines or to pump air for blast-furnaces. Watt, however, 'continued to improve his engine' and at length invented a way to connect the piston, which moved back and forth in a straight line, with a wheel in such a manner as to turn grindstones or to drive the machines of cotton mills. Among the many new uses that were discovered for the steam engine, the application of steam power to the printing press, in 1814, calls for special comment because it made possible the printing of books and newspapers cheap enough for the common people. The steamboat and the locomotive will be dealt with later.<sup>2</sup>

#### NEW USES FOR IRON AND COAL ARE LEARNED

The invention of machines and of an engine to drive them may be regarded as one essential feature of the Industrial Revolution. A second feature, closely connected with the first, was the increased use of coal and iron. The period before the revolution might be called an "age of wood," so extensively was wood used for fuel and for tools. Only a small amount of coal was mined. Iron was expensive and scarce, because the methods of manufacturing it were crude. It is not surprising that the first machines were made of wood rather than of iron.

**The New Fuel.** — One of the first great steps forward toward the "age of coal and iron" was the substitution of coal for charcoal in the furnaces used for smelting (that is, melting) iron ore. Early in the seventeenth century this experiment was tried by an Englishman who observed that whereas the supply of wood for charcoal was being exhausted, there was plenty of coal to be had for the trouble of mining it. It was a brilliant idea but in practice it failed to work. A century later, another English iron maker by the name of

<sup>1</sup> One of the greatest improvements was made in 1782, when Watt arranged the valves in such a way that the pressure of the steam was applied to the backward as well as to the forward stroke of the piston.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 385-388.

Darby obtained better results by using the coal in the form of coke.<sup>1</sup> A coke fire could not be made very hot unless fanned by a strong blast of air (that is why iron furnaces are called "blast furnaces"). For this purpose Darby used a large pair of bellows which were operated by a water wheel.

**Smeaton's Blower.**—A still better way of producing a strong current of air in the furnace was discovered in 1760 by John Smeaton, an engineer employed in a Scottish iron foundry, where coke had been used with rather poor results. For the old-fashioned leather bellows, Smeaton substituted an air pump consisting of four large iron cylinders, fitted with pistons and valves and run by water power. With Smeaton's pump, coke could at last be used successfully for smelting iron. It is worth noting, by the way, that steam engines were used to pump water to turn the water wheels by which Smeaton's blowers were generally operated. An iron maker was James Watt's first customer. Moreover, as the iron foundries demanded large quantities of coal for coke, mining became more extensive. Here, again, the steam engine was of great service in pumping water out of the mines and in raising loads of coal to the surface.

**Henry Cort's Processes.**—When coke was used as fuel, the "pig iron"<sup>2</sup> produced in blast-furnaces was found to contain impurities which made it too brittle for many purposes. How to transform pig iron into the purer and tougher forms known as steel and wrought iron, was a puzzling problem until about the year 1784, when Henry Cort discovered<sup>3</sup> that if the pig iron were heated in a special furnace and stirred

<sup>1</sup> Coke is coal which has been heated in an oven. It corresponds to coal in the same way as charcoal does to wood.

<sup>2</sup> It was called pig iron because when molten iron was poured into molds of sand to cool, after being smelted, the mold was usually in the form of a large, long lump with a row of smaller lumps along each side, so that it resembled a sow with a row of young pigs on either side.

<sup>3</sup> He was probably not the original inventor, but he was the first to apply the process successfully.

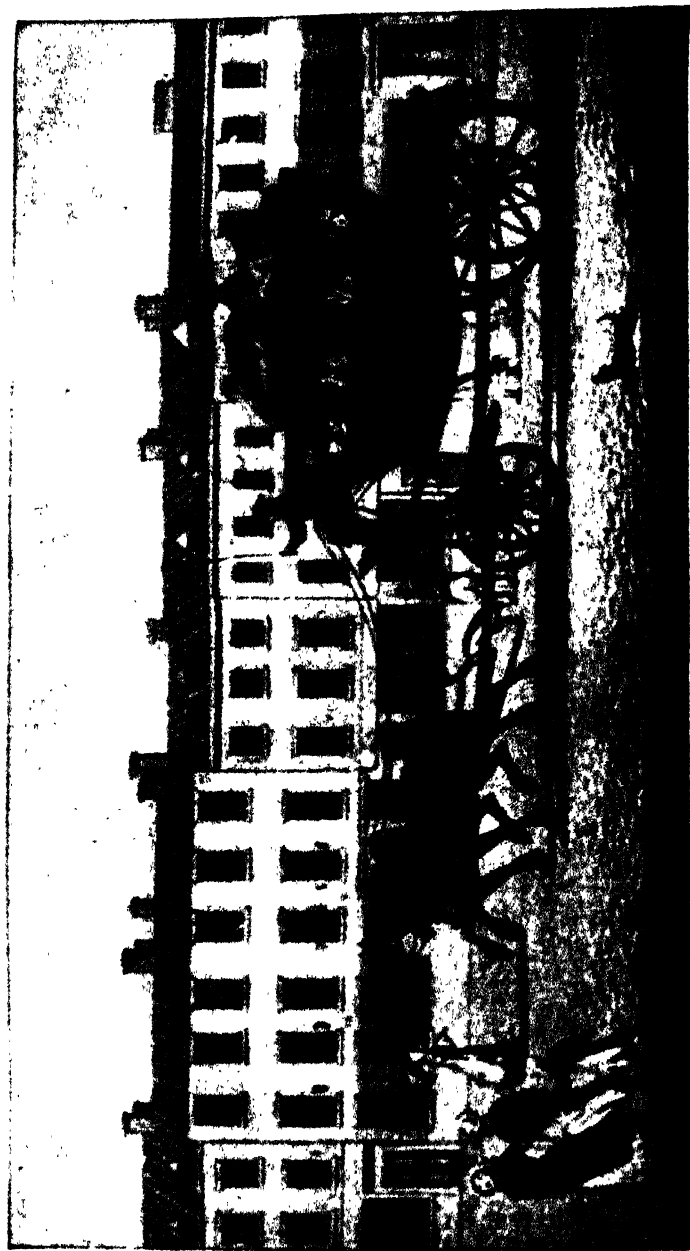
or "puddled" while very hot, most of the impurities could be removed. Glowing with heat, the purified metal was then taken from the furnace and, instead of being beaten out with hammers, was pressed into the form of bars or sheets by means of heavy rollers. Thanks to these new methods, cheaper and better iron was available for use in machinery, tanks, and boilers. An unusually bold inventor even built a ship of sheet iron.

**The Slide-rest.** — Any one who has ever seen an automobile motor or an engine of any kind taken apart knows how important it is that the cylinders and pistons should be "true," that is to say, smoothly and accurately shaped. To bore a cylinder accurately or to make a valve air-tight was impossible as long as it was done by hand, for no workman can hold a tool absolutely steady in his hand. In the year 1794, however, a "slide-rest" was invented<sup>1</sup> which would hold the tool steady while the object on which it was being used was rotated on a lathe or turning machine. This may appear to be an absurdly simple invention, but it made a world of difference in the success or failure of steam engines and iron machines of every sort.

**Trevithick's High-pressure Engine.** — One of the most serious difficulties which had been met with, up to this time, in constructing steam engines, was the tendency of boilers to blow up if the pressure of the steam became very powerful. As soon, however, as boilers could be made of strong sheet iron, the use of steam at high pressure became safe and the steam engine could be vastly improved. The size of the cylinder and piston could be reduced and the whole engine could be made smaller and simpler.<sup>2</sup> To Richard Trevithick, who made this improvement (about the year 1800), the steam engine owes almost as much as to James Watt.

<sup>1</sup> By Maudslay.

<sup>2</sup> In the high-pressure engine Watt's condensing chamber was no longer necessary.



A STAGE-COACH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

This is the sort of vehicle in which our ancestors traveled before the Industrial Revolution.

## STEAM MOVES SHIPS AND WAGONS

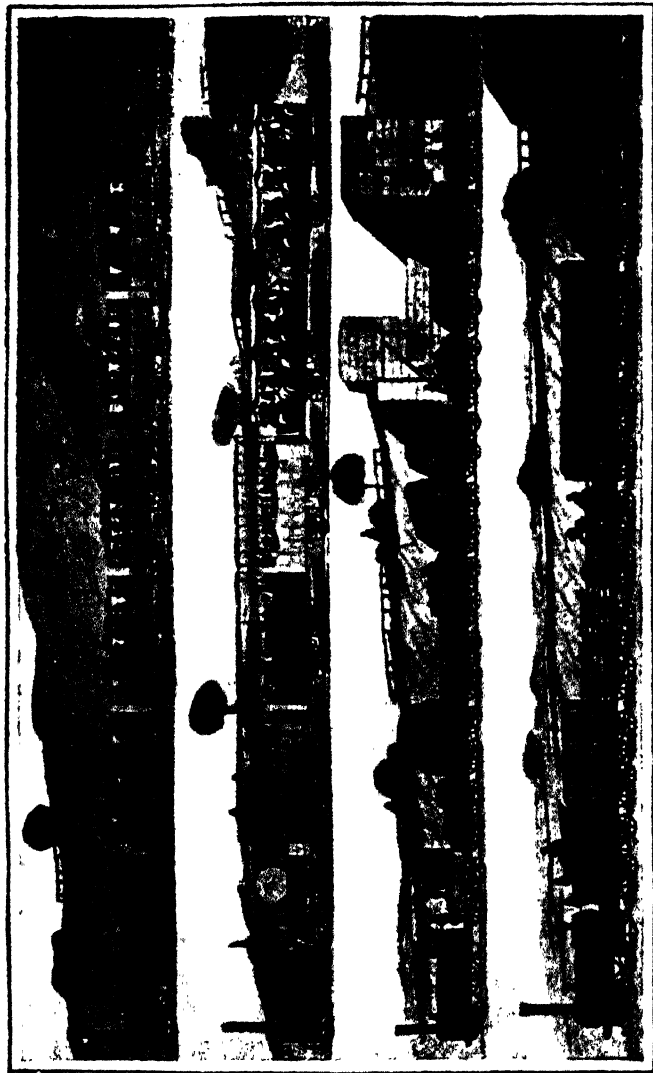
**Roads and Canals.** — Before we go on with the story of how steam was applied to cars and boats, a word of explanation is necessary about the earlier means of transportation. Before the eighteenth century the roads in England were so atrociously bad that wagons could not be used much and merchants used pack-horses to carry their goods from place to place. It is easy to see that trade could not become very extensive unless better means of transportation were found.

In the eighteenth century, and still more in the nineteenth, much was done to improve the roads so that stage-coaches, trucks, and wagons could be driven over them. The type of road known as "macadam" takes its name from John McAdam, a Scottish engineer who introduced the use of broken stone to make roads harder and firmer, and built many thousands of miles of splendid roads early in the nineteenth century. During the same period, many canals were dug to provide cheap transportation for coal and other very heavy materials.

**The Steam Locomotive.** — By the year 1800 the steam engine had been perfected to such a degree that it could be used in locomotives. Watt's original engine would have been much too slow and cumbersome for such a purpose. To Richard Trevithick, the inventor of the high-pressure engine, belongs the credit of constructing the first steam locomotive of any practical value (1801). The idea was taken up enthusiastically by engineers in the coal-mining districts, because a successful steam locomotive would solve the great problem of transporting coal from mine to market.

**The Locomotive Improved by Stephenson.** — One of these engineers was George Stephenson, who might be called the father, or at least the stepfather, of the railway locomotive, though what he did was not to invent it, but to improve it and make it popular. When a group of mine owners were planning to build a railway between Stockton and Darlington,





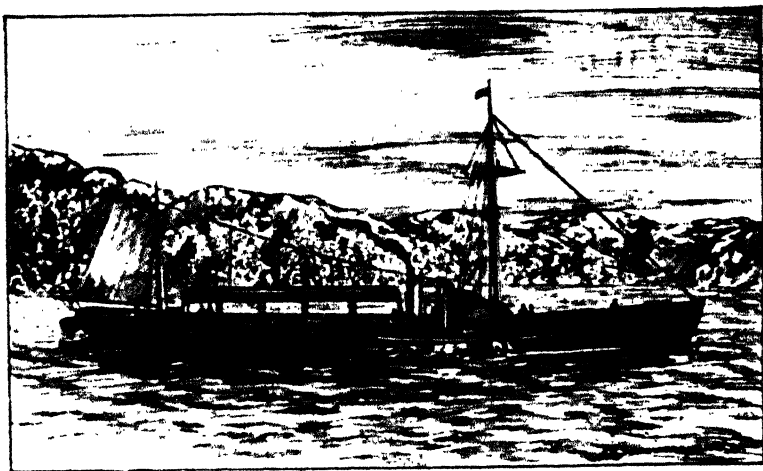
(From Traill's "Social England." By permission of Cassell and G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

#### ENGLISH RAILWAY TRAINS IN 1833

After looking at the passenger train in the top section you should be able to explain why passenger cars are called "coaches." The passengers' baggage was carried on top of the coaches.

in northern England, Stephenson persuaded them to use steam locomotives instead of horse-cars. In the year 1830 Stephenson provided locomotives for a railway which had been built between Liverpool and Manchester — the first important railway in the world. The engines and cars of Stephenson's day may look ridiculously small and clumsy, judged by our standards, but to people who had known nothing swifter than the stage-coach they were nothing less than miraculous.

**Robert Fulton and the Steamboat.** — The steam engine was used to propel boats by several inventors, among whom



THE "CLERMONT"  
Fulton's steamboat.

Robert Fulton has the best claim to be regarded as the maker of the first practical steamboat. Fulton was a young American artist of Irish parentage. While studying painting in England, he made the acquaintance of James Watt and other men interested in mechanical engineering and before long he abandoned the art of painting for the art of invention. Later he went to France, knowing that Napoleon took considerable interest in inventions. In Paris he launched his first steamboat (1803), and also exhibited a submarine tor-

pedo boat. Failing to receive much encouragement, he returned to the United States and there built a paddle-wheeled steamer, the "Clermont," to run back and forth between New York and Albany (1807). In Great Britain, the first successful steamboat was Henry Bell's "Comet," which made its first trip on the Clyde River in 1812. Steam navigation, however, was not developed very far before 1850; and only during the second half of the nineteenth century, as will be seen in a later chapter,<sup>1</sup> did the epoch-making significance of the steamboat in international commerce and in naval warfare become fully clear.

#### THE FACTORY REPLACES THE HOME

**Work previously Done at Home.** — The mechanical inventions which we have been studying brought about a revolutionary change in the life of the ordinary workingmen. Before the age of machinery some industries were still based on the guild system,<sup>2</sup> and each "master-workman" had his own little shop in his home, with perhaps a few apprentices and a young journeyman or two to help him. The weavers of cloth, for the most part, were not organized in guilds, but usually they lived and worked in little country cottages. Oftentimes the weaver kept a cow and a garden. Though a few wealthy cloth dealers established shops or factories, in which a number of weavers were employed to operate hand-loom, most weavers preferred to work at home, where they could be their own masters.

**Rise of Factories and Mills.** — Machinery changed the conditions of labor. A workingman could hardly have a water wheel and an automatic loom, or a blast-furnace, or a steam engine, in his own small cottage. The invention of machines for spinning cotton yarn resulted immediately in the building of factories or mills, beginning about the year 1770. Each mill contained several machines driven by one

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 34-35.

water wheel and tended by a dozen or more workmen. Then came weaving mills, after the invention of the automatic loom. The iron industry, also, was based on the factory or foundry, rather than on the domestic system, and so was the making of pottery. By the year 1800 there were already several hundred factories in England. As the nineteenth century progressed, the factories became more and more numerous



A COTTON MILL IN 1790

until the factory system had almost completely replaced the home system of manufacture.

#### THE WORKING CLASSES SUFFER

In some cases, the change from home to factory may have been beneficial to the workers, but more often it led to terrible suffering and degradation. If you knew no history, it would be easy to imagine that the invention of labor-saving machinery must have been a heaven-sent blessing to all mankind. People, one might think, must surely be much better off, now that they had machines and engines — monstrous and powerful iron slaves — to work for them. But

the facts of history show that machinery produced just the opposite effect, at least for several generations.

**Misery of Hand-loom Weavers.** — Let us take, for example, the invention of the automatic loom. As soon as a few factories began to make cloth by machine, the price of cloth began to drop, and the hundreds of thousands of men who were still weaving on their old-fashioned hand-loom found starvation staring them in the face. The misery and poverty of the hand-loom weavers was one of the great tragedies in nineteenth-century history.

**Labor of Women and Children.** — As a rule, the factories wanted unskilled labor. Spinning machines and automatic



(From Trail's "Social England." By permission of Cassell and G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

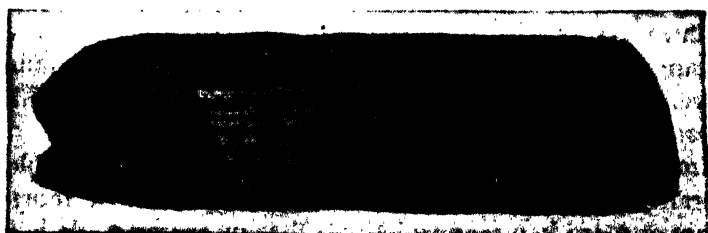
#### A WOMAN WORKING IN A COAL MINE

This is one of the pictures published by the Royal Commission which investigated labor conditions in the British mines in 1842.

looms could be tended by women and children quite as well as by men. In fact, children were actually preferred, because they were nimbler, cheaper, and easier to manage. In the cotton mills, most of the employees were children and women. Even in the mines, women and children were used. Children of paupers were forced to work; sometimes they were practically bought and sold in batches, like cattle or slaves. More than one factory was filled with pauper children brought from London or some other large city.

An investigation made in the year 1816, after the factory system was well started, showed that children began to work

in the cotton mills at five, six, or seven years of age. In some of the factories, the working day was anywhere from fourteen to eighteen hours and even the youngest children were working from three o'clock in the morning until nine or ten at night, with four or five hours for sleep, very little time for meals, and none at all for play or education. The excessive labor produced stunted bodies, deformed backs, horribly twisted legs, and sunken chests. The foreman of a factory had a right — or at least he had the power — to beat or torture children who fell asleep at their work or who broke the rules of the factory. In the mines, children and women



(From Traill's "Social England." By permission of Cassell and G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

#### CHILDREN WORKING IN A COAL MINE

This is another picture published by the Royal Commission in 1842.

worked side by side with the men under conditions that seem like a terrible nightmare to modern readers.

**Small Wages and Long Hours.** — One might ask why parents did not refuse to send their children to work in mills and factories. The answer is fairly simple. There was usually nothing else to do, unless one wished to starve. If the workingman refused to accept small wages, to work sixteen hours or more a day, or to let his wife and children work, he had no resources to fall back upon; he could not afford to travel around looking for better-paid work; he could not buy bread without wages. When the father could find no work, children earned a living for their parents.

**Unemployment.** — Small wages, long hours, and child-labor would have been bad enough in themselves, but worse

than these was the haunting peril of unemployment. The new factories, every now and then, produced more goods than could be sold; consequently, the factories would have to be shut down for a time, and the employees discharged. In such periods, the unemployed workers lived on the ragged edge of starvation, if they did not slip over the edge.

**City Slums.** — Another unfortunate result of the factory system was the growth of unhealthful and squalid slums around the factories. The English workers too often lived in miserable little houses which looked for all the world like cheese-boxes set in a row, without space for gardens, parks, or lawns, and without proper sanitation or ventilation. Many a damp and dark cellar served as "home" for an entire family. Fevers and other diseases played havoc in towns like Manchester and Birmingham.

**Immorality.** — Such conditions were not very favorable to morality and home life. A woman who worked fourteen hours or more in a factory had no time or energy to do housework or care for her children. Modesty and virtue were difficult to maintain when several families were living in one small house. Men and women alike took to drinking more gin than was good for them; alcohol dulled their sufferings though in the long run it made their poverty worse. Children, working in the factory from before dawn until after dark, quickly learned to imitate the vices of grown-ups. What family life was like under such circumstances, in one of the cellar-homes of an industrial city, with ignorance, poverty, hunger, dirt, disease, and vice as enemies, may be left to the reader's imagination.

#### CAPITALISM GAINS CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

To another class of people the Industrial Revolution brought not poverty but wealth, not degradation but power. The Industrial Revolution made capitalists the supreme masters of industry.

**Rapid Growth of Capitalism.** — Capitalism, as we learned in Chapter II, had been steadily growing, from the days of medieval Jewish money-lenders on down through the centuries until by the time of the Industrial Revolution it was no longer an infant. Foreign trade was conducted by joint-stock companies of wealthy investors; banks were lending, borrowing, accepting deposits, and issuing notes; English agriculture was falling into the grasp of landlord capitalists. In some industries, like shoe-making, where no large amount of capital was required for the purchase of tools and materials, skilled workmen still practiced their trades independently, buying their own materials, owning their own tools, working in their own small shops or in their homes, and selling their goods themselves. In other trades, however, capitalism had begun to reduce the workers to a dependent position. For example, many weavers were working for wealthy cloth dealers, who provided the yarn to be woven, lent the workman his loom, sold the cloth which he wove, and paid him a fixed sum for his labor on each piece of cloth. Capitalism had begun to invade the field of industry but had not yet conquered it.

**Capitalism Stimulated by Invention of Machinery.** — The invention of machines and the application of water-power and steam-power tipped the scales in favor of capitalism. No ordinary workman, not even a group of workmen, could afford to set up a factory and equip it with machinery. Consequently, the factories were constructed, owned, and managed by men of wealth, that is to say, by capitalists. The factory owner also bought the raw materials and sold the finished articles. It was taken for granted that the difference between the sums obtained by selling the finished products and the sums paid out for raw materials, wages, and other expenses, should be pocketed by the capitalist as his "profit." As his object was to make large profits, he tried to sell his finished products as dearly as possible, while he bought raw materials and hired wage earners to tend his machines as



cheaply as possible. There was no longer, as there had been in the Middle Ages, any idea that there was such a thing as a "just price" either for goods or for labor.<sup>1</sup>

**Dependence of Wage Earners upon Capitalism.** — Under the new industrial system, the hired workers or factory "hands" were less important than the cogs of the machinery or the raw cotton. If one worker fell sick, another could be hired in his or her place; if one person demanded more wages, another could be found who would work for less. The wage earner who merely tended some machinery, moving a lever here and there, or tying broken threads, or performing other simple and monotonous operations, was reduced to insignificance. The capitalist, who provided factory, machines, and material, and supervised the whole business, was all-important and all-powerful.

**The Rôle of the Capitalist in Industry.** — In the simplest form of industrial capitalism, the factory is managed by the capitalist who owns it and who pays the wages of the employees. More complicated forms, however, were beginning to grow up even in the early days of the Industrial Revolution. An enterprising business man might borrow money from a banker or from wealthy merchants or rich landlords, to whom he would promise either a fixed rate of interest or a percentage of the profits of the factory which he intended to establish. Or again, especially in the case of railways, a stock company might be formed by men who had money to invest, and expert engineers and managers might be hired to superintend the building and operation of the line.

In all these forms, however, certain fundamental features

<sup>1</sup> In the early nineteenth century the idea was popular that prices were determined by an economic law of "supply and demand." The theory is too complicated to explain accurately in short space. Crudely stated, it means that if several people want to buy the same article the price of the article will rise; whereas if there are more articles than buyers the price will fall. Similarly, if there are several laborers seeking work and only one job to be filled, the wage will be lower than as if there were more jobs than laborers.

remained the same: (1) the persons who furnished capital had supreme and absolute control over the factory, mine, or railway which they owned; (2) the capitalist was paid for providing capital, whether he worked or not; (3) the ordinary workers employed by the capitalist had no voice in directing the business, no claim to a share in its surplus profits, no right to permanent employment, but only a right to the wages for which they had agreed to work.

**The Class of Industrial Capitalists.** — The new industrial capitalists came from various classes. Some had formerly been "yeomen" or well-to-do farmers; others had made money in commerce; others were aristocratic landlords; a few were former workingmen who had gained wealth through industriousness, thrift, shrewdness, ability, or good luck. As a class, they may be regarded as a part of the bourgeoisie, since most of them belonged to the middle ranks of society, lower than the titled aristocracy, higher than the common peasants and workingmen. Some of them amassed enormous fortunes, received titles of nobility, married their sons or daughters into noble families, and forced their way into the highest social circles. Others remained simple bourgeois, untitled but ambitious.

The rise of capitalism affected politics as well as society. With their wealth, their economic power, their intelligence and aggressiveness, the bourgeoisie exerted more and more influence in politics as decade succeeded decade in the nineteenth century, until the British government became practically a partnership of bourgeoisie and aristocracy.

#### MERCANTILISM LOSES ITS GRIP

**Opposition of Industrial Capitalists to "Mercantilism."** — The rising class of industrial capitalists had little use for the mercantilist doctrines and regulations which the statesmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had upheld. Mercantilism, it will be remembered,<sup>1</sup> meant placing legal

<sup>1</sup> See the description of mercantilism in Chapter IX.

restrictions on trade and regulating industry by laws which prescribed the kind of materials to be used, the number of apprentices and journeymen to be employed, the quality of goods to be produced, etc.

In the eyes of the factory owners, such interference by the government in business affairs was unwarranted and intolerable. If the government desired to promote prosperity, they said, it should let each capitalist run his own business, introduce new methods of manufacture if he saw fit, buy raw materials where they were cheapest, hire laborers at as low wages as he could, and sell his manufactures wherever they would fetch the highest price. Above all, the factory owners were determined to do away with the old "Corn Laws," which imposed a protective tariff on the importation of grain, thus making the cost of bread higher and requiring the payment of higher wages.

**Opposition of Capitalists Strengthened by "Political Economists."**—Just at the time when the industrial capitalists were beginning to have practical grievances against the mercantilist system, a group of economists were attacking the theories on which that time-honored system was founded. The theoretical attack began in the second half of the eighteenth century, during the same period that witnessed the invention of machines and steam engines and the building of factories.

*Quesnay and the French Physiocrats.* — It was in France rather than in England that the first assault on mercantilism was delivered, and the leaders in the assault certainly had no idea to what uses their ideas would be put in later generations. One of them was Quesnay, to whom reference has been made in an earlier chapter.<sup>1</sup> He was a physician employed at the court of Louis XV, and he conceived the idea that the circulation of wealth within a nation, like the circulation of blood in a human body, must take place according to certain natural laws which could be studied just

<sup>1</sup> See p. 301.

as scientifically as the laws of physiology or medicine. He and his followers called themselves "economists." Nowadays they are usually referred to as physiocrats because they taught a peculiar system of economics known as "physiocracy" ("the rule of nature").

*The Physiocratic Doctrine of Laissez-faire.* — The physiocrats argued that all wealth originally came from the soil. Whence did the merchants get the goods they bought and sold, and whence did the manufacturers obtain the materials they made into useful articles, if not from agriculture and mining? Therefore, said the physiocrats, if an increase of wealth is desired, the government should not devote its attention to trade and industry, which produce nothing new, but should encourage agriculture by allowing the farmers to sell their produce freely, unhampered by laws or by tariffs. Still further they carried this idea of freedom. If allowed complete liberty, each individual would endeavor to gain wealth by producing more, and consequently the sum of the wealth of all individuals would be increased. Any interference with the right of private property and economic liberty would be contrary to the "natural laws" which the new "science" of political economy claimed to have discovered. The new doctrine was summed up in the celebrated French phrase, "*Laissez faire et laissez passer*" ("let things be done and let things pass," or simply "let things alone").

*Adam Smith.* — These ideas were carried over from France into Great Britain by a Scottish professor of philosophy, Adam Smith. While making a visit to France, Smith became acquainted with the physiocratic economists and their doctrines. After returning to Scotland, he wrote a book which probably had a greater effect upon nineteenth-century history than any of Napoleon's battles. It was entitled *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. The date of publication is easy to remember — 1776, the year of the American Declaration of Independence.

Adam Smith was not a mere imitator of the physiocrats. He modified some of their theories, rejected others, and added more of his own. He did not agree with the physiocratic idea that agriculture was the original source of all wealth; on the contrary, he valued industry and trade as



ADAM SMITH

well as agriculture, and was a friend of the great inventor, James Watt. Nevertheless, the practical conclusions to be drawn from his theories were not unlike those of the physiocrats. Prosperity could best be promoted by giving the business men liberty and by establishing free trade. Laws restricting trade and industry only served to hamper the production of wealth instead of enriching the nation. Customs

duties on grain and other foodstuffs were a "curse." Mercantilism should be abandoned.

*Other British Economists.* - The British economists who followed in Adam Smith's footsteps added still other arguments against governmental interference in business. One of them, *Malthus*, wrote a book setting forth the theory that unless the number of children were limited there would soon be more people than the world could feed. Thus, if the government should pass a law raising wages, the wage earners would have more children, the number of people to be fed would be greater, and no one would be any better off than before. Still another economist, *Ricardo*, declared there was an economic "law" which made it impossible for the wages of the working class ever to rise

permanently above the level of what was barely sufficient for existence.

The economists claimed that political economy was a "science" and that its theories were "natural laws," just as true and unalterable as the laws of physics or astronomy. The economists were mistaken about many things, but people in general knew so little about economics that they accepted the statements of the economists, true and false alike. The industrial capitalists, especially, were most willing to accept economic doctrines which provided "scientific" justification for low wages, business liberty, free trade, and big profits.

**Rise of "Economic Liberty."**—The combination of business interests with economic theories was irresistible. Assailed from both sides, mercantilism weakened and lost its grip on industry and trade. Economic liberty was the new order of things. This revolution in economic ideas had three important results:

- (1) It meant that the old mercantilist laws regulating industry were abandoned and that industrial capitalists were allowed to manufacture what they pleased, to employ as many workers as they pleased and at whatever wages they pleased. In other words, the collapse of mercantilism allowed the capitalist to become an autocratic sovereign over his factory.

- (2) Likewise, the mercantilist restrictions on foreign trade were dropped, the customs duties on grain repealed, the protective tariff abolished, and free trade established. This result was obtained, gradually, between about 1820 and 1860.

- (3) And, finally, the mercantilist belief in the value of colonies was scoffed at by the new advocates of economic liberty, who were quite willing to grant commercial freedom and home rule to the colonies, and were not eager to acquire new possessions.

*Freedom and Power of the Capitalists.* — Regarding the first point, a word or two more should be added. As all legal

restrictions on wages, hours of work, age of employees, and so forth were abandoned, and each employer was permitted to hire men, women, or children as he chose, on whatever terms they would agree, the employers often abused their power. Working people, rather than starve, were willing to work under conditions that were injurious to them and to society as a whole.

One may wonder why people in the early nineteenth century were willing to allow such inhumane conditions to exist. It was due in part to the new economic theories, according to which there was no use in passing laws to improve the condition of the workers. Every one, said the economists, must look out for himself, and the factory owner is not to be condemned for making large profits while his overworked employees are half starving. The government would simply make matters worse by interfering.<sup>1</sup>

*Helplessness of the Working Classes.* — Had there been strong guilds or labor unions, the situation might have been different. "In union there is strength." The old medieval guilds, however, had almost entirely disappeared, and there was nothing to take their place. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century in England workingmen were forbidden by law to form unions or associations of any kind. Men who attempted to organize labor unions were exiled. Even in 1825, when Parliament passed a new law permitting laborers to form unions, it forbade them to organize strikes. Helpless and isolated, the workmen sometimes formed secret societies, sometimes petitioned Parliament to hear their grievances, and sometimes in desperation burned factories and broke machinery.

<sup>1</sup> A few half-hearted attempts to remedy the worst abuses were made, but no very radical measures were adopted in the early nineteenth century to deal with the labor problem. By a series of *Factory Acts* the working day was cut down first for children and then for women, until by 1847 it was reduced to ten hours. The *Mines Act* of 1842 forbade underground labor for children under ten and for women.

From Parliament they could expect but little sympathy. That body, in the early nineteenth century, was an undemocratic assembly controlled by noble landlords and millionaire merchants. Since less than one person in thirty had the right to vote for the House of Commons, there appeared little chance for the workers to change Parliament by their votes.

**Germs of Democracy in the Industrial Revolution.** — Such was the situation brought about by the Industrial Revolution in England. It was based upon too much injustice to be permanent. Injustice usually contains the germs of its own destruction. And in this case, the situation arising from the Industrial Revolution contained the germs of democracy and of the labor movement. Democracy was demanded by the workingmen because they hoped that a democratic government would remedy their economic grievances; thus, democratic government in England was in a considerable measure the result of the Industrial Revolution. The labor movement, so vital a factor in British life to-day, grew out of the trade-unions which the workers formed to fight for shorter hours and higher wages. Both democracy and trade-unionism developed rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century.

#### THE LANDLORD BECOMES A CAPITALIST

**Industrial Revolution Paralleled by Radical Changes in Agriculture.** — At this point we must turn away for a moment from the story of industry in order to discover what was happening to the farmers. The farmer is too important a person to be forgotten. Agricultural progress, strictly speaking, does not form a part of the Industrial Revolution, but industry and agriculture are so dependent on each other that neither can make progress alone. Great changes took place in English agriculture during the eighteenth century, that is, during the period of the Industrial Revolution.

At the beginning of the century, only about half of the



soil of England was being cultivated at all, and half of that half was being tilled very wastefully under the ancient system of open fields. One-third of the open-field land was allowed to lie "fallow" (idle) every year. The grain crops were small, and the cattle would be considered miserably small and poor according to present-day standards.

*Causes of English Agricultural Development in the Eighteenth Century.* — A number of circumstances tended to spur the farmers on to greater efforts. After the Revolution of 1688 the landowning aristocracy had pretty complete control of the government, and were able to pass laws favoring agriculture. As a result of the grain laws or "Corn Laws,"<sup>1</sup> prices, when crops were plentiful, were kept up artificially by means of customs duties on imported grain and bounties on exports of grain; when crops were poor, these duties on imports enabled English grain-producers to charge excessively high prices. Besides this artificial encouragement, there were natural causes for agricultural progress. England's acquisition of a colonial empire, the rapid expansion of her foreign commerce, the growth of her woollen industry and other manufactures, and the increase of population (it almost doubled in the eighteenth century) afforded the farmer a larger and larger market for the food-products and raw materials which he could raise. There was every incentive for him to improve his methods and increase his output.

**Capitalism in Agriculture: the "Gentlemen Farmers."** — To adopt more efficient methods of farming was not easy. It required brains and courage and it required capital. Consequently, the leadership was left to "gentlemen farmers," that is, to wealthy men, who had plenty of capital, who owned large estates on which experiments were possible, and who made farming their hobby. They played much the same rôle in agriculture as did the factory-owners in industry. The story of their experiments is worth telling.

<sup>1</sup> In England, wheat was called "corn."



*(From Traill's "Social England" By permission of Cassell and G. P. Putnam's Son.)*

#### THE "OPEN FIELD" SYSTEM OF FARMING

This picture is taken from an engraving made in the seventeenth century. It shows the farm lands surrounding the town of Cambridge, England. Notice that there are no fences enclosing private fields. Notice also the absence of agricultural machinery.

*Jethro Tull.* — We may begin with Jethro Tull. After receiving a college education at Oxford, and taking a trip to France and Italy, he returned to his father's farm with new ideas. Previously, grain and other crops had been sowed by scattering handfuls of seed broadcast, and as a result it had been impossible to hoe the soil between the plants or keep weeds from growing amongst them. Tull, however, told his hired men to sow the seed in straight rows, leaving space enough between rows so that the soil could be worked frequently. Perhaps he got the idea from seeing French and Italian peasants plow between their rows of grape vines. When his hired men protested against this additional work, he invented a machine or "drill," which would plant the seed automatically in the way he desired. This was about the year 1701. He also used a cultivator or hoeing machine drawn by horses. Many years later he published a book describing his methods, under the title, *Horsehoeing Husbandry* (1731).

*Viscount Townshend.* — Jethro Tull found few followers during his lifetime, but among them was a great nobleman, Viscount Townshend. Townshend had been chiefly interested in politics and might never have had much to do with farming if it had not been for a quarrel with his brother-in-law (Sir Robert Walpole,<sup>1</sup> the prime minister), as a result of which he retired from political life in the year 1730 and tried to console himself by managing his estate in the country. Not only did he adopt Tull's methods but he also used a system of crop-rotation, planting wheat, turnips, barley, and clover or rye-grass in successive years. By introducing this four-year system of rotation and by using fertilizer, he could raise larger crops and feed more cattle than his neighbors did, without giving the soil a rest every third year as they did. Because he was so enthusiastic about the value of turnips as a crop, he is often known by the nickname of "Turnip Townshend." He was a typical "gentleman farmer."

<sup>1</sup> See p. 267.

*Robert Bakewell.* — Another was Robert Bakewell, who inherited a farm in Leicestershire about the middle of the eighteenth century and began to breed better live stock. He had traveled a good deal and felt sure that larger and more useful farm animals could be produced, if some one had patience to manage them scientifically, selecting the best animals to breed from instead of allowing them to breed at random. For example, he would select a bull possessing the qualities he desired, use that bull to mate with his best cows, and then from their calves again select the best as breeders. When his neighbors saw the results they became eager to borrow his bulls and rams for breeding purposes, and thus the practice of bull-letting and ram-letting arose. His breeds of sheep (the New Leicesters) and cattle (Leicestershire Longhorns) soon became famous for their size and value. As mutton, beef, milk, butter, and cheese were being demanded in large quantities by the growing industrial towns, such breeds were worth raising. The result of the improvements made by Bakewell and other breeders may be seen in the fact that the average weight of calves at one of England's leading market towns increased from 50 lbs. in 1710 to 145 in the year 1795; of beeves, from 370 lbs. to 800; of lambs, from 18 lbs. to 50; of sheep, from 28 lbs. to 80.

*Arthur Young.* — Perhaps the most important work of all was done by Arthur Young, who wielded the pen rather than the hoe. During the second half of the eighteenth century he traveled through England and France, observing the methods used by farmers in different regions, telling other farmers about such methods, and writing books about what he had seen. He started a monthly magazine, "Annals of Agriculture," which placed information about the most up-to-date methods at the disposal of farmers all over England.

**The Small Farms Unable to Keep Pace with Capitalistic Agriculture.** — Just as the new machines in industry tended to squeeze out the independent hand-worker, so also in

agriculture the new methods operated to the disadvantage of the small farmer. It was the gentleman farmer, the man with capital and a large estate, who could apply the new methods.

The ordinary farmers, it should be remembered, were held back not only by lack of capital and of education, but also by the "open-field" system. In a typical farming village, the cultivated or "tillable" land lay in large, unfenced fields, and the average villager had several small strips here and there in these fields, with no hedge or fence to mark them off, but only a narrow width of unplowed land. One villager could not very well introduce new crops on his own land unless all agreed to do so. As a result, changes were rarely made, and the open fields were cultivated by the old, old methods. Arthur Young tells us that while poor men were raising eighteen bushels of wheat per acre in the open fields, gentlemen farmers were producing twenty-six on their private estates. Large private farms, he said, were more efficient than open fields and commons. What Arthur Young advocated, as a remedy for this situation, was to divide up the open fields as well as the "commons" or common pastures (where all villagers had a right to keep their cattle) and convert them into private farms, enclosed by hedges or fences. This process is known as "enclosure."

**"Enclosures."**—So profitable had farming become that there were plenty of gentlemen farmers who were willing and eager to see the open fields and commons "enclosed." Parliament, controlled by aristocratic landlords, was likewise quite willing to pass special bills authorizing such "enclosures." Economists like Adam Smith and agricultural writers like Arthur Young were urging enclosures as a benefit to the nation. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the lands of thousands of villages or parishes were enclosed. The process of enclosure was very rapid from about 1760 to about 1850 (exactly the period when the factories were revolutionizing industry). During these ninety years more than seven million acres were enclosed. . .

*Large Farms and Depopulation of Rural Districts.*—Theoretically, whenever land was enclosed, every villager received a compact piece of land equal to the value of his former scattered strips in the open fields, and full compensation either in land or money for his former right of sending his cattle to graze on the commons. In practice, however, as even Arthur Young had to admit, the poor were injured in nineteen out of every twenty cases. Even when they were not cheated, the poorer farmers very often sold their land to a wealthy neighbor and, as soon as the money was spent, found themselves penniless. Many a family which had lived very comfortably in the old days by cultivating a small patch of ground and keeping a cow or two on the commons, while the men-folks took in weaving to do and the women and children did spinning, found itself in poverty, because machinery had made weaving and spinning by hand unprofitable and at the same time the enclosures had taken away the commons. It was during this time, by the way, that the common people in England began to drink tea as a standard beverage, because they could no longer keep their own cows.

*Plight of Dispossessed Farmers.*—The people who lost or sold their small farms had to find some new way of making a living. Some hired themselves out as agricultural laborers to work for large-scale farmers. Thousands emigrated to the colonies. Others went to the towns and obtained work in factories or mines. It was partly because there was this large supply of landless laborers, poverty-stricken and willing to work on almost any terms, that the factory owners were able to pay such low wages.

In this way, the class of small farmers and the class of "cottagers" who combined farming with weaving were almost wiped out. As one of the most famous gentlemen farmers said, "I look about me and see no other house than mine. I am the ogre of the legend and have eaten all my neighbors." Large estates swallowed up small farms as

big fish swallow minnows. Almost the entire surface of the country was owned by wealthy gentlemen, by noble and near-noble landlords. Some of these landlords superintended their own estates; some rented their land to large-scale farmers, who hired laborers to do the actual work. In both cases, the men who tilled the soil were not the owners, but wage earners, like the workers who tended machines in a factory.

**Other Agricultural Results of the Industrial Revolution.** — It must already be clear that in many respects the great agricultural changes of 1750–1850 were quite similar to and closely connected with the changes occurring in industry at the same time. Before leaving the subject, we should notice three additional points of contact between agriculture and the Industrial Revolution.

(1) The Industrial Revolution made it possible to manufacture better agricultural tools and machines. English farmers have never gone so far as Americans in the use of machinery, but even the introduction of improved steel plows, threshing machines, and better hand-implements made a great difference in farming.

(2) The Industrial Revolution caused the rapid growth of cities and thus created a larger demand for farm-products, while it provided railways to carry such products to market.<sup>1</sup>

(3) The Industrial Revolution in many ways increased the wealth and power of the landlords. When an industrial city grew up or a mine was opened, the mine owners, factory owners, workingmen, and storekeepers had to rent their land from some landlord. More than one land owner thus obtained an immense income in rentals, merely because his land was wanted for factories, mines, office buildings, or tenements. Some of the millions received in rent found

<sup>1</sup> This was the first effect. Later on, the steamboat enabled England to import grain in such large quantities that English farmers devoted themselves more to the production of live stock, dairy products, and vegetables.



(Courtesy of International Harvester Company.)

## TESTING THE FIRST MCCORMICK REAPER



their way back into industry, since wealthy landlords were not slow to perceive the advantages of investing money in business. On the other hand, millionaire factory owners sometimes bought country estates, or married their daughters to noblemen. Landlordism and industrial capitalism thus grew together and each strengthened the other. The noble barons, viscounts, earls, and dukes of modern England are no longer feudal chieftains; they have become capitalists, landlords, and business men.

The success of the great landlords in squeezing out the small farmers compelled many of the latter to seek new homes in the cities or in distant colonies. Vacant farmhouses and cottages told a dismal tale. In certain regions the countryside seemed deserted. No longer was the majority of the population to be found in the rural districts. Increasingly, the city-dwellers outnumbered the farmers.

#### ENGLAND BECOMES THE "WORKSHOP OF THE WORLD"

**Rapid Growth of British Cities.** — As a result of the Industrial Revolution, factory towns, mining centers, and commercial cities expanded as if by magic. For example, Manchester was a small town when the first cotton factory was built, but within a century it had become a great cotton city and its population had increased tenfold. Birmingham had only 15,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the eighteenth century; but the growth of metal manufactures transformed Birmingham into a city of over 500,000 before the close of the nineteenth century. Before the Industrial Revolution, London had less than one-tenth her present population. And the population of England as a whole increased from less than six million to eighteen million between the years 1700 and 1850.

**The Workshop of the World.** — The Industrial Revolution and the simultaneous agricultural changes transformed England from a rather thinly populated farming country into a densely populated manufacturing country. As grimy coal breakers, tall-chimneyed blast-furnaces, and business-like

factories sprang up thicker and faster, "merrie England" became busy England, and more and more the land began to look like a gigantic workshop.

In fact, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that during most of the nineteenth century Britain was the workshop of the world. Her cotton and woolen mills were weaving clothes to be worn in Germany, in Russia, in South America, in the Far East. Table-knives manufactured in the English city of Sheffield could be found in almost every other city on the globe. English iron and steel products were famous the world over. Ships built in Britain sailed the seven seas. British coal was sold at Singapore.

**Growth of British Industry and Commerce.** — The growth of British industry and commerce as a result of the Industrial Revolution was gigantic. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, England was producing only 12,000 tons of iron a year, but by the year 1800 her annual production had risen to 190,000 tons, and by 1850 it was 2,250,000. Coal-mining increased just as rapidly. The amount of raw cotton converted into thread and cloth by England was only about 2,000,000 lbs. in the year 1720, before the invention of machinery, but by 1820 it had been multiplied sixty times, and by 1850 almost three hundred times. The total value of British exports was multiplied by ten in the 150 years from 1700 to 1850.

England quickly left her former commercial and industrial rivals far behind. Until 1825 the British government forbade the exportation of machinery to foreign countries. The nations on the Continent of Europe had very few machines or factories before the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In other words, Great Britain had the advantage of possessing machinery and steam power about half a century sooner than France or any other European nation. Moreover, the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars from 1792 to 1815 swept over the Continent with devastating effect, hindering the development of industry and prosperity,

while England, protected by her navy, continued to build factories undisturbed. Napoleon's celebrated "Continental System" <sup>1</sup> was a desperate attempt to bar out British manufactures from Europe, and thus to prevent England from becoming the workshop of Europe. But Napoleon went down to defeat and disgrace while England continued to strengthen her position as the "workshop of the world."

*No Need for Tariff Protection in England.* — English manufacturers were so far ahead of their competitors that they needed no protective tariff. On the contrary, all they asked was freedom to expand. Consequently, England not only became a free-trade country herself, but throughout the nineteenth century her diplomats used all their efforts to open the doors of foreign countries for British exports. One reason why the British government was friendly to the emancipation of Spanish America and of various nations in Europe was because the emancipated peoples usually permitted trade on better terms.

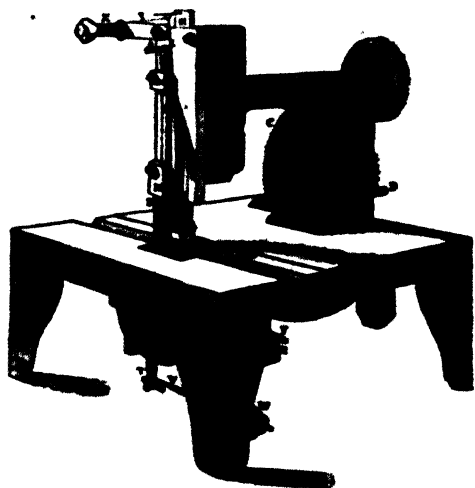
Before the Industrial Revolution England's colonial, naval, and commercial leadership had been fairly well established by her long conflict with France. That leadership was strengthened by the Industrial Revolution, which made England also the greatest manufacturing country and London the financial capital of the world.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION CONTINUES

We have now completed our story of how industry was revolutionized in England during the period from 1700 to 1850 by the invention of machines, the steam engine, the steamboat, and the locomotive, by the increased use of coal and iron, by the factory system and capitalism, by the abolition of old restrictions. These changes, taken all together, were the Industrial Revolution. But the Industrial Revolution did not stop there.

See pp. 356-357.

**Continuous Character of the Industrial Revolution.** — From England, as we shall see in the next chapter, the Industrial Revolution spread to other countries. Machines, inventions, and capitalistic methods were carried over into the Continent of Europe and to America and in very recent times even to Asia and Africa. Wherever they went, they produced effects very similar to those that had been produced in England, that is to say, they brought about an Industrial Revolution. The United States, France, and Germany had Industrial Revolutions a generation or two later than England. China and some other industrially backward countries are just beginning theirs.



THE FIRST SINGER SEWING MACHINE, 1851

Moreover, after the first great changes, which we group together and call the "Industrial Revolution," more inventions and more changes followed. They might be regarded as the children and grandchildren of the Industrial Revolution. Thus the steam engine of the Industrial Revolution was followed, in later generations, by the turbine, the gasoline engine, and the electric motor; the spinning mule by a new spinning machine; the locomotive was followed by the automobile and the airplane. The telegraph, the telephone, the wireless telegraph, and the wireless telephone were added to the list of man's triumphs. Almost every industry and trade was transformed by machinery and capitalism. Even the burden of housework was lightened by vacuum cleaners,

bread-mixers, washing machines, and sewing machines. By the magic of modern machinery we are able to produce music from a piano by pressing a button, or merely by moving a lever to call forth Caruso's matchless voice from a wooden box, or perform many another feat beyond the wildest dreams of the magicians of long ago. The Industrial Revolution was but the faint dawn of the age of mechanical inventions, the timid beginning of man's bold triumphs over the forces of nature. \*

**Continuous Character of Social Problems Created by the Industrial Revolution.** — Let us not forget, either, that the Industrial Revolution left us with something less desirable as an inheritance. Along with new powers it gave us new problems. It enslaved children in factories, it herded people together in sordid slums, it brought trade unions into conflict with capitalists, it raised rents, it made some men millionaires and millions miserable. In short, it created a serious labor problem, or rather a whole chain of labor problems. These labor problems grew more and more acute. After the Industrial Revolution, the discontent of the workingmen expressed itself in strikes, sabotage, Socialism, Syndicalism, and, recently, Bolshevism. The efforts of statesmen to reconcile the demands of the workingmen and the laissez-faire demands of the capitalists, make up a large part of the recent political history of Europe. And the labor problems which we inherit from the Industrial Revolution are the most difficult as well as the most vital problems of to-day.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How would you define what is meant by the "Industrial Revolution"? Why is it called a "Revolution"? Was it in any way essentially different from the English, French, and American Revolutions?
2. What very useful inventions were made before the eighteenth century? Why were there so few?
3. In what country did the Industrial Revolution begin? When? Can you explain why?
4. Give a list of the series of inventions which revolutionized the methods of making cloth in the eighteenth century. Which inventions

affected spinning? Which had to do with weaving? How was the power furnished for the first spinning and weaving machines?

5. Who was James Watt and why is he regarded as one of the greatest benefactors of the human race?

6. What was Trevithick's improvement on the steam engine?

7. Mention the chief inventions which increased the use of coal and iron in industry.

8. When and by whom was steam applied to land-transportation? To water-transportation?

9. How and why did the factory replace the home as the center of industry?

10. In what ways did the Industrial Revolution at first cause hardship and suffering among the working classes?

11. What is meant by capitalism in industry? How did the Industrial Revolution promote capitalism? How, in general, has the growth of capitalism affected politics and society?

12. Did the Industrial Revolution strengthen or weaken mercantilism? Why?

13. Who were the physiocrats? What did they mean by "laissez faire"?

14. What were the doctrines of Adam Smith? Of Malthus? Of Ricardo? What did each of these economists contribute to the idea of economic liberty?

15. Was economic liberty more favorable to the industrial capitalists or to the workingmen? Explain.

16. In the early days of the Industrial Revolution did workingmen have the right to vote? Could they belong to trade-unions? Did the Industrial Revolution help or hinder the growth of democracy, in the long run?

17. What new methods of farming were introduced in the eighteenth century?

18. Why were Jethro Tull, Viscount Townshend, and Robert Bakewell called "gentlemen farmers"? Who were they? How did Arthur Young help to reform agriculture?

19. What were enclosures? What was the reason for them? What were their results?

20. Explain the effects of the Industrial Revolution on agriculture.

21. How did England become "the workshop of the world"? What effect did this have on the growth of English cities and English commerce?

22. Did the Industrial Revolution come to an end? If so, when?

23. What problem or problems did the Industrial Revolution create?

24. Try to find out how many of the clothes you wear and articles you use every day are made by machinery, and how many are made by

hand. Do you think you could afford to have many new clothes if they all had to be made by hand? Try to find out whether hand-made shoes are cheaper than machine-made. What do you think about the importance of the Industrial Revolution, after having made this investigation?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Why the Industrial Revolution occurred in England.** KNOWLES, *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions*, 26-47 (difficult).

**The domestic system.** CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 185-189; OGG, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 59-63.

**Hargreaves and the spinning jenny.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 45-48; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXIV, 380.

**The father of the factory system.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 62-67; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, II, 556, or *Encyclopedia Americana*, II, 261; *Dictionary of National Biography*, II, 81.

**Crompton and the mule.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 49-51; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, VII, 486; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIII, 148.

**Cartwright and the loom.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 52-53; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, V, 435, or *Encyclopedia Americana*, V, 686-687; *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 221.

**Eli Whitney and the cotton gin.** THOMPSON, *Age of Invention*, 32-52; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXVIII, 611, or *Encyclopedia Americana*, XXIX, 283.

**Watt's triumph over obstacles.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 58-62; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXVIII, 414-416; *Dictionary of National Biography*, LX, 51; SMILES, *Lives of Boulton and Watt*, chs. v-viii.

**How the steam engine works.** A. WILLIAMS, *How it works*, chs. i-ii.

**Stephenson and the locomotive.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXV, 888; *Dictionary of National Biography*, LIV, 183; SMILES, *Story of the Life of George Stephenson*.

**Fulton and other inventors of the steamboat.** THOMPSON, *Age of Invention*, 53-69; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XI, 300, or *Encyclopedia Americana*, XII, 157-158; SMILES, *Lives of Boulton and Watt*, ch. xxi; DICKINSON, *Robert Fulton*.

**Evils of the factory system.** HAMMOND, *Town Labourer*, ch. ii; ALLSOPP, *Introduction to English Industrial History*, 119-131; OGG, *Economic Development*, 368-377.

**Child labor.** OGG, *Economic Development*, 372-381; HAMMOND, *Town Labourer*, ch. viii or ix; CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, II, 776-789.

**Laissez-faire and its results.** CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History*, 224-239.

**The problem of poverty in England.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 549-563.

**Trade unions.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 595-608; ALLSOPP, *Introduction to English Industrial History*, 132-140; BLAND BROWN, AND TAWNEY, *English Economic History, Select Documents* 626-627, 636-637; WEBB, *History of Trade Unionism* (1920 edition) chs. i-ii.

**Agricultural changes.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 499-509; OGG, *Economic Development*, ch. vi.

**Effect of enclosures.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 541-548; ALLSOPP, *Introduction to English Industrial History*, 96-107; CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History*, 216-220.

**The Corn Laws.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 584-592; OGG, *Economic Development*, 256-267; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II 286-289.

**Canals and roads.** TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, 522-528; OGG, *Economic Development*, 236-237; PROTHERO, *English Farming Past and Present*, 275-289.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

TICKNER, *Social and Industrial History*, chs. xxxvi-xl; ALLSOPP, *Introduction to English Industrial History*, 95-140; CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History of England*, ch. viii; PERRIS, *Industrial History of Modern England*, 25-33, 73-101; OGG, *Economic Development*, chs. vi-vii; BEARD, *English Historians*, 505-519 (from Cunningham); KNOWLES, *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain* (very difficult); INNE, *England's Industrial Development*.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

MRS. CRAIK, *John Halifax, Gentleman*; DICKENS, *Oliver Twist*; *O Curiosity Shop*; *Great Expectations*; KINGSLEY, *Alton Locke*; GEORGE ELIOT, *Silas Marner*; MRS. GASKELL, *Mary Barton*.





**PART IV**  
**AGE OF DEMOCRACY**



## PART IV

### AGE OF DEMOCRACY

#### INTRODUCTION

Like murmuring brooks that trickle down from the hill-sides to join in larger, stronger streams, were the beginnings of democracy, national patriotism, and industry. We have followed the brooklets from their sources, and seen them grow in power as they flowed down through century after century, until they swelled into a swirling torrent of revolution. During the period from 1789 to 1814, as we have seen in Chapters XII-XIV, revolutionary ideas swept over the Continent of Europe and many a monarch was toppled from his throne. Let us now continue the story.

By the nineteenth century, the forces of democracy, patriotism, and industry had become too strong to be dammed up. How Prince Metternich tried to dam them, and failed, Chapter XV will explain. With the force of a surging flood, the revolution of 1848 swept Metternich away.

After that it will be necessary to take one country at a time and follow the history of each from 1848 to 1914. In all countries the same forces were at work. Democracy was struggling against autocracy and aristocracy. Nations were battling for independence and unity. Industrial progress — the Industrial Revolution — was transforming society. But in each country the combination of forces was different. Each nation had its own problems and peculiarities. Democracy proved to be stronger than autocracy in France, Italy, and England, whereas in Russia and Germany democracy was much weaker. The separate chapters on these nations

will show why this was so. A chapter will be devoted to the various "subject nationalities," especially those in the former Habsburg and Ottoman empires. Finally, a fairly long chapter will tell how Great Britain made her government moderately democratic, adopted important social reforms, and greatly extended her vast empire outside of Europe.

For any one who wishes to understand present-day conditions, the period covered by these seven chapters is particularly important. It was this period — the nineteenth century — which reshaped the map of the world, revolutionized European governments, transformed economic and social institutions, and produced in their modern form the problems with which we have to deal.

## CHAPTER XV

### METTERNICH FAILS TO STEM THE TIDE (1815-1848)

#### THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA MAKES AN UNWISE TREATY

**Europe after Napoleon's Downfall.** — This chapter takes up the story of European political events where Chapter XIII left off, that is to say, after the downfall of Napoleon. In continuing the narrative we shall weave political events and industrial changes together, because since the Industrial Revolution politics and industry have been very closely interwoven in real life. For the moment, however, we must begin with diplomacy and diplomats.

If the statesmen and diplomats about whom we read in history had always been farsighted and honest, revolutions and wars would have been fewer and the path of human progress would have been easier for the peoples of Europe to follow. The tragedy of history is that the rulers of men have been only men themselves, with their full share of human short-comings, and sometimes more than their share. Never has this unpleasant fact been more painfully apparent than in 1814, when the Peace Congress of Vienna assembled to decide what should be done after the vanquished Napoleon had been sent into exile.<sup>1</sup>

Peace had already been made between France, on the one hand, and the chief Allies, namely, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England, on the other hand. But no decision had yet been made about the non-French countries over which Napoleon and his relatives had held sway before Napoleon's defeat. For example, Napoleon had carved a "Grand Duchy of War

<sup>1</sup> See p. 363.

saw" out of the Polish territories previously owned by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. What would the Congress do about these Polish lands? Moreover, Napoleon had established his brother as King of Spain. Would the Congress give Spain back to her former ruler? Similarly, the future ownership of many Italian and German States would have to be determined, since the former monarchs of these States had been deposed by Napoleon. In short, about half the territories of Europe were in this condition and their futures hung on the decisions of the Vienna Peace Conference. Would the four great Allies re-make the map of Europe in such a way as to satisfy their own greed, or would they take the wishes of the people into consideration?

**Popular Aspirations in 1814.** — Great expectations had been aroused by the stirring events of the past quarter-century. The French Revolutionary gospel of "Liberty, equality, fraternity" had found many a convert outside France. In all western Europe — Spain, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, western and southern Germany — and in Poland, the enlightened Napoleonic code of laws had been introduced, along with such revolutionary social reforms as civil equality, religious toleration, abolition of serfdom, and abrogation of feudal privileges. In Prussia, too, an autocratic but patriotic government had caught the spirit of reform, abolished serfdom, destroyed guild privileges, improved the educational system, and promised the people a constitution and a representative parliament or assembly. Aspirations for civil liberty, social equality, constitutional government, and national unity had begun to take root in the hearts of the peoples of western and central Europe. And even in far Russia, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man had awakened sympathetic echoes.

Furthermore, after the long torture of needless wars, people longed for a lasting peace. Various plans were proposed to prevent war — an international agreement or a league to enforce peace.

Would the peace conference have the wisdom to foresee that these awakening aspirations, not yet clearly thought out or commandingly voiced by the common people, would have to be gratified sooner or later? Would it be guided by the spirit of progress toward nationalism, popular sovereignty, political liberty, and international peace, or would it be misled by selfish ambitions and shortsighted conservatism?

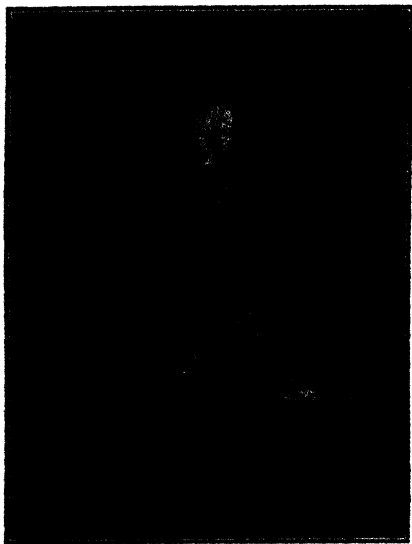
**The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815.** — As far as pomp and ceremony went, the peace conference which assembled at Vienna in 1814 was a brilliant affair. Two emperors, several kings, and a swarm of minor princelings were there in person, besides the scores of noblemen serving as diplomatic representatives of their respective sovereigns. Almost every state of Europe was represented. Gold lace, silk frills, and jeweled badges of honor dazzled the eye. Amidst a dizzy round of receptions, banquets, balls, concerts, and other entertainments, these monarchs and aristocrats performed their task of distributing the spoils of victory. Few of them realized that the days of autocrats and aristocrats were numbered.

Before we study the actual decisions of the Congress of Vienna, it will be wise to spend a few moments on the biographies and the aims of three of the most important men who took part in the negotiations, namely, Metternich, Alexander, and Talleyrand.

**Prince Metternich.** — The president of the peace congress well deserves our special notice. His was to be a leading rôle not only in the congress but in international affairs for a generation thereafter. Prince Clemens Metternich was an aristocrat and a diplomat of the old type. A nobleman by birth, he had married a wealthy Austrian countess, served as Austrian ambassador in various countries, finally achieved the position of Austrian foreign minister, and won the title of Prince by his clever work during the Napoleonic wars. No one could have been more elegant in manner, more suave



in speech, more polished in courtesy, more skillful in concealing his real aims under a mask of hypocritical politeness, while with unruffled dignity and unwavering determination he strove to advance the selfish ambitions of the Austrian Emperor. For the principles of the French Revolution he had nothing but hatred and fear.



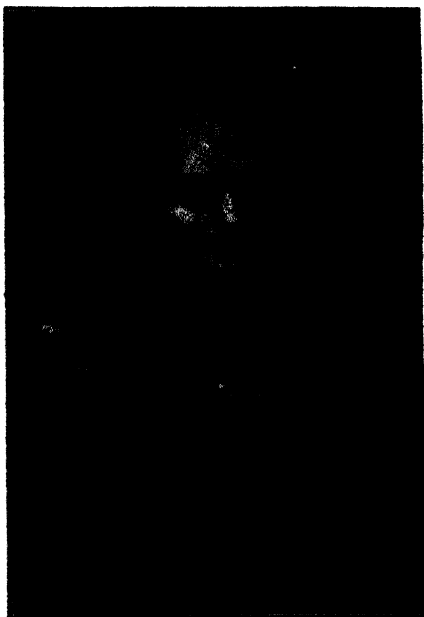
METTERNICH

Social equality and political liberty would mean the destruction of the privileges of his own class. The awakening of national patriotism in Germany or in Italy would put an end to Austria's domination over those disunited nations. It was Metternich who insisted that no strong federal government be established in Germany. It was Metternich again who declared Italy was a "geographical expression," not a nation. Nor was he willing that ideals of

nationalism should awaken a desire for independence among Hungarians, Poles, Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, and other peoples within the Austrian Empire. Austria's greatness, her very existence, he believed, depended on crushing out every symptom of liberalism or national consciousness. Against the rising tide of liberalism and nationalism he would set up an unbreakable barrier of conservatism.

**The Tsar Alexander I of Russia.** — Less conservative, strange as it may seem, was the autocratic Tsar who represented Europe's most backward nation. Emperor Alexander I of Russia had been brought up by his fond grand-

mother, the great Empress Catherine,<sup>1</sup> to be a model "enlightened despot." A Swiss tutor had taught him to admire liberal theories, such as those of Rousseau, and to dream of bestowing social reform and constitutional government on Russia. Catherine herself had written a textbook of history for his edification and had read to him the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. Coming to the throne in 1801, full of enthusiasm for progress, he had at once warned officials not to mistreat the people. He permitted his subjects to read foreign books. He planned a whole series of sweeping reforms, such as the establishment of a constitution, the uplifting of the serfs, the codification of the laws, the development of education. Unfortunately, his reforms rarely passed beyond the stage of planning. He lacked the patient perseverance and steadiness of purpose to carry out his theories. One of his friends said that Alexander would gladly make all men free if all men would voluntarily obey his will.



TSAR ALEXANDER I

*Aims of Alexander.* — At the Congress of Vienna Alexander had three aims: first, to make Poland a united kingdom under his own rule but with a liberal constitution; second, to encourage other monarchs to grant constitutions; third, to form some sort of international

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 208-211, 215

tion or league which would safeguard the rights of nations and promote a Christian spirit of brotherhood and peace.

Such aims were highly distasteful to Metternich. In fact, the Austrian conservative thought the reforming Tsar little better than a whimsical fanatic, powerful enough to be humored, but not sensible enough to be taken seriously. Alexander, on the other hand, was so exasperated by the Austrian's smooth-tongued hypocrisy that on one occasion at least he called that suave gentleman a liar.

**The Dispute over Poland.** — Alexander's claim to the whole of Poland was strenuously opposed by Lord Castlereagh, the British delegate, who feared to see Russia or any other State, for that matter, become too powerful. In addition, Alexander's proposal that his friend the pious King of Prussia should receive all of Saxony as compensation for the parts of Poland which Prussia would relinquish to Russia was unwelcome to Metternich, because it would make Prussia a strong, compact, purely German state, and an uncomfortably close rival of Austria. The Allies who had so recently fought shoulder to shoulder against Napoleon now seemed on the point of flying at each other's throats.

**Talleyrand's Opportunity.** — Here was a splendid opportunity for France to step in and take a hand in making the treaty, instead of remaining in the humiliating position of a defeated enemy. The French delegate was Prince Talleyrand. Talleyrand, like Metternich, was a wily diplomat, a noble, and a "grafter." Before the French Revolution, he had been a bishop, not because he was religious (he was an atheist in fact, until he repented on his deathbed), but because he needed the money, and because his awkward crippled foot made a military career impossible. During the Revolution he had resigned his bishopric, advocated the confiscation of Church property, and supported the moderate ties. Later, he had served as foreign minister for error Napoleon, who characterized him as a coward, thief, an atheist, capable of selling his own father.

There was a grain of truth in each epithet. At Napoleon's downfall, Talleyrand had persuaded the Tsar Alexander that a Bourbon king ought to be restored in France. As a reward, he found himself in Vienna, in 1814-1815, as Louis XVIII's chief representative. Talleyrand was not the man to let an opportunity slip through his fingers.

**"Legitimacy" and "Compensation."** — Seeing the allies divided, Talleyrand aided with England and Austria and with them formed an alliance to prevent the annexation of Poland by Russia or of Saxony by Prussia. He could always find a fine principle to justify his action. The principle in this case was "legitimacy." The congress, he declared, should restore to their "legitimate" sovereigns, that is, their



TALLEYRAND

former sovereigns, the lands which Napoleon had conquered. Where this principle could not be applied, one could fall back on the principle of "compensation," that is, of giving each ruler the equivalent of what he had lost. Legitimacy and compensation were the twin principles of the Vienna Peace Treaty — principles quite out of harmony with the growing spirit of nationalism and liberty. The claims of sovereigns, not the desires of the people, were to be considered.

**The Treaty Signed, 1815.** — Outwitted by their opponents, Russia and Prussia agreed to a compromise and the conference sailed along quite smoothly. The terms of peace were decided by secret committee meetings of the five Great

Powers, while the delegates of lesser States gambled, danced and complained. The whole peace settlement was embodied in a "Final Act," or general treaty, signed on June 9, 1815. Its chief provisions were as follows:

(1) *Restoration of Monarchs.* — In the name of "legitimacy" a large number of ruling families were restored to their former thrones and possessions: for example, the old Bourbon dynasty in Spain, the house of Savoy in Sardinia,<sup>1</sup> a Bourbon king in Naples and Sicily, the Prince of Orange (now made a king) in Holland, some of the German princes, and the Pope (as ruler of Rome and central Italy). The Swiss Confederation was likewise restored.

(2) *Gains of the Great Powers.* — But "legitimacy" was not allowed to interfere too much with the greed of the victorious Great Powers. Russia kept her grip on Finland and Bessarabia, which she had taken during the Napoleonic wars, and also enlarged her share of Poland at the expense of Austria and Prussia, who received "compensation" elsewhere.

The Habsburg Emperor of Austria gained a new kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia in northern Italy, besides Dalmatia (the eastern coast of the Adriatic), and certain German provinces. Moreover, several small duchies (Tuscany, Modena, Parma) in north-central Italy were bestowed upon his relatives.

Prussia, too, fared well. By annexing a large block of territory in the valley of the Rhine (Westphalia and the Rhineland), two-fifths of Saxony, and part of Pomerania, the Hohenzollern King rounded out his realm in Germany.

Great Britain took her reward in the form of colonies and naval bases — the island of Heligoland near the German coast, Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean, the large island of Ceylon in the Indian Ocean, and Cape Colony in southern Africa.

<sup>1</sup> "Sardinia" embraced the island of that name and the districts of Genoa and Piedmont in the northwestern part of the Italian mainland.

Such annexations made "compensations" necessary. Holland, in exchange for Ceylon and Cape Colony, received Belgium and Luxemburg. Sweden, to balance the loss of Finland and Pomerania, obtained Norway from Denmark. Denmark, in turn, received a German duchy.

✓ **Disregard of Nationality.** — In most of these settlements, the diplomats of Vienna showed themselves utterly blind or cynically indifferent to popular wishes. Provinces were handed about from autocrat to autocrat without the slightest regard for the national sentiments which the peoples of Europe were beginning to cherish. And for that reason, the work of the Congress of Vienna was shortsighted; it would be undone as soon as the subject nationalities could rise up and smite their masters. Thus Belgium was unwisely joined to Holland, against which state the Belgians were sure to revolt. Norway was given to Sweden. And the Polish, German, and Italian nations were left in fragments that would certainly be united in later times, even though by blood and iron. The false Peace of Vienna caused dozens of wars and revolutions in after years.

*Poland Divided.* — The Polish nation, which had hoped for union, was left by the Congress of Vienna in four fragments: one part was assigned to Prussia; another, to Austria; a third and very small portion was set up as the independent republic of Cracow; and the largest share was handed over to the Russian Tsar. It is only fair to add, however, that Alexander treated his slice of Poland as a separate kingdom, allowing the Polish language to be used freely, and granting the Poles a constitution and a parliament of their own.

*Italy a "Geographical Expression."* — The case of Italy was just as bad, if not worse. Most of northern Italy was placed under Habsburg (Austrian) rule, and the remainder continued to be divided among the Papal States, the Kingdom of Sardinia, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and a number of smaller States. Metternich succeeded in keeping Italy weak and disunited, under Austria's thumb. But against his



EUROPE ACCORDING TO THE



TERMINALITIES OF VIENNA, 1815



policy Italian patriots would rebel again and again, until they succeeded in making Italy a nation.

*The German Confederation.* — Worst of all was the position of Germany. Here, also, Metternich's policy was "divide and rule." Not even Metternich would have attempted to restore the hundreds of tiny German states which had been swallowed up by their larger neighbors during the Napoleonic period. But he could and did veto the plans of Prussian leaders and other German patriots for a strong national federation, or Empire, of all the German States. A hodge-podge of petty kingdoms and principalities could be kept under Austrian control better than a united nation. Consequently, no attempt was made to create a genuine union. The German Confederation, established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, was little better than a league of independent States. Each of the thirty-eight sovereigns<sup>1</sup> possessing German lands and each of the four free city-states was to send representatives to a federal Diet (or assembly) at Frankfort, presided over by Austria. The Diet, however, had no effective army of its own, and no power to levy taxes. The German Confederation was a mockery of national unity. It was clear that Germany, like Italy, would never be able to win nationhood except by defeating the Austrian Habsburgs and tearing into shreds the Treaty of Vienna.

#### A HOLY ALLIANCE AND AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE ARE FORMED

*The Holy Alliance.* — Shortly after the general Treaty of Vienna had been signed, two rival schemes for the preservation of international peace and order were set on foot. The first was Tsar Alexander's idea. In September, 1815, he persuaded the King of Prussia and the Austrian Emperor to join with him in signing a treaty for a "Holy Alliance." It was one of the strangest treaties in all history. It declared

<sup>1</sup> Including the Kings of Denmark, Holland, and England, as sovereigns of States in Germany.

that the three monarchs were resolved "to take for their sole guide" the precepts of Christianity, namely, justice, charity, and peace. Since the Holy Scriptures had commanded all men to consider each other as brothers, each sovereign would aid and assist the others in a spirit of brotherly love and goodwill, as befitted monarchs who were "merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the same family." Their three Majesties tenderly recommended to their subjects the practice of Christian virtues and "the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind." There was no other way to secure justice and peace.

At the preacher-like phrases of this document, Metternich and many another worldly-wise diplomat scoffed and jeered. Nevertheless, in order to oblige Alexander, if for no other reason, not only Austria and Prussia but all the other European States joined the Holy Alliance, with three exceptions. The Mohammedan Sultan of Turkey would have been rather out of place. The Pope declared that he did not need to have Christianity interpreted for him by Alexander. And the British government held aloof, with a more or less hypocritical promise to observe the "sacred maxims" contained in the treaty. The Tsar was about the only monarch who took the Holy Alliance seriously. For the others, it was a solemn farce.

**The Quadruple Alliance.** — Much more practical — and much more harmful — was the rival scheme advocated by Metternich. By a treaty of alliance signed at Paris in November, 1815, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain agreed to hold frequent diplomatic conferences and pledged themselves to cooperate in enforcing the peace terms. Metternich's aim was to use this Quadruple Alliance as an international police force for the suppression of all revolts against legitimate autocratic rulers or against the unpopular territorial arrangements of 1815. The world was to be made safe for autocracy and for Austria. There was to be without liberty.

**THE VOICE OF REVOLUTION REFUSES TO BE SILENCED**

**Survival of Revolutionary Ideas.** — It was a Herculean task Metternich had undertaken. In order to preserve things as they were in 1815, he would have to blot out from men's minds all desire for national unity or independence, for constitutional government, for social equality, for civil liberty. During the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period such desires had gained great strength. The Revolution, to be sure, had come to an end, and Napoleon had been exiled to St. Helena, but the Revolutionary and Napoleonic ideas could not be so easily banished.

**Liberalism and the Liberals.** — In almost every country, and most of all in the countries of western Europe, there were thousands of people who cherished these ideas. Liberty, equality, national patriotism, constitutional government, still had ardent champions. Such persons were called "Liberals." Especially among the bourgeoisie did Liberalism flourish. Capitalists, merchants, writers, teachers, university students, and lawyers were its most faithful disciples. They desired some form of constitutional monarchy with a legislature elected by the middle classes. They wanted freedom of the press, freedom of religion, emancipation of industry and commerce from old restrictions, and the curtailment of feudal privileges. And in disunited countries, like Germany and Italy, or in subject countries, like Belgium and Poland, they demanded national unity and national independence. With many, liberty and patriotism were a religion, a holy cause.

**Metternich's Opposition to Liberalism.** — To Metternich, the Liberals were the worst sort of trouble-makers. Their watchword, "constitution," he declared, "means change and trouble." Liberal ideas were prohibited in Austria in the same way that intoxicating liquors are prohibited in America to-day. No book could be published, unless an official censor had certified that it contained nothing dangerous or novel.

In this policy, the Austrian Emperor was quite as determined as was his chief minister. What was good enough for our ancestors, he said, is good enough for us. "I have no need of learned men; I want faithful subjects."

*Liberalism in Germany.* — Especially must Liberalism be shut out of Germany, thought Metternich. During the War of Liberation against Napoleon, patriotism and Liberalism had awakened. The popular desire for constitutions had become so strong that in 1815 the Prussian King had promised his people a parliament and a constitution, and the Congress of Vienna had adopted a provision that in each of the German states there should be a parliament<sup>1</sup> and a constitution. Metternich thought this was a mistake. He soon persuaded the weak-kneed Prussian King to forget the promise of a constitution. To be sure, constitutions were granted in a few states of southern and western Germany — Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and one or two others — where the French revolutionary influence had been strongest. But elsewhere autocracy remained unlimited. Even to advocate the granting of a constitution became a crime.

*The Carlsbad Decrees.* — Still the hated voices of Liberalism and Nationalism refused to be silenced. Among the university students, for example, a nation-wide fraternity was formed, with the dangerous motto "Honor, Liberty, Fatherland," and with the national German colors, red, black, and gold. When the students celebrated the anniversary of the German victory over Napoleon (and also the tercentenary of Luther's revolt against the Pope) by building bonfires and by burning several anti-patriotic books, the autocrats took alarm. Still angrier were they when a flighty young student tried to show his love for the Fatherland by assassinating a Russian spy. Indignantly Metternich held a meeting of the German monarchs at Carlsbad in 1819 and persuaded them

<sup>1</sup> A parliament of the type which had prevailed in the Middle Ages, representing the nobility, the clergy, and the bourgeoisie, separately. The French Estates-General was a parliament of this sort.

to adopt the famous Carlsbad Decrees, according to which the student fraternities were to be forbidden, the wearing of the red-black-and-gold was to be punished as a crime, newspapers and books were to be censored, people who advocated liberty and patriotism were to be punished, and university professors who taught doctrines "subversive of existing governmental institutions" were to be discharged. These decrees remained in force nearly twenty years. Unexpectedly, instead of extinguishing the flames of Liberalism and Nationalism, they made the fire burn more brightly.

**Metternich and the International Police.** — Meanwhile Metternich was endeavoring to keep the other parts of Europe safe for autocracy. As we have seen, he hoped that the Quadruple Alliance of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain would act as an international police force to prevent rebellions. In 1818 the first international conference since that of Vienna was held at Aix-la-Chapelle. Alexander of Russia had hoped for the inclusion of all European States, great and small, in the conference. Metternich, however, succeeded in excluding all but the four allied Great Powers and France (who was now admitted to the Alliance). When the four old Allies agreed, secretly, to use their combined forces against any future revolution that might occur in France,<sup>1</sup> Metternich exultantly exclaimed, "There is to be no change in the existing order of things." He was mistaken.

*Protocol of Troppau, 1820.* — Hardly two years after the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, revolutions broke out against autocratic rulers in Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sardinia, and Greece. On Metternich's invitation, the Great Powers promptly sent delegates to a conference at Troppau, in 1820, to decide what should be done. At Troppau a "Protocol" or agreement was signed by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, declaring that no revolutionary changes would be recognized, and that, if necessary, force would be used to bring the erring nations back to their senses. The Tsar Alexander of Russia,

<sup>1</sup> England agreed only in case a Bonaparte should be restored.

it should be explained, had been won over to Metternich's conservative views, partly by the Austrian diplomat's persuasive arguments, partly because a mutiny had occurred in his own army, and partly because Liberalism seemed to be producing revolts and conspiracies everywhere. "Tell me what you want me to do," said the Tsar to Metternich, "and I will do it."

*The Police Force in Action.* — On the three Eastern autocracies, at any rate, Metternich could safely count — Austria, Russia, and Prussia. They refused to aid the Greek rebels against the Turkish Sultan; they permitted Austrian armies to restore order and autocracy in Italy; they authorized a French army to quell the revolution in Spain. The sovereigns of Europe, Metternich said, must oppose a firm "barrier to the torrent of revolution."

#### ENGLAND ABANDONS METTERNICH

**England Ceases to Sympathize with Metternich's Plans.** — One part of the "barrier," however, was giving way. The British delegate at the conference of Troppau in 1820 had refused to sign Metternich's Protocol and had insisted that the Allies were pledged only to defend existing boundaries, not existing autocracies. Again, in 1822, Great Britain had shown herself unwilling to approve of French intervention in Spain. Great Britain was obviously out of sympathy with her Allies. She had become the friend of revolutions — at least of revolutions outside the British Isles.

**The Revolutions in Spanish America.** — Soon the British Government went further. It not only refused to help crush revolts; it began to protect and foster them. When France proposed to assist Spain in subduing the latter's rebellious American colonies, England objected. As the British foreign minister said, he feared that France would obtain control of the colonies. Besides, the revolutionary governments in Spanish America were much more favorable to British trade than Spain had been.

*The Interest of the United States: the Monroe Doctrine.—*

The United States also stepped forward to oppose the reconquest of the Spanish colonies. In a famous message to Congress (1823) President Monroe declared that any attempt of the Allies to apply their system of repression in the western hemisphere would be regarded as "dangerous to our peace and safety." America would not interfere in European affairs; Europe must not raise a finger against the independence of American countries. This was the celebrated Monroe Doctrine. In the main, England approved the Monroe Doctrine. Both England and the United States recognized the rebellious colonies as independent States.

**International Aid to Rebellious Greeks.** — About the same time, Great Britain espoused the cause of the Greeks, who had revolted against the Turkish Sultan and were fighting for independence. At first, the British simply announced that they would treat the Greeks not as traitorous rebels but as an independent belligerent nation. Soon France and Russia joined England in actually assisting the revolution. By 1829 the Sultan had been compelled to recognize Greece as an independent kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

In America and in Greece revolution had succeeded. Metternich's barrier was growing weak.

**EAST AND WEST PART COMPANY**

**French Opposition to King Charles X.** — Before long another nation of western Europe defied Metternich and his system. In France the aged and easy-going Louis XVIII had died in 1824, leaving the throne to his younger brother Charles X, a monarch of much more determination and much less caution. Having gotten into a quarrel with his Chamber of Deputies, King Charles suddenly dissolved that body and

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas I, who succeeded Alexander as Tsar of Russia in 1825 and was less thoroughly under Metternich's influence, declared war on Turkey in 1828 and forced these terms on the Sultan. France and England aided Greece, but did not formally engage in war against Turkey.

revised the election laws so that only landowners would be permitted to vote. He then went hunting, without the slightest notion of what a hornets' nest he had stirred up, although he had been warned by Metternich that any such arbitrary violation of the Charter of 1814 might provoke the people to revolt. It did.

**The July (1830) Revolution in France.** — The very next day, July 27, 1830, the battle cry of revolution was sounded by mobs in Paris. In the narrow, winding streets, cobblestones were quickly piled up to form barricades, behind which the rebellious workingmen and students could easily defend themselves against the King's soldiers. "Down with the Bourbons!" was the popular cry. Once more the flag of the Revolution, the glorious tricolor, floated over Paris. Lafayette, the venerable hero of two former revolutions, took command and began to form a provisional government.

*Succession of Louis Philippe, "King of the French."* — As to what form of government should be established, the rebels were divided amongst themselves. Those who had done most of the fighting favored a Republic. But those who had most influence — leading Liberal politicians and wealthy bankers — preferred a less radical change. By the use of a little flattery, they persuaded Lafayette, who was vain as well as venerable, that a limited monarchy on the English model would be "the best of all republics." Just the right person to become King of such a monarchy was found in Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who was a member of the Bourbon family and a distant cousin of Charles X, but who had fought for the French Revolution



LOUIS PHILIPPE  
King of the French, 1830-1848.



in 1792 and had always acted more like a middle-class Liberal than like a descendant of Louis XIII and Louis XIV. Louis Philippe, accordingly, was declared "King of the French, by the grace of God and"—note the addition—"by the will of the people." Charles X fled to Great Britain.

*Triumph of Middle-class Liberalism in France.*—It was a Liberal, middle-class monarchy that was established in France by the revolution of July, 1830. The new King knew on which side his bread was buttered. With the bankers and journalists and politicians he cultivated a friendly familiarity; even with the workingmen he was not too proud to exchange greetings or drink a glass of wine. He used the revolutionary tricolor flag. He sang the "Marseillaise" as lustily as the best republican. Not in a gilded coach, but on foot, and carrying a green umbrella, like any bourgeois merchant, he could be seen among his subjects on the streets of Paris.

Furthermore, he allowed the Chamber of Deputies to extend the franchise to middle-class citizens, doubling the number of voters, and to abolish the censorship of the press, and to revise the Charter of 1814. The preamble, stating that the Charter was granted by the King, was struck out, because the new King had had the Charter forced upon him. No longer was the monarch to have the power of suspending laws. The members of the Chamber of Peers (or house of lords) were to be appointed for life, instead of being hereditary. The Catholic Church was not to be the privileged state-church; it was merely the religion of the majority.

In short, the "July Revolution" was a triumph for middle-class Liberalism. It made France, like England, a limited monarchy. It gave political supremacy to the wealthy bourgeoisie, not to the common people.

Even such a revolution Metternich would have suppressed, had he dared. But he could not count on Great Britain. And France was a powerful nation. There was nothing to be done about it.

**The Rebellion and Independence of Belgium.** — Encouraged by the success of France, the Belgian people rose up against Holland, to which country they had been unwisely annexed by the Congress of Vienna. "Let us do as the French have done," cried the Belgians. Barricades were thrown up in the streets of Brussels. Soon the whole country was in arms against Holland. Thanks to Great Britain and France, who forbade the monarchs of eastern Europe to help the Dutch King, the revolt succeeded and Belgium became an independent kingdom with an elected parliament and a Liberal constitution. All power, said the constitution, comes from the nation, rather than from the King. Another defeat had been suffered by autocracy, a new victory won for self-determination and the sovereignty of the people.

**Rebellions in Italy and Poland.** — Still the revolutionary spirit spread. In several German States constitutions were granted. In Italy rebellions broke out. A Polish army, which the Russian Tsar intended to use against revolutionary France and Belgium, suddenly became revolutionary itself, defied the Tsar, and fought for Poland's independence.

In Italy, Germany, and Poland, however, the revolutionary movement had vigilant and powerful foes to combat. Metternich's troops promptly put a quietus on the insurrections in Italy. Russian troops restored the Tsar's authority in Russian Poland, and the constitution which had been granted to the Poles by Alexander I was annulled. In the German Confederation Liberalism had not even a chance of success.

**Autocracy Vigorous in Eastern Europe.** — Not long after the outbreaks of 1830, the three conservative monarchs of eastern Europe — the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria — signed a secret treaty of alliance for the suppression of future revolutions. When people to-day speak of the Holy Alliance as a league for the prevention of progress and the destruction of liberty, they have in mind this league between the three eastern autocrats (strictly speaking, the original

Holy Alliance of 1815 was quite different in purpose and less exclusive in membership). The eastern half of the Continent remained as conservative as Metternich could wish. But the West — England, France, and Belgium — had broken away.

#### ENGLAND ADOPTS A REFORM

**Increasing Liberalism in England.** — In western Europe, Great Britain became more and more the champion and chief exemplar of Liberalism, of constitutional monarchy controlled by the wealthier classes. Since 1815, the English governing classes had been recovering gradually from the panic into which they had been thrown by the radical experiments and the terrifying turmoil of the French Revolution. By 1832, they were no longer so fearful that any change in the form of government would let loose a tempest such as they had witnessed in France. The moderate "July Revolution" of 1830 in France was reassuring. Perhaps reforms were possible, after all, without disorders like those of 1793.

**Need of Reform.** — Reforms, it must be admitted, were badly wanted in England. At least, they were wanted by two classes. One class was the common people, the ordinary workaday people, who had no voice at all in the government and who thought that if Parliament were made democratic it might do something to relieve their economic distress. The other discontented class was the industrial bourgeoisie, the class composed of factory owners, mine owners, and other capitalists, who were ambitious to play a rôle in politics and who had grievances of their own to remove. Their grievances require a word of explanation.

**Undemocratic Nature of Parliament.** — Neither the industrial bourgeoisie nor the working class was represented in the British Parliament. The vast majority of the people had no vote. Parliament, as we know, consisted of two assemblies or houses: the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The former was composed of hereditary "peers"

(titled nobles) with the addition of a few bishops. The lower house was elected, but by an outrageously illogical and undemocratic system.

Each county and each borough, regardless of its size or population, had two representatives in the Commons. A borough, it should be explained, was simply a town to which some King or Queen in bygone times had granted the special privilege of sending two representatives to Parliament. Now some of these boroughs had dwindled away until they had few inhabitants or none at all, and their representatives were practically appointed by wealthy aristocrats. Such boroughs were known as "rotten boroughs." On the other hand, many growing industrial cities like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield had no representation, because they were not boroughs. All this meant that not only the poorer people, but also the capitalists in factory towns, were excluded from political rights. It was high time, they thought, for a change.

**Electoral Reform.** — In the years 1831-1832 the demand for reform of the House of Commons became irresistible. Encouraged by the French Revolution of 1830, the bourgeoisie grew bolder. The capitalists threatened to create a financial panic and to stop paying taxes. Immense mass meetings were held in the cities. The working classes grew excited. At one time, the country seemed to be on the eve of a violent revolution. In the end, the Tory noblemen in the House of Lords, who had stubbornly opposed reform, reluctantly yielded and the Reform Act of 1832 was passed. One might call it a peaceful revolution.

**The Reform Act of 1832.** — By the Reform Act of 1832 three important changes were made in the electoral system. (1) The seats in the House of Commons belonging to "rotten boroughs" were taken away and given to a number of large towns which had previously been unrepresented. (2) A number of additional seats were bestowed on the most populous counties. (3) The franchise requirements were reformed

in such a way as to give votes to moderately well-to-do and wealthy men.

What these provisions meant, in the main, was that the oligarchy of noble landlords controlling the government of England was compelled to grant to the industrial bourgeoisie a voice in Parliament and a share in political power. England was still an oligarchy, but the oligarchy now included bourgeois capitalists as well as titled aristocrats. The masses were as helpless as before, perhaps even more so. Ordinary wage earners had no vote.

**The Chartists.** — Naturally, the common people were disappointed with the Reform Act of 1832. They felt that they had been cheated, defeated, ignored. A few years after the Reform Act, an organization of workingmen in London drew up a petition or "Charter" asking for real democracy, that is, a vote for every man, rich or poor. In 1839 they presented their petition to Parliament, only to be rebuffed. Again in 1840, they planned to hold a great parade and present a new petition with five million signatures. On this occasion there might have been a revolution, and not hundreds of thousands of constables and soldiers under the command of the Duke of Wellington, Britain's most famous general, been on hand to nip any insurrection in the bud. As it turned out, the Chartists' petition was laughed at and again rejected.

**Triumph of Middle-class Liberalism in England.** — While the working classes were pleading in vain for a more democratic reform, the bourgeois capitalists were beginning to enjoy the fruits of the political power which the Reform Act of 1832 had given them. Though the landed aristocracy was still stronger than they, the new arrivals in Parliament gradually gained influence enough to secure the enactment of laws favorable to their ideals and to their business interests.

**Agitation for Free Trade.** — As was shown in the chapter on the Industrial Revolution,<sup>1</sup> the new industrial capitalists

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 395-399.

desired above all else the repeal of old protective tariff duties and of old mercantilist restrictions on the liberty of industry and trade. But the noble landlords who controlled Parliament had vested interests at stake in the protective tariff, especially in that part of the tariff known as the Corn Laws.<sup>1</sup> By the Corn Laws, very heavy customs duties were charged on the importation of foreign grain (wheat, barley and oats) when the price of grain in England was below a certain figure. By this means the price of grain was kept higher than it would otherwise have been. Dear grain meant dear bread and a high cost of living for the industrial classes, but for the landowners it meant larger profits and bigger rents. No wonder that the aristocrats obstinately refused to grant the plea of manufacturers and of economists for repeal of the Corn Laws.

Two of the manufacturers (John Bright and Richard Cobden) carried on a lively campaign against the Corn Laws. In city after city they held huge mass meetings and poured out their fiery eloquence against the obnoxious tariff. Rapidly the free-trade movement gained headway.

Thanks to the Reform Bill of 1832, the industrial cities now had representatives in Parliament to voice their demand for free trade and cheap bread. Moreover, a number of the landowners had invested money in industry and adopted free-trade doctrines. Ten years after the Reform Act, the free traders in Parliament had become numerous enough to pass a tariff-reform act cutting down the duties on raw materials to five per cent of their value. All duties on wool disappeared. Yet the Corn Laws remained.

Nature, however, aided the free traders. A bad harvest occurred. In Ireland, people died by thousands of sheer starvation as the grim figure of Famine stalked through the land. Even in England hunger invaded the cities. Could Parliament refuse to let in foreign grain when the people were starving for bread?

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 396, 402.

*The Coming of Free Trade: the Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846.* — It so happened that at this time the prime minister was Sir Robert Peel, the son of a millionaire cotton-mill owner. Hitherto, Peel had hesitated. The famine spurred him to action. In 1846 he proposed that the duties on imported grain should be lowered immediately and practically abolished at the end of three years. Notwithstanding the furious protests and gloomy prophecies of some of the landlords, Parliament passed the measure.

Now that the greatest obstacle to free trade was conquered, the rest was easy. A few years later, the remaining restrictions on trade met the same fate as the Corn Laws. During the 1850's the tariff duties on most articles were completely removed, and on others were reduced to the vanishing point. By 1860 Great Britain was well on the road to free trade.

*Influence of English Industrial Capitalists on Foreign Policy.* — The growing importance of commercial and industrial capitalists in English political life was reflected also in British foreign policy. If economic interests were left out of consideration, it might seem very puzzling and paradoxical that from about 1820 onward the British government, though it had no taste for the idea of revolution in England or in Ireland, became openly favorable to revolutions in foreign countries. The inconsistency can be understood, however, if one remembers that autocratic government in European States usually meant mercantilism and high tariffs, unfavorable to British trade, whereas Liberalism and revolution meant lower tariffs and more trade. Thus, the revolt of the Spanish colonies in America opened the door to British merchants. The emancipation of Italy from Austria, later in the nineteenth century, brought lower duties on English exports to Italy. When the celebrated statesman who served as British foreign minister from 1830 to 1851, Lord Palmerston, encouraged revolution in Germany, Italy, and other foreign lands, and championed

small nations, it was not because he was extraordinarily fond of revolutions and small nations for their own sake.<sup>1</sup> It was for the same reason that he involved Great Britain in two wars against China — to open markets for British trade.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AFFECTS THE CONTINENT

**The Industrial Revolution later on the Continent than in England.** — In the preceding section we have seen how British politics were affected by the growth of industrial cities, by the rise of a powerful class of factory-owning capitalists, by the demand for cheaper food and freer trade, by the need of larger markets—in short, by the economic changes resulting from the Industrial Revolution. Great Britain had begun to feel the effects of that revolution quite early in the nineteenth



A FRENCH "DILIGENCE" (STAGE-COACH)

These were in common use during the early part of the nineteenth century, before railways were built.

century. In this respect, the other countries of Europe were a generation or so behind her, for the Industrial Revolution did not start on the Continent until it was well under way in England. Once it began, however, Metternich's conservative system was doomed. Liberalism and Nationalism, Metternich's twin foes, were reinforced so strongly that they broke down all barriers. It will therefore be worth while to turn our

<sup>1</sup> He was quite willing to support the despotic and oppressive Turkish Empire, which held several Christian nations such as the Bulgarians, Rumanians, and Armenians in cruel subjection. In this case, he thought Britain's interests would be promoted best by preventing any other Power from obtaining control of any part of the Turkish dominions.



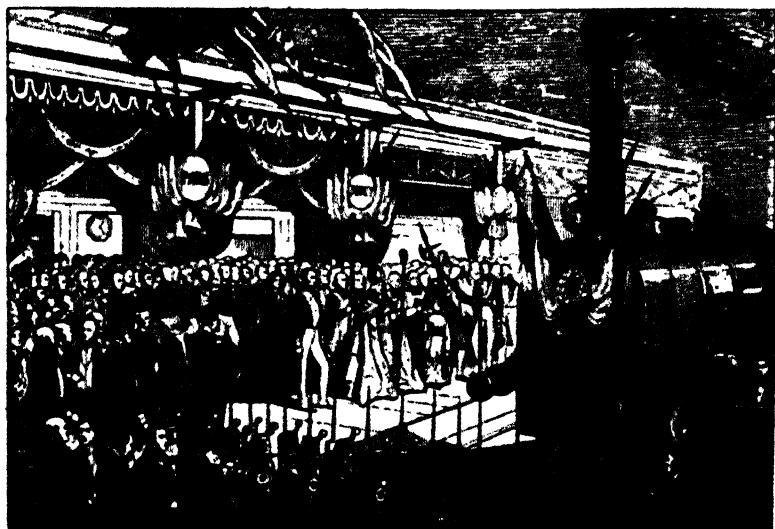
attention for a few moments to the beginning and progress of the Industrial Revolution on the Continent.

**Reasons for Industrial Backwardness of France.** — Before the Industrial Revolution, France had been superior to England in both the quantity and the quality of her manufactures. The very fact that French manufacturers prided themselves on their reputation for fine work made them less willing to substitute machines for hand-labor. French industry, moreover, was much more thoroughly under the sway of guilds and of mercantilist regulations which hindered the introduction of new processes. In short, economic conditions in France were much less favorable than in England for the establishment of factories, the introduction of machine methods of manufacture, and the inauguration of the Industrial Revolution.

Just at the time when the English were beginning to use machines and engines and factory-methods, and embarking on the Industrial Revolution, the French were engaging in a different kind of a revolution, the great political and social Revolution of 1789. During that mighty upheaval, French industry was severely injured, partly because so many workingmen had to drop their tools and shoulder muskets to fight for liberty, partly because the wealthy aristocrats who had been in the habit of purchasing silk and other manufactures were either guillotined or exiled, and partly because French foreign commerce was interrupted by wars. Napoleon's order that official costumes be made of silk in order to encourage the French silk-weavers, his efforts to introduce English machinery, and his grandiose attempt to ruin British trade, were not enough to offset the injurious effects of his foreign wars.

As a result, at the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, France was far behind England industrially. For the most part, spinning and weaving were still done by hand. Iron was still being smelted in the old-fashioned charcoal furnaces. Only a few machines had been smuggled over from England. Steam engines were as rare as five-legged cows.

**Industrial Revolution in France after 1825.** — The removal of the prohibition on the exportation of machinery from England, in 1825, marked the real beginning of the French Industrial Revolution. Progress was rapid after that. By 1850 there were five thousand steam engines at work in the mines and blast-furnaces and cloth factories and sugar



BLESSING A LOCOMOTIVE

This scene occurred in 1852, when the Bishop of Nancy blessed the first locomotive that ever ran from Nancy to Paris.

refineries of France. Rouen and other quaint old towns had been transformed into factory cities like Manchester. Thousands of miles of steel rails had been laid to guide the swift wheels of steam locomotives, which had been unknown in France before 1832. The production of coal, cotton cloth, silk, woollens, iron and steel, and other manufactures had been doubled, trebled, in some cases quadrupled. In short, during the second quarter of the nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution invaded France.

*Political Effects in France.* — As in England, the Industrial Revolution produced remarkable social and political changes. It created millionaire factory owners, who demanded a voice in politics. Their influence became noticeable during the reign of Louis Philippe (1830–1848), more marked during the reign of Louis Napoleon (1851–1870), and decidedly important during the Third Republic (1871 to the present).

*Social Effects in France.* — On the other hand, the Industrial Revolution gave birth to an industrial proletariat — a class of factory hands, miners, and railwaymen who worked for wages. As in England there were many thousands of women and of half-starved children toiling thirteen or fourteen or even as long as seventeen hours a day in cotton mills, for a daily wage of from fifteen to twenty cents. As in England, too, poverty, ignorance, hunger, disease, vice, and rebellious discontent were to be found in the squalid slums of industrial cities. We shall find Socialism arising in these slums and revolutions bursting forth from them in 1848 and 1871.

**Differences between French and English Industrial Revolutions.** — In four respects, the French Industrial Revolution was unlike that of England. To begin with, the French manufacturers did not as a rule become free-traders. They felt the need of a tariff to protect them against the competition of England's more highly developed industries.

In the second place, the French wage earners, instead of forming strong trade-unions, as was the case in England, were more inclined to Socialism and revolution. This tendency was due, probably, to the fact that the French government prohibited trade-unions, whereas the British, after 1824, permitted them. In France, the formation of unions was for a long time regarded as an attempt to return to the old guild system, which had been swept away by the French Revolution in 1791, and any effort to undo the work of the Revolution was looked upon as a menace by French Liberals.

Thirdly, large-scale industry never became so important in France as in England, for various reasons. The French iron industry, for instance, was handicapped by a lack of coal mines. France could not build up a large trade in cheap cotton cloth; English competition was too strong. In France, small shops producing high grade and artistic goods were more numerous than giant factories or blast-furnaces.

Finally, industry failed in France to overshadow agriculture. In England, the rural population was small because the soil was owned by feudal aristocrats and gentlemen farmers, whereas in France the feudal aristocracy had been overthrown by the Revolution of 1789, and instead of drifting toward the towns the majority of the French peasants remained in the country, tilling their small farms with marvellous thoroughness. Only in certain districts, notably in the north, did industry outgrow agriculture. As a whole, France remained a nation of independent farmers instead of becoming a nation of industrial wage earners.

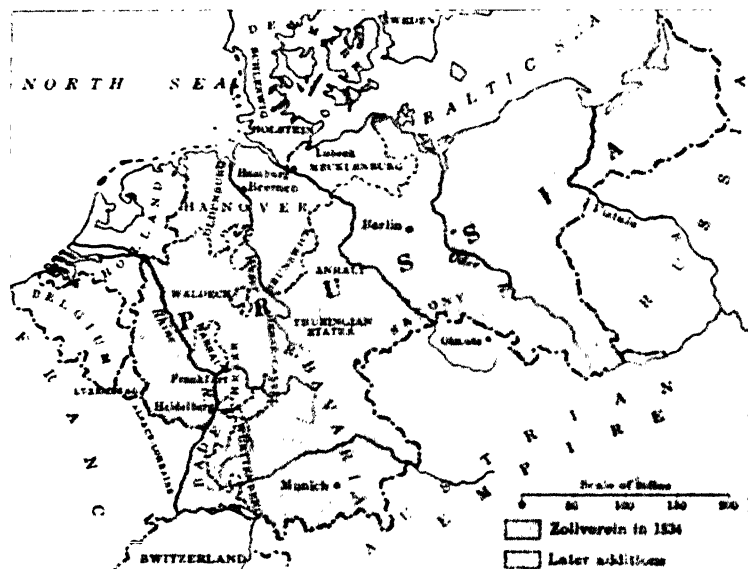
**Conditions in Germany before the Industrial Revolution. —**

In Germany the Industrial Revolution began even later than in France, but it went much further. In the early nineteenth century the country was still suffering the after-effects of the wars which had been fought on German soil. Industries were backward. There was little capital. Most of the people were poverty-stricken, tax-burdened farmers. Commerce was obstructed by the separate customs tariffs which were maintained by the thirty-eight separate German states; indeed, in some states each province had a separate tariff.

*Economic Liberalism in Prussia.* — Several important steps preparing the way for economic progress were taken by Prussia during the first third of the century. During the Napoleonic wars, the Prussian government took away the monopolistic privileges of the old craft guilds and granted permission for any person to engage in industry, without having served as an apprentice and without obtaining a

license from a guild. A second step was the Prussian tariff law of 1818, sweeping away the dozens of provincial tariff barriers which had hitherto impeded trade between the different parts of the kingdom. The new Prussian tariff admitted raw materials free of duty and imposed only light duties on other imports from abroad.

Finally, in 1834, a Customs Union (*Zollverein*), including eighteen of the German states, was formed under Prussian



THE GERMAN ZOLLVEREIN OR CUSTOMS UNION

leadership. Each member agreed to permit free trade with the others, and all agreed to impose the same rates of duties on foreign goods. Trade could now breathe freely. The way was cleared for industrial and commercial expansion.

**Industrial Revolution in Germany.** -- The Industrial Revolution began in Germany during the second third of the nineteenth century. Then it was that machinery became common in the cloth industry that new methods of iron

manufacture were introduced; that the first railways were built. At first the machines were mostly imported from England. A number of the early factories in Germany were built by English workingmen, equipped with English machines, and owned by British capitalists. Soon, however, the Germans were able to dispense with such aid, and in some respects even to surpass their teachers. During the latter part of the nineteenth century the Germans surpassed all other nations in the chemical and electrical industries, and became the chief rivals of England and the United States in producing coal, iron, machinery, cotton cloth. But that is getting ahead of our story.

**Industrial Revolution in Other Countries.** — Like France and Germany, each European country had its Industrial Revolution, sooner or later. In Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland the change occurred comparatively early. In Italy, Austria-Hungary, Scandinavia, and Russia it began about the middle of the nineteenth century but its progress was slow until the last decade of the century. In Spain and in the Balkan states it was still more retarded.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION UNDERMINES METTERNICH'S BARRIER TO PROGRESS

We are now in a position to see how the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution on the Continent hastened the overthrow of that Austrian arch-conservative, Prince Metternich, and of the political institutions which he championed.

**National Patriotism Quickened.** — Metternich, as the reader will remember, endeavored to keep Germany and Italy disunited and under Austrian control. Therefore he strove to strangle national patriotism in Germany and in Italy. But the Industrial Revolution stimulated Nationalism. It created railways, which bound the different parts of a nation more closely together. It expanded trade, and trade likewise had a unifying effect. For example, the

**Customs Union (Zollverein)** formed by eighteen German states in 1834 was enlarged during the thirties and forties (just when the Industrial Revolution was beginning) until it embraced almost all German-speaking lands except Austria. In a very direct way, economic unity preceded and promoted the political unity of Germany.

**Liberalism Reinforced.** — Another effect of the Industrial Revolution was to reinforce Liberalism, that other enemy of Metternich's system. Liberalism, as Metternich himself remarked, was strongest among the upper middle classes or bourgeoisie, especially the capitalists, the merchants, and the professors. Now the Industrial Revolution immensely strengthened the upper middle classes. The more factories there were, the more wealthy factory owners. The more industry and commerce expanded, the more rich merchants, bankers, and middlemen there were. As they gained in wealth and numbers, the middle classes became ever more discontented with their inferior social and political position, ever more irritated by the social superiority of the feudal aristocrats and by the political supremacy of autocratic monarchs. Most of all were they enraged when autocratic rulers insisted, as they so often did, on following policies injurious to trade and business.

**Growth of Discontent among Workingmen.** — A third result of the Industrial Revolution remains to be noticed, namely, the growth of discontent and Socialism among the workers. Everywhere it went, the Industrial Revolution created a grave labor problem. Hand-loom weavers were thrown out of work by the introduction of machinery. Children were herded into the factories. Wages were pitifully small, while the working day was painfully long. Factory hands disliked their work and their masters, sometimes with good reason, sometimes without. While capitalists heaped up dazzling wealth, the wage earners seemed to be doomed to hunger, rags, and a cheerless life of unceasing toil. Such was the complaint of the workingmen.

*Radicalism in the Growing Cities.* — As the cities grew larger and larger (their amazingly rapid growth was one of the most remarkable results of the Industrial Revolution), the workingmen had better opportunities to discuss their grievances with one another. In a great city, a crowd could be collected, a mob aroused to fury, barricades thrown up in the streets, a revolution begun, in a few hours. Revolutions in the middle of the nineteenth century almost invariably were kindled in the cities, rather than among the peasants.

Though they were profoundly discontented, and ready to revolt at a moment's notice, the industrial workingmen during the first half of the nineteenth century had no very elaborate theories to explain what was wrong, nor were they organized in trade-unions as at present. Sometimes they merely expressed their blind rage by smashing machines or burning factories. Sometimes they formed secret revolutionary societies. Strikes for higher pay and shorter hours were not unusual in England, but in France and Germany they were less frequent and less successful. In fact, they were positively forbidden by law.

*Revolutionary Ideas Communicated to Workingmen.* — The idea that the industrial "proletarians" or wage earners should rise up in revolt and overthrow the capitalist system was proclaimed by three remarkable books, just before the middle of the nineteenth century.

*Proudhon and the Anarchists.* — One was written by a Frenchman, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, in the year 1840. Its title was an astonishing question: *What is Property?* No less astonishing was Proudhon's reply: "Property is theft, because it enables him who has not produced to consume the fruits of other people's toil." His remedy was to abolish private ownership of property and do away with all governments. People would then organize business and keep order voluntarily, he prophesied, and there would be more justice and liberty in the world. This idea of doing away with property and government is the basis of Anarchistic move-



ments to-day. It should be carefully distinguished from Socialism, which rests on quite a different principle.

*Louis Blanc and the Socialists.* — One of the first Socialists was Louis Blanc, another Frenchman, who published a book on *The Organization of Labor*, likewise in 1840. Blanc proposed that the government of each country, instead of being abolished, should be converted into a democratic republic. The government, he said, should establish "social workshops" which would be controlled by the workingmen rather than by capitalists. The workingmen would receive equal wages and distribute the surplus profits among themselves, after setting aside funds for equipment and for the support of aged, sick, and crippled workers. This conception of Socialist democracy, as we might call it, won the



KARL MARX

The "Father of Modern Socialism."

support of many Parisian laborers during the 1840's. It was to play an important part in the revolution which broke out in 1848.

*Growth of Socialism:* "The Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels. — More important, in the long run, than either of these books was *The Communist Manifesto*, a pamphlet published in 1848 by Karl Marx and Friedrich

Engels. Both authors were Germans by birth and Hebrews by descent. Neither was a factory worker. Marx was a university graduate and a journalist, while Engels was the son of a factory owner. Both men, however, were intensely interested in the condition of the lower classes.

Their Manifesto declared that all history was made up of

struggles between the rich and the poor, between the upper and lower classes. At present, the under dog was the wage earner or "proletarian," who was being "exploited" (that is, oppressed and cheated) by the capitalist. The proletarians, said Marx and Engels, should form a Communist Party, obtain control of the government, and appropriate the factories, mines, railways, banks, etc. All capital should become the common property of society as a whole, rather than of a few capitalists. Rent should be abolished, inheritance confiscated by the State, education made public and free for everybody, and labor declared compulsory for all adults.

The little pamphlet failed to create much of a sensation in 1848. Nor did it convert many people to "Communism" during the next ten or twenty years. Few readers would have guessed that, before the century closed, *The Communist Manifesto* would become the creed of millions of workingmen and the platform of powerful Socialist parties all over the world.

In the later chapters we shall follow the career of Socialism, as well as of the Industrial Revolution, and of Liberalism and Nationalism, in each of the important nations of Europe from 1848 to 1914. Our aim here is merely to show how these forces were strengthened by the Industrial Revolution during the 1830's and 1840's, and how they were bound to undermine the old order which Metternich had been striving to defend ever since 1815.

**Elements of Opposition to Metternich.** Metternich and his friends had kept Germany, Italy, and eastern Europe in hand during the trying times of 1820 and 1830. By 1848, however, the situation had changed. There were still people who cherished the principles of the French Revolution or who drew inspiration from English Liberalism. There were still peasants and serfs eager to dispossess aristocratic landowners. But in addition, there was the Industrial Revolution, which had strengthened Nationalism and Liberalism in the middle classes and had created bitter discontent among the

workingmen of the cities. Moreover, the construction of railways since 1830 made revolutions more likely to spread, because news would now travel so much more rapidly by rail than by stage-coach or by horseman.

**The Revolution of 1848.** — In February, 1848, a revolution overturned the French monarchy.<sup>1</sup> No sooner had the glad tidings been published abroad, than revolutionists in the various Italian States, in the German States, in Austria itself, seized the opportunity to strike a blow for liberty.<sup>2</sup>

**Flight of Metternich.** — When Metternich heard that revolution had dared raise its head even in his own city of Vienna, he indignantly declared: "Forty years I have served my country. I have never yielded to an insurrection, nor will I now." Little did he know the power which Liberalism, Nationalism, and labor-unrest had gained since 1830. On March 14, 1848, the courtly, white-haired old gentleman, forgetting his proud boast of a few days before, disguised himself as an Englishman and fled for his life, leaving Vienna in full revolt. Like a tumultuous flood, seething and angry, revolution was sweeping over the Continent. Metternich had failed to stem the tide.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why was an international congress held at Vienna in 1814-1815? What was expected from it by people who sympathized with the principles of the French Revolution?

2. Who were Metternich and Alexander, and what were they trying to accomplish at the Congress of Vienna?

3. Who was Talleyrand? Explain how the rivalry of the Allies gave him the opportunity to play an important rôle at Vienna.

4. What were the chief provisions of the Final Act of 1815? What territorial gains were made by Russia? By Prussia? By Great Britain?

5. What was done about Poland? About Germany? About Italy? About Belgium? In all four of these cases, what principle was disregarded?

<sup>1</sup> This is discussed in the next chapter, pp. 466-470.

<sup>2</sup> The Revolution of 1848 in Italy is discussed in Chapter XVII, pp. 497-500. The corresponding upheaval in the German States and in the Austrian Empire is described in Chapter XVIII, pp. 521-527.

by the Congress of Vienna? Did the disregard of this principle create any danger for the future?

6. What was done to guarantee the treaties of 1815 and to preserve international peace? What faults can you find in these arrangements?

7. Who were the "liberals"? Why did Metternich combat them? What specific measures did he take against "liberals" in Germany?

8. What was Metternich's doctrine of intervention? What countries accepted it? Who rejected it? Explain the Protocol of Troppau.

9. Why were Metternich's policies opposed in England?

10. Describe the July Revolution (1830) in France, and show what its relation was to Metternich's policies.

11. The government of France from 1830 to 1848 is sometimes called a "bourgeois monarchy." What does this expression mean?

12. How did Belgium become an independent country?

13. Was Metternich's policy successful anywhere?

14. How was the British Parliament composed in 1830? In 1832? Explain the change. Did the change make England democratic?

15. Who were the Chartists, and what did they think of the Parliamentary Reform of 1832?

16. What laws did the reformed English Parliament pass in favor of "economic liberty"?

17. In what matters was English foreign policy influenced by industrial interests?

18. Describe the industrial development of France after 1825. Why was France more backward than England in industry? What were the chief differences between the French and English Industrial Revolutions? What were the social effects of the Industrial Revolution in France?

19. What steps prepared the way for the Industrial Revolution in Germany?

20. What countries were affected by the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century? How did the spread of the Industrial Revolution strengthen the opposition to Metternich's system?

21. What revolutionary ideas developed among workingmen? Can you explain the difference between Anarchism as taught by Proudhon and Socialism as taught by Blanc?

22. What was the *Communist Manifesto*? Explain its importance.

23. When and how was Metternich overthrown?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Metternich.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 386-387; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XVIII, 301-307.

**Tsar Alexander and the Holy Alliance.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 11-12; PHILLIPS, *Confederation of Europe*, 148-156; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 384-385.

**Talleyrand.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 372-375; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXVI, 373-376.

**Restoration in Spain.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 20-26; HUME, *Modern Spain*, ch. v; SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, 286-295.

**Louis XVIII.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XVII, 47-48; SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, 103-124.

**The July Revolution in France.** SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, 125-132.

**Louis Philippe.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XVII, 51-52; SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, 132-159.

**Industrial Revolution in France and Germany.** OGG, *Economic Development*, ch. x.

**The Monroe Doctrine.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 39-44; BEARD, *History of the United States*, 205-207; PHILLIPS, *Confederation of Europe*, 281-291.

**Greek war of independence.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, I, 382-388; SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, 648-654, 619-620; MARSHOTT, *Eastern Question*, ch. viii; SCHEVILL, *The Balkan Peninsula*, ch. xxi.

**Belgium's independence and neutrality.** SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, 229-238; VAN DER ESSEN, *Short History of Belgium*, 145-166; CAMMAERTS, *Belgium*, chs. xxiv-xxv.

**Polish revolt of 1830.** PHILLIPS, *Poland*, ch. viii; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 343-344.

**The English Parliament before 1832.** BEARD, *English Historians*, 538-548; CROSS, *History of England*, 900-914.

**The Great Reform Bill of 1832.** BEARD, *English Historians*, 549-565; CROSS, *History of England*, 914-918; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, 239-245.

**Karl Marx and Socialism.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 253-265; KIRKUP, *History of Socialism*, 130-167.

**Revolution of 1848 in Austria.** SCHAPIRO, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, 131-135; MAHAFFY, *Francis Joseph*, 1-36.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 1-57, 88-97, 100-144; PHILLIPS, *Confederation of Europe*; FYFFE, *Modern Europe*, chs. xiii-xvii.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

GEORGE ELIOT, *Felix Holt*; KINGSLEY, *Alton Locke*; ERCKMAN AND CHATRIAN, *A Man of the People*.

## CHAPTER XVI

### REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES TRIUMPH IN FRANCE (1848-1914)

#### FRANCE IS A COUNTRY OF TRADITIONS

**Traditions Antecedent to the French Revolution.** — Modern France is the product of a long historical development. Before the great Revolution of 1789, France had secured her boundaries in Europe practically as they are to-day. Before the Revolution, moreover, French culture and French civilization held a commanding position in the world: the French language was the language of international diplomacy and polite society; French manners and fashions were imitated everywhere. The French State, with its absolute monarchy and its highly centralized administration, was the model for all autocratic States. The patriotism of the French people was the envy of other peoples.

Four national traditions already were solidly established: (1) the French were good soldiers, fighting bravely and successfully under Joan of Arc, Henry IV, and Louis XIV; (2) they were remarkable builders of colonial empire; (3) France was known as the "eldest daughter" of the Church, and she produced more celebrated preachers and teachers and sent out more foreign missionaries than any other nation; (4) the French had a well deserved reputation for delicate and artistic manufactures.

**Traditions of the French Revolution.** — The French Revolution, from 1789 to 1795, bequeathed other traditions to modern France. It substituted the ideas of popular sovereignty and political democracy for the idea of divine-right autocracy. It abolished class privileges and introduced peasant proprietorship of the land. It proclaimed individual

liberties (of conscience, speech, press, etc.) and experimented with republicanism. It broadened and deepened the sentiment of *national* patriotism. By arming the entire nation and by producing Napoleon Bonaparte, it confirmed and strengthened the earlier military traditions.

**Napoleonic Traditions.** — The dictatorship of Napoleon, from 1799 to 1814, represented a compromise between the traditions of the Revolution and those of earlier times. On one hand, Napoleon insisted upon the practice of social and civil equality and upon the theory of popular sovereignty.



A FRENCH VILLAGE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF 1789

What is the most prominent building? Do the ordinary houses appear to be large and comfortable?

On the other hand, he made political democracy a farce, destroying republicanism and individual liberties; he restored the highly centralized local administration of the country; and he emphasized anew the earlier traditions of militarism, Catholicism, and empire-building.

**Bourbon Compromise, 1814–1848.** — The Napoleonic compromise, with certain modifications, was continued by the restored Bourbon Kings in the first half of the nineteenth century (1814–1848). It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century (1848–1914) that the principles of the Revolution fully triumphed in France.

**Significance of France in the Nineteenth Century.** — French culture and French civilization have remained to our own day the standards of the culture and civilization of Europe, even of the World. And just as the European autocracies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries modeled themselves after the French autocracy (when autocracy was fashionable), so many States in the nineteenth century (when democracy was in style) have copied the democratic experiments of France. France has continued to be a sort of world's experiment-station in politics, a kind of political laboratory. This is why the story of the triumph of revolutionary principles in France is important for all of us.

**French Social Classes in the Nineteenth Century.** — To understand French politics in the nineteenth century, we must know something of the social classes in France. By 1848 the *five* traditional classes of the country had assumed approximately the same relative position which they now bear to one another. (1) The most numerous and most characteristic was the *peasantry*. Most of the peasants owned and cultivated little farms of less than twenty-five acres apiece: they were hard-working, thrifty, patriotic, and resolutely opposed to the restoration of the privileges of the nobles, though otherwise they were conservative. (2) The wealthiest and most intelligent class was the *bourgeoisie*, which embraced professional men (lawyers, physicians, engineers, journalists, etc.), bankers, merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, etc. They had gained much from the Revolution and they were determined to control the State. (3) The *working class* comprised skilled mechanics and all those wage earners and day laborers whom the Industrial Revolution was drawing to the cities and putting into the factories and mines. They were poor and often ignorant, and they had little or no political influence. (4) The *clergy* (the First Estate, in the old society), shorn of its property and privileges during the Revolution, was now a salaried department of the Government; it was still influential, however, and as a



class it tended to be hostile to the newer political developments in France. (5) The *nobility* (formerly the *Second Estate*) still retained its titles and much social prestige, though it had lost its privileges and most of its landed property, as a class it was anti-democratic and anti-republican and was therefore distrusted by all the other classes except the clergy.

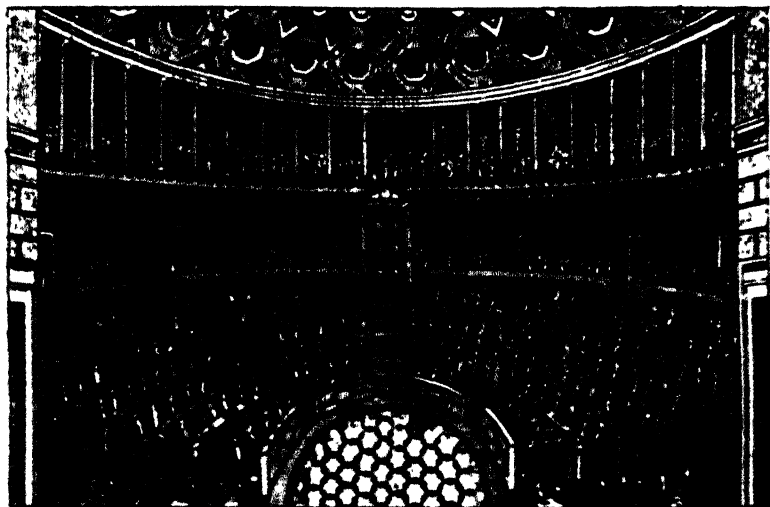
**Paris and the Country Districts.** — By reason of the highly centralized character of the French State, the capital city of Paris played in the nineteenth century an extraordinarily significant part in French politics. Dominated by the bourgeoisie and the working class, Paris always led the way in effecting radical changes in government. Nevertheless, Paris was not France; and when Paris threw wide open the throttle of revolution, the peasantry and clergy of the country districts could usually be relied upon to apply the brakes.

#### BOURBON MONARCHY IS FINALLY OVERTHROWN

**Popular Dissatisfaction with the Restored Bourbons, 1814-1848.** — At the beginning of 1848 there was great political restlessness throughout France. Since 1814 the government had been a constitutional monarchy under the restored Bourbons; there was a written guarantee of individual liberties and there was provision for a ministry (responsible to the King) and for a Parliament comprising a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies. But the written guarantee of individual liberties was not always respected, and the Parliament was not a democratic body. The Peers were appointed by the King from the distrusted nobility, and the Deputies were elected by a small number of wealthy taxpayers.

*Opposition to Louis Philippe, 1830-1848.* — In 1830 the elder line of the Bourbons had lost the throne because the King, Charles X, had muzzled the press and been too partial to the clergy and nobility. But the younger, or Orleanist, branch of the Bourbon family, which reigned in the person of Louis Philippe from 1830 to 1848, was not much more liberal in practice and was altogether too partial to the economic

interests of the bourgeoisie. The clergy was alienated by anti-Catholic legislation; the nobility and a large part of the peasantry were alike hostile; the working class, now influenced by Socialism, demanded radical political and social changes; and many members of the bourgeoisie were disgusted with the stubborn refusal of Louis Philippe and his minister Guizot



THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XVIII

It still looks much like this picture, excepting that there are seats for more Deputies. A speaker addressing the Chamber stands on a raised platform facing the semi-circular seats, so that he sees the audience just as the picture shows it. The galleries are filled with visitors.

to extend the suffrage and to permit free political discussion. From all sides went up the demand for "reform."

**The Revolution of February (1848): the Overthrow of Louis Philippe.** — In Paris the demand for reform was voiced at a series of banquets held throughout the winter of 1847-1848 and attended largely by journalists, university students, and other middle-class "radicals." Guizot's prohibition of the last of this series of reform-banquets started rioting in the capital on February 22, 1848, not only among

the would-be banqueters, but among the working class. At first the rioters demanded merely the resignation of Guizot, but when royal troops were sent against them they threw up barricades in the narrow, crooked streets and defied the King himself. The National Guard of Paris took sides with the rioters, and it was soon discovered that not even the royal troops could be depended upon to fight for the King's cause. Within three days Louis Philippe lost everything. He abdicated and fled to England. Bourbon monarchy was ended in France.

**Proclamation of the Second French Republic, 1848.** — The Revolution of February, 1848, was accomplished by the bourgeoisie and working class of Paris. Many of the former would have been glad to retain the kingship, provided it were made purely nominal like the kingship in England, and there was some talk of recognizing the infant grandson of Louis Philippe as sovereign. But the working class would not listen to such a proposal. They desired thoroughgoing democracy and they insisted upon the establishment of a republic. So, in February, 1848, France for the second time became a Republic, governed provisionally by a committee representing both workingmen and bourgeoisie.

*French Workingmen in the February Revolution.* — The workingmen of Paris, led by the Socialist Louis Blanc, demanded that the Second French Republic should do for their class something similar to what the First French Republic had done for the peasantry, that is, make them actual owners of the factories and shops in which they worked. As steps in this direction they induced the Provisional Government (of which Louis Blanc<sup>1</sup> was at first a member) to promise that it would "provide labor for all citizens" and to decree the establishment of "national workshops" — coöperative factories supported by the State and managed by the workers.

*French Bourgeoisie in the February Revolution.* — On the other hand, the bourgeoisie of Paris contended that the French

<sup>1</sup> See p. 458.

Republic should be democratic in politics only, and that it should not concern itself with radical social experiments. Accordingly, the representatives on the Provisional Government effectually blocked the project of "national workshops"; instead of carrying out the scheme of Louis Blanc, they gave only temporary employment to the workingmen. It was



A POPULAR DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF THE CITY HALL OF PARIS  
IN 1848

The tricolor flags bear mottoes such as: "Liberty, equality, fraternity"; "Honor to labor"; "Bread for the worker"; "Long live the Republic"; "Union of nations." Do these mottoes tell us anything about what the revolutionists wanted?

obvious by June, 1848, that a wide cleavage existed at Paris between the bourgeois Republicans and the working class Socialists.

Meanwhile the country at large had elected by universal manhood suffrage an Assembly to draw up a Constitution for the Republic, and the voice of France had been different from the voice of Paris. The peasants and the bourgeois

of the provinces, who composed the overwhelming majority of the Assembly, were absolutely opposed to the demands of the Parisian workingmen. One of their first acts was to deprive the workingmen of public financial assistance.

**Conflict between Bourgeoisie and Workingmen: the "June Days," 1848.** — The result was an insurrection of the working class of Paris. The Assembly intrusted the command of the national troops to General Cavaignac, a doughty Republican, who put down the insurrection in June, 1848, after three days of desperate and bloody fighting.

*Decline of the Second Republic.* — The "June Days" of 1848 sealed the doom of the Second French Republic. The Assembly, it is true, prepared a Republican Constitution — providing for a Legislature and a President, both to be elected by universal manhood suffrage — but the working class would no longer support a Government which destroyed the "national workshops" and killed the workers, while the bulk of the peasantry and bourgeoisie grew more conservative and more suspicious of Republican "radicalism."

**Louis Napoleon Bonaparte Elected President, 1848.** — In the general election for President of the French Republic, in December, 1848, General Cavaignac, the regular Republican candidate, received fewer than one and a half million votes. The successful candidate, who received nearly five and a half million votes, was Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. It was for a name that the large majority of Frenchmen voted, a name which promised "order" and "glory."

#### LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE ESTABLISHES A DICTATORSHIP

**Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.** — Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was the son of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland (1806–1810), and the nephew, therefore, of the great Napoleon. Since the death of Napoleon's son, the "King of Rome," in 1832, he had been the Emperor's legal heir. Most of his life had been spent in exile, in plots and intrigues, and in cultivation

of the "Napoleonic Legend" — the notion that the Emperor had been overthrown by the European autocrats because he had been a champion of democracy and a friend of oppressed nationalities.

*His Policies as President, 1848-1851.* — Now in December, 1848, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, recalled from exile, became the President of the French Republic. Cleverly he used his new office to increase his personal popularity. The army enthusiastically supported him because he represented the military tradition of his glorious uncle. The peasantry and bourgeoisie supported him because he protected "law and order" and advocated economic prosperity. The workingmen supported him because he assured them with much rhetoric that he was their friend. The clergy supported him because he championed religious education and



LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

President of the Second French Republic,  
1848-1852; Emperor as Napoleon III,  
1852-1870.

sent an expeditionary force to restore the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Then, when the Legislature proposed to revise the Constitution and to abolish universal manhood suffrage, the Prince-President stepped forward as the faithful guardian of democracy.

*His Coup d'État, 1851.* — Relying upon his personal popularity, upon the loyalty of the Army, and upon the example

<sup>1</sup> The Pope had fled from Rome because of the Revolution of 1848 in Italy. See p. 469.

of his uncle, Prince Louis Napoleon on December 2, 1851, executed a coup d'état (a blow at the State). The Republican leaders were imprisoned or exiled; the Legislature was dissolved; and a new Constitution was promulgated. Like his uncle, he submitted his Constitution to popular referendum (plebiscite), and like his uncle he received an overwhelmingly favorable verdict from the country.

*He becomes Emperor Napoleon III, 1852.* — Henceforth, for almost twenty years, Louis Napoleon was virtual dictator of France. At first he continued to bear the title of "President," but in November, 1852, he was authorized by plebiscite to assume the title of "Napoleon III, Emperor of the French." Just as the First French Republic had been supplanted in 1804 by the Empire of Napoleon I, so the Second French Republic was transformed in 1852 into the Empire of Napoleon III.<sup>1</sup>

**Napoleon III's Dictatorship Based on Popular Sovereignty.** — Napoleon III based his authority on the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and from his time to ours France has never<sup>2</sup> abandoned that doctrine. Moreover, Napoleon III preserved the form of universal manhood suffrage, established by the February Revolution of 1848, and from his time to ours France has always clung to that form of political democracy.

**Democracy and Personal Liberty Controlled by Napoleon III.** — Universal manhood suffrage, as the French people discovered under Napoleon III, does not of itself make a nation truly democratic. Under the Constitution of 1852, universal manhood suffrage was employed only in the plebiscites and in the elections to the Legislature. And all elections were carefully manipulated by the Emperor through his staff of local agents, who paid the electoral

<sup>1</sup> Louis Napoleon Bonaparte took the title of "Napoleon III" because he wished to show thereby that the Bourbon Kings who reigned in France from 1814 to 1848 had no right to reign, and that after the death of Napoleon I, in 1821, the rightful Emperor was "Napoleon II" — Napoleon I's son — who lived until 1832.

expenses of candidates favorable to him, counted the votes, and made the returns. Besides, the Legislature had no power except to pass on laws proposed by the Emperor.

Universal manhood suffrage was merely a cloak for Napoleon III's personal dictatorship. He himself made peace and war, appointed all officials, and determined public policies. He suppressed newspapers that opposed him. He exiled or imprisoned persons who assailed him. Though the French people were now in theory fully sovereign, there was in practice hardly as much individual liberty under the Emperor as there had been under the restored Bourbons from 1814 to 1848.

**Domestic Policies of Napoleon III.** — Napoleon III sought to deal with domestic and foreign problems as he imagined Napoleon I would have dealt with them. In domestic affairs he aimed to conciliate all classes.

(1) He promoted the material prosperity of the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. While restricting liberty in politics, he broadened it in economics. He lessened governmental interference in industry; he made it easier to organize commercial companies; he established a system of savings banks; he gradually introduced from England the policy of free trade; and he stimulated both industry and commerce by a series of remarkable public works. Harbors were improved, swamps drained, canals dug, roads repaired, the network of French railways brought to completion, and Paris beautified and adorned. Great international expositions (world's fairs) held in Paris during his reign, displayed the magnificence of the city and the growth of material comfort throughout the nation.

(2) Napoleon III aided the working class by legalizing coöperative societies, by repealing the penal laws against trade-unions and strikes, and by supervising the private companies which insured workingmen against death and accident. He was fond of being called "the emperor of the workingmen."



(3) He conciliated the clergy by confirming their hold upon French education, by maintaining troops at Rome for the protection of the Pope, and by supporting foreign missions of the Catholic Church. His wife, the Empress Eugenie, was piously attached to the Church, and by her frequent and liberal charities she was recognized both as the champion of the clergy and as the friend of the poor.



A COURT BALL IN THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III

**Foreign Policies of Napoleon III.** — In foreign affairs, Napoleon III was ambitious to undo the work of the Congress of Vienna, which had registered, in his mind, the defeat of Napoleon I and the disgrace of France. He would regain for France her "natural boundaries"; he would aid "oppressed nationalities"; he would reëstablish a French colonial empire. All these things he would achieve, if possible, through peaceful negotiations, for he was not the great soldier his uncle had been. Nevertheless he realized that

war might be necessary for his foreign ambitions and useful for his domestic fame and popularity. Napoleon I had won glory in war, and so might Napoleon III.

*Alliance with England and Hostility to Russia.* — Napoleon III believed that the chief reason for his uncle's overthrow had been the fierce hostility of England, and that if he himself were to undo the work of the Congress of Vienna he must seek England's support. With this end in view he joined England in 1854 in a war against Russia — the so-called *Crimean War*. The English Government was fearful of Russian domination of the Turkish Empire, and the French Emperor posed as the protector of the Catholic Christians in Turkey against the aggression of the Russian Orthodox Church. Most of the fighting was done on the peninsula of the Crimea (in southern Russia), and the outcome was favorable to the Allies. In 1856 Napoleon had the satisfaction of presiding over a great international peace congress at Paris, which ended the Crimean War. By the war France humiliated Russia — a Power which had inflicted a memorable disaster on Napoleon I. By the same war France strengthened her political and military ties with England. These ties were further strengthened, in a commercial way, in 1860 by the conclusion of the *Cobden Treaty*, in accordance with which French goods were imported freely into England and English manufacturers were to pay only a small tax on their importations into France.

*Intervention in Italy and Acquisition of Savoy and Nice.* — In Italy Napoleon III early perceived an opportunity at once to regain for France her "natural boundary" on the southeast and to aid an "oppressed nationality." Italy at that time was divided into separate States, several of which were owned or controlled by Austria. Taking advantage of the enthusiasm of the Italian people for national unity and freedom, and taking advantage likewise of the ardent sympathy of many Frenchmen for Italy, he allied himself with Sardinia, the most important of the independent Italian

States, and in 1859 went to war with Austria for the liberation of Italy. His armies won victories, but he did not do as much for the Italians as he had promised. He failed to emancipate Venice from Austria. However, he did help to drive the Austrians out of Milan, and he did consent in 1861 to the creation of the "Kingdom of Italy," embracing all the Italian States except Rome and Venice. As reward for his services to an "oppressed nationality," he obtained from the Italians in 1860 the city of Nice and the duchy of Savoy. Savoy and Nice, which had been conquered by France in 1792 and torn from her in 1814, were thus regained by Napoleon III. Since then, the "natural boundary" of the Alps has been the southeastern frontier of France.

*Interest in Germany and Failure to Acquire Territory on the Rhine.* — In Germany Napoleon III thought he perceived a similar opportunity to regain for France her "natural boundaries" on the northeast. The German people, profoundly stirred by the spirit of nationality, desired to unify their country and to found a strong national State; but Austria and the princes of the smaller German States (whom Austria controlled) blocked the popular desire. Napoleon himself sympathized with the national aspirations in Germany, as in Italy, and he would have been willing to ally himself with Prussia, the strongest German State, in a war of German liberation from Austria, if only Prussia would reward him liberally enough for his services. But Prussia, under the guidance of Bismarck, felt herself sufficiently strong to oust Austria and unify Germany without French assistance and without bribes to Napoleon III. In fact, in 1866, in a surprisingly brief war (the Seven Weeks' War), Prussia overwhelmed Austria and established a national German Government under her own leadership.<sup>1</sup> The French Emperor then begged Prussia for "compensation," not because he had actively assisted her, but because he had maintained neutral-

<sup>1</sup> This subject is treated in greater detail in Chapter XVII, pp. 502-505.

<sup>2</sup> These events are described in Chapter XVIII.

ity. He asked for the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine. This being refused, he requested Prussia to help him obtain Bavaria's territory on the Rhine (the Palatinate), or to consent to French annexation of Belgium. In vain! Bismarck met each request of Napoleon III with a firm refusal. The Prussian minister would not allow the French Emperor to obtain even the small duchy of Luxemburg. Not one inch of territory in the direction of the Rhine was added to France by Napoleon III.

**Colonial Policy of Napoleon III.** -- In the meantime Napoleon III was laboring to reestablish a French colonial empire. He completed the conquest of Algeria, in northern Africa, which had been begun in 1830. He acquired islands in the Pacific Ocean, notably New Caledonia. He waged a brief war with China and secured valuable commercial privileges for France in the Far East. He obtained a protectorate in southeastern Asia and laid the foundations for French Indo-China. In 1862 he dispatched to America an army which occupied Mexico and set up an Austrian prince as puppet "emperor." The Mexican enterprise, however, proved a dismal failure: the Mexicans rebelled; the United States protested and threatened war in defense of the Monroe Doctrine; and in 1867 Napoleon III withdrew his army from America and the Mexicans killed his viceroy.

**International Isolation of France.** -- So long as Napoleon III seemed successful in foreign war and foreign diplomacy, he was extolled in France as a national hero, as a worthy heir to the first Napoleon. But abroad his successes aroused enmity and fear. The Russians hated him because he participated in the Crimean War. The Austrians disliked him because he drove them from Milan. The Italians lost their enthusiasm for him because he took Savoy and Nice from them and failed to expel Austria from Venice. The Germans feared his designs on the left bank of the Rhine. The Americans resented his interference in Mexico. The English came gradually to regard him as an unprincipled and dangerous



#### PARIS

The large building in the center is the Opera House, which was built in the reign of Napoleon III.

autocrat, who would stop at nothing to gain colonial and commercial predominance for France and to enlarge the French Empire on the Continent of Europe. (By 1867 Napoleon III possessed no valid support outside of France. He was completely isolated. And this explains why he felt it necessary to withdraw his troops from Mexico in 1867, and why in the same year he thought it inexpedient to fight Prussia for the sake of winning conquests on the Rhine.

**Growing French Opposition to Napoleon III.** — In measure as the foreign fortunes of Napoleon declined, the French people at home showed opposition to his dictatorship. Ardent Catholics assailed his Italian policy. Patriots of every description and from every class felt themselves disgraced and scandalized by his sorry failure in Mexico and by his meek surrender to Prussian leadership in Germany. Besides Savoy and Nice and a few unprofitable colonies, there was nothing to show for his two wars in Europe and numerous expeditions overseas.

Inasmuch as Napoleon III, under the Constitution of 1852, exercised a virtual dictatorship, the French people naturally blamed him personally for foreign failures and rebuffs. If the nation itself had some say in politics, they argued, things would not go so badly. By 1867 a very large number of Frenchmen were demanding the cessation of governmental interference with individual liberties and the reformation of political institutions. Many of the clergy and peasantry and some of the bourgeoisie began anew to advocate the establishment of a liberal constitutional monarchy (modeled after England's) under the restored Bourbons. These opponents of the Emperor composed the Liberal Monarchist Party. At the same time, some of the bourgeoisie and most of the working class revived the Republican traditions of 1792 and 1848 and created an energetic Republican Party.

**Napoleon III's Concessions to Democracy and Liberty, 1869.** — Napoleon III, alarmed by the growing opposition of Republicans and Liberal Monarchists, at length consented in 1869 to a radical amendment of the Constitution of 1852.

The Emperor was no longer to control elections; the freedom of the press was guaranteed; and the Ministry was henceforth to be responsible not to the Emperor but to the Legislature. The amended Constitution, though it failed to satisfy the Republicans and many of the Liberal Monarchists, was ratified by plebiscite in May, 1870.

**Strained Relations between France and Prussia.** — Hardly was Napoleon's experiment with political liberalism begun, when France was plunged into another and most fateful war. Relations between France and Prussia had been growing steadily more strained, and now in 1870 they reached the breaking-point. Bismarck, the Prussian minister, had set his heart upon drawing the small independent South German States into union with Prussia and creating thereby a strong national German State, but he knew that Napoleon III would never willingly consent to such a plan without territorial compensation for France. Bismarck, accordingly, plotted war against France. Napoleon, on his side, recognized that the French people were disgusted with his past failures in Germany and that they would not tolerate another rebuff from Prussia. If he hoped to remain Emperor of the French and bequeath his crown to his son, he must accept the challenge whenever Bismarck chose to throw it down.

*The Hohenzollern Candidacy for the Throne of Spain.* — In 1870 Bismarck angered the French people by persuading a princely cousin of the Hohenzollern King of Prussia to become a candidate for the vacant throne of Spain. Napoleon III succeeded in negotiating the withdrawal of this candidacy, but when, egged on by popular opinion in France, he demanded formal assurance from the Prussian King that no member of the Hohenzollern family should ever become ruler of Spain, he was met with a firm refusal.<sup>1</sup> Here was another rebuff. It was the last straw.

<sup>1</sup> A telegram containing news of the French ambassador's interview with the Prussian King was altered by Bismarck in such a way as to make the French people believe their representative had been treated very curtly, if not insultingly.

**The Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871.** — In July, 1870, the French Legislature, upon the recommendation of the Emperor, declared war against Prussia. To the chagrin of Napoleon and the delight of Bismarck, the South German States, believing that Prussia was maliciously attacked, promptly took her part. All Germany was in arms against France, and France was without allies.

*French Defeat at Sedan and Surrender of Napoleon III.* — The War of 1870 exposed the real rottenness of the French Empire. The French soldiers, although they displayed wonderful courage and dash, were badly led and hopelessly outnumbered; they lacked organization, plans, and supplies. Within six weeks of the declaration of hostilities, French field-forces were driven from the Rhine and the main French army, under Napoleon III and Marshal MacMahon, was surrounded at Sedan, defeated, and compelled to surrender.

**Proclamation of the Third French Republic, 1870.** — When on September 4, 1870, it became generally known in Paris that Napoleon III was a prisoner of the Germans, a self-appointed group of Republicans proclaimed at the city hall the deposition of the Bonapartes and the establishment of the Third Republic. Until peace could be restored and a permanent Constitution devised for the Republic, dictatorial power was assumed by a provisional "Government of National Defense."

#### THE THIRD REPUBLIC IS BORN AND LIVES

**Patriotic Efforts of Gambetta.** — The most conspicuous member of the "Government of National Defense" was Leon Gambetta, a young lawyer, who possessed an unusual combination of personal qualities — a burning patriotism, a sincere attachment to democracy and republicanism, a gift of eloquence, and a genius for organization. When the Germans penetrated into France and laid siege to Paris, he became the soul of national defense and national patriotism. Escaping from the capital in a balloon, he aroused the country to renewed endeavors. For five months he prolonged the



hopeless war, displaying the greatest energy and skill in bringing army after army of raw recruits against the well-drilled Germans. It was Gambetta who prevented French disaster from becoming disgrace.

**Peace with Germany: Cession of Alsace-Lorraine, 1871. —**

In spite of Gambetta's tireless efforts, Paris was starved out and obliged to surrender early in 1871. A National Assembly met at Versailles and ratified the humiliating Treaty of

Frankfort, in accordance with which France was compelled to cede Alsace-Lorraine (including the cities of Metz and Strashbourg) to the newly created German Empire and to pay an indemnity of five billion francs.



LEON GAMBETTA

**The National Assembly, 1871-1875. —** It was the task of the National Assembly, elected after the overthrow of Napoleon III and the surrender of Paris, to make peace

and likewise to determine the permanent form of government for France. The Republic, it will be remembered, had been proclaimed at Paris in September, 1870, and the majority of the population of Paris were anxious that the Assembly should draft a Republican Constitution. On the other hand, the bulk of the peasantry had chosen Liberal Monarchists as their representatives, and these constituted a large majority of the National Assembly: they had no desire to make France permanently a Republic.

**Suppression of the Paris Commune, 1871. —** Under the circumstances, the Republicans and Socialists of Paris formed a revolutionary government of their own — the so-called Commune of Paris — which defied the National Assembly at Versailles. The Assembly then turned the national army

**against Paris.** After two months' fighting the Commune was suppressed and the authority of the National Assembly was reestablished throughout France. Thousands of Parisian workingmen were ruthlessly killed by the forces of "order and security." The working class was cowed; the peasantry and bourgeoisie were triumphant. Paris was no longer to be feared.

*Monarchists Unable to Agree upon a King.* — With a majority of Monarchists seated in the National Assembly and with radical republicanism suppressed in Paris, the Third French Republic promised to be more short-lived than the First Republic (1792-1804) or the Second Republic (1848-1852). What really saved the Third Republic was a division among the Monarchists: some of them desired to restore the elder line of the Bourbons in the person of the grandson of Charles X; others preferred to restore the younger line of the Bourbons in the person of the grandson of Louis Philippe; only a handful favored the restoration of the Bonapartes. At one time it seemed as though the Monarchists might agree on the grandson of Charles X, but this Bourbon pretender lost his opportunity by refusing to support the principles and accept the flag of the Revolution. France had traveled far since 1789, and not even the Monarchists would now consent to a restoration of divine-right absolute monarchy. They were determined that France should be democratic, though preferably under a constitutional king.

*Republican Constitution Adopted, 1875.* — Unable to obtain the right sort of King, the Liberal Monarchists, after protracted debates and delays, at last coöperated with the Republican minority in voting a Constitution for the Third Republic (1875). Supreme power was vested in a parliament of two Chambers — a Senate, elected by indirect election, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected by universal manhood suffrage. Laws were to be executed and all appointments made by a Ministry responsible to the parliament. At the head

of the State was to be a President, elected by the parliament for seven years and intrusted with much the same honorary and ornamental functions as those performed by the King of England. The Liberal Monarchists imagined it would be easy for them, when they should find a suitable candidate, to change the title of "President" to "King" and make the office hereditary. The Republicans hoped that with the lapse of time they themselves would dominate the parliament and prevent the realization of the Monarchists' plan.

**The Third Republic becomes "Republican."**—As the event proved, the hope of the Republicans was fulfilled. In the first elections under the new Constitution they secured a majority in the Chamber of Deputies; shortly afterwards they secured a majority in the Senate; and in 1879 they elected a Republican as President.<sup>1</sup> In 1880 the seat of government was transferred from Versailles to Paris. The fourteenth of July — the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille<sup>2</sup> and the day dear to French Revolutionaries — was formally proclaimed the national holiday. From that time to the present, Republicans have controlled the political life of France, both nationally and locally, while the number of Monarchists has steadily dwindled.

*Triumph of the Principles of 1789.* — Under the Third Republic, the principles of the Revolution of 1789 finally triumphed. Popular sovereignty and universal manhood suffrage were not only affirmed in theory but rendered effective in practice. Individual liberties, such as freedom of meeting, freedom of the press, and general freedom of association, were supported by specific legislation. Harsh provisions of the Code Napoléon were softened. Napoleon's

<sup>1</sup> The first two Presidents of the Third French Republic were elected as Monarchists by the Monarchist majority of the National Assembly: Adolphe Thiers (1871-1873) and Marshal MacMahon (1873-1879). The first Republican who held the office of President was Jules Grévy (1879-1887).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 305.

Concordat with the Pope, which had regulated relations between France and the Catholic Church since 1801, was annulled in 1905; henceforth, the Church was separated from the State and the clergy were deprived of governmental salaries. An elaborate system of free State-directed education was worked out and applied; it was the completion of the educational reforms begun by the Revolution and developed by Napoleon I.

**Domestic Achievements of the Third Republic.** — The French Revolution, as we learned in an earlier chapter, conferred its chief economic and social benefits on the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. These were the classes which most loyally supported the Third Republic and which in turn received the most liberal favors from the Republican Government. Many public works were undertaken; new roads, new canals, and new railways were built; harbors were deepened; waste land was improved. A special ministry of agriculture was created. Large financial grants (bounties) were made to encourage the production of French agricultural staples, such as grain, wine, and silk. Farmers were authorized to form coöperative societies for collective buying and selling, and mutual loan banks were established to assist the peasants. To protect alike the farmer and the manufacturer against foreign competition, France under the Third Republic abandoned the policy of free trade and set up a system of high tariffs. The value of the agricultural output of the country almost doubled between 1870 and 1914, while the number of factory machines tripled.

**The Labor Problem.** — The working class grew in numbers with the growth of French industry, but for the working class the Third Republic was less solicitous than for the bourgeoisie and peasantry. Some labor legislation was enacted: hours of employment were restricted; child-labor was prohibited; employers were obliged to compensate their employees for accidents; and workmen were insured against old age. But the working class was not satisfied. More

and more it turned to Socialism. More and more it relied not upon the Government but upon strikes and other trade-union activities to increase wages, to shorten hours of labor, and to improve general working conditions. By 1914 the French trade-unions had a membership of two millions, and the Socialist Party polled one and a quarter million votes. The Socialists and Trade-Unionists in France accepted the principles of the French Revolution and the resulting policies of the Third Republic, so far as these went; they wished, however, to compel the Third Republic to go farther and to apply the principles of the French Revolution to complete economic equality.

*Nationalism, Militarism, and Education.* — National patriotism remained under the Third Republic, as it had been since the Revolution, a distinguishing badge of most Frenchmen. In fact, the defeat which France suffered at the hands of Germany (1870–1871) intensified French patriotism. Throughout the period from 1871 to 1914 there was the popular hope and belief that the time would come when France should have her revenge on Germany and recover the lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine. It was in part for the purpose of preparing France for the future day of reckoning that in the early days of the Republic the French army was completely reorganized, compulsory military service was introduced, and vast sums of money were spent on fortifications and military supplies. It was in part for the same purpose that public schools were established and elementary education made compulsory. Both the State schools and the national army contributed potently to the stimulation of patriotism among the generation of Frenchmen that grew up between 1871 and 1914.

**Foreign Policy of the Third Republic.** — The foreign policy of the Third Republic was determined chiefly by the national antagonism to Germany. Any Power which opposed Germany was a potential friend of France. When, about 1890, a cleavage appeared between Germany and



A BOULEVARD IN PARIS

Russia, the democratic statesmen of the Third French Republic did not hesitate to conclude a close alliance with the autocratic Tsar; and when, in 1904, rivalry developed between Germany and England, France negotiated a friendly understanding (*Entente*) with her old-time commercial and colonial rival. Napoleon I would have turned over in his grave if he had known that a hundred years after his abdication France was the companion-in-arms of Russia and England!

**Colonial Successes of the Third Republic.**<sup>1</sup> — In reestablishing a colonial empire, the Third French Republic was far more successful than either Napoleon I or Napoleon III. In Asia, French Indo-China was enlarged. In the Pacific and Indian Oceans, additional islands were obtained, including the very large island of Madagascar. In Africa, French rule was extended southward from Algeria across the arid Sahara and the fertile Sudan as far as the Atlantic Ocean and the Congo River, and protectorates were established in Tunis and Morocco. By 1914 France possessed a colonial empire which in area, population, and wealth ranked second only to the British Empire. The colonial success of the Third Republic was some consolation to the French people for their loss of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871.

**Dangers to the Third Republic.** — For many years the Third Republic faced two domestic dangers. One was the danger of a *Monarchist revival*, and the other was the danger of a *military dictatorship*. The Monarchists, as we have seen, lost control of the Government of the Republic in 1879, but they continued thereafter to work for its overthrow and for the restoration of the Bourbons. They drew their support chiefly from the clergy and from the families of the nobility. The former, provoked by the educational and other anti-Catholic measures of the Republicans, exerted their influence to attract ardent Catholics to the Monarchist Party.

<sup>1</sup> More details are given in Chapters XXII and XXIII.

*Conflict with the Catholic Church.* — The more strenuous was the opposition of Catholics to the Republic, the more drastic were the measures of the Government against the Church. In 1892 the Pope urged the French Catholics to break their alliance with monarchy and to support the Republic loyally, but only a minority acted upon the Pope's advice. It was with the purpose of destroying French Monarchism in its main stronghold, that the Republicans early in the twentieth century expelled Catholic monks and nuns from France, restricted Catholic schools, confiscated the property of the Church, and separated the Church from the State. The danger of a Monarchist revival was thereby lessened, but only by means of legislation which interfered seriously with religious freedom.

*Fear of Military Dictatorship.* — The Republicans were fearful not only of a Bourbon restoration through the influence of the Catholic Church but also of the establishment of a military dictatorship through the influence of the Army. They recalled how, with the aid of the Army, the First French Republic had been overturned by General Bonaparte and the Second French Republic by Prince Louis Napoleon. Yet they themselves were intent upon maintaining an Army for the future "war of revenge" against Germany, an Army larger than that controlled by either of the Bonapartes. Was there not a serious danger that their Army might be used by some popular and ambitious general to overthrow the Third Republic?

*General Boulanger.* — Twice in the history of the Third Republic, such a danger seemed close at hand. First, in the 1880's, a certain General Boulanger bragged so eloquently about what he would do to the Germans that a multitude of patriots (especially the Monarchists) applauded him as the man of the hour. In reality, however, Boulanger did not have the courage to attempt a *coup d'état*; the Republicans united against him; he was accused of high treason and fled.



*The Dreyfus Case.* — Secondly, in the 1890's, certain officers of the Army banded together to prevent justice being done to a Jewish fellow officer — a certain Captain Dreyfus — who had been convicted by court-martial of selling military secrets to the Germans. When prominent Republicans de-



GENERAL BOULANGER

fended Dreyfus, maintaining that he had not had a fair trial, they were accused by extreme patriots (especially the Monarchists) of shielding a Jew and undermining the discipline of the Army. On this patriotic issue, the anti-Republicans gained wide popular support. If any military commander at that time had ventured a *coup d'état*, he might have succeeded. But eventually the Republicans and Socialists got together; the innocence of Dreyfus was proved; there was a revulsion of

popular feeling; and the offending army officers were disgraced.

**Republicanizing the Army.** — After the Boulanger episode and the Dreyfus case, the Government took care to appoint only good and loyal Republicans to important positions in the Army. It was excellent proof of the stability of the Third French Republic that the Great War of 1914-1919 was carried to a successful conclusion without further danger of military dictatorship.

**Promoting Better Relations with the Church.** — During the Great War, also, all the Catholics of France rallied to

the support of the Republican Government. The result was a lessening of the tension between State and Church. France resumed diplomatic relations with the Pope and ceased to enact anti-Catholic legislation. On the other hand, the bulk of the French Catholics ceased to oppose the Republic.

The Third French Republic was firmly established, and the principles of the Revolution were at last triumphant in France.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. In what respects is present-day France the heir to traditions created by the autocratic France that existed before 1789? To the traditions of the French Revolution? To the traditions of Napoleon?

2. Describe the social classes in France. How do they differ, if at all, from the corresponding classes in England? In the United States?

3. Why has Paris been so extraordinarily important in French politics? Has Paris always had a commanding influence or has it sometimes been overruled by the rest of France?

4. Who were the last three Bourbon monarchs of France? Under what forms of government did they reign?

5. Discuss the Revolution of 1848 at Paris, explaining its causes and results.

6. When was the First French Republic proclaimed and how long did it last? When was the Second French Republic proclaimed and how long did it last?

7. Describe the "June Days" of 1848.

8. Who was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte? How did he become President of France? How did he become Emperor Napoleon III? Was there ever a Napoleon II?

9. On what political theory was the Second Empire based? What was it in practice?

10. Explain the domestic policies of Napoleon III. The foreign policies.

11. State the causes and results of the Crimean War. Of the Franco-Austrian War.

12. Why did Napoleon III interfere in Mexican affairs? Why did he fail?

✓ 13. Explain the causes and results of the war between France and Prussia in 1870-1871.

14. When and under what circumstances was the Third French Republic created? How long did it last?

15. Who was Gambetta, and why is he regarded as a national hero?

16. When did France lose Alsace-Lorraine? When did she regain it?

17. What were the chief provisions of the Constitution of the Third French Republic? Was it drafted by Republicans? Was it democratic? Compare it with our own constitution.

18. When and how did the Third French Republic become "republican"?

19. What specific facts in the history of the Third Republic show the final triumph of the principles of the French Revolution?

20. What have been the chief achievements of the Third Republic in domestic affairs? What social classes have benefited most? What has been done for the workingmen?

21. In what ways did the Third Republic maintain the prestige of France as a Great Power?

22. Who was Boulanger? In what way did his career endanger the Republic?

23. Explain the Dreyfus case and its effect on politics.

24. What were the relations between Church and State under the Third Republic?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**The February Revolution.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 116-123; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 79-80; *Cambridge Modern History*, XI, 96-103.

**Louis Blanc and the National Workshops.** Ogg, *Economic Development*, 494-498; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 80-83.

**Louis Napoleon's aims and character.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 150-161; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 84-94; *Cambridge Modern History*, XI, 286-287.

**The Crimean War.** SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, 787-794; FIFFE, *Modern Europe*, III, ch. iii.

**The French in Mexico.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Maximilian," XVII, 924.

**The Commune.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 333-334; Ogg, *Economic Development*, 535-536; SCHAPIRO, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, 222-226.

**Thiers.** WRIGHT, *History of the Third French Republic*, ch. iii.

**Government and parties.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 361-367; SALT, *Government and Politics of France*, esp. chs. i, ix, x.

**Boulanger.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 353-354; VIZETELLY, *Republican France*, 314-342.

**The Dreyfus affair.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 354-357; SCHAPIRO, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, 248-256; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 216-223.

**Church and State.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 351-361; GUÉRARD, *French Civilization*, 271-278.

**Colonial expansion.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 629-632, 568-569; GIBBONS, *World Politics*, chs. iv, xliii.

**Economic progress.** OGG, *Economic Development*, 216-218, 280-294.

**Literature and art.** SCHAPIRO, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, 272-276; LAWTON, *The Third French Republic*, chs. ix-xii; WRIGHT, *History of French Literature*.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 150-163, 175-180, 331-367; WRIGHT, *History of the Third French Republic*; FORBES, *Napoleon the Third*; GUEDALLA, *The Second Empire*; BRACQ, *France under the Republic*; GUÉRARD, *French Civilization*; SALT, *Government and Politics of France*; MOON, *The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France*; BOURGEOIS, *History of Modern France* (2 vols.).

### HISTORICAL FICTION

TOLSTOI, *Serastopol*; ZOLA, *The Downfall*.



## CHAPTER XVII

### ITALY BECOMES A DEMOCRATIC NATION

(1848-1914)

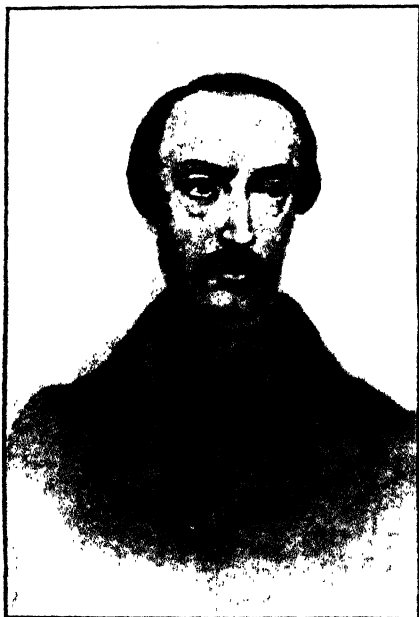
#### ITALIANS STRIVE FOR UNION AND LIBERTY

**Disunion in Italy in 1848.** -- Italy at the beginning of 1848 was neither united nor independent. The richest and most populous region, including Milan (Lombardy), Venice (Venetia), Trent, and Trieste, was part of the Austrian Empire and was governed by German officials dispatched from Vienna. South of this Austrian territory, in central Italy, lay three petty duchies (Parma, Modena, and Tuscany), ruled by relatives of the Habsburg Emperor of Austria; and there also were the States of the Church (Rome, Bologna, etc.), administered by the Pope. Southern Italy, including Naples and the island of Sicily, constituted the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, directed by a Bourbon king and defended at critical moments by Austrian troops. Only one State in all Italy was absolutely independent of foreign control, and that was the Kingdom of Sardinia, which embraced the northwestern corner of the mainland (Genoa and Piedmont) in addition to the island of Sardinia.

**Autocracy in Italy.** -- Moreover, Italy was not democratic at the beginning of 1848. Neither a written constitution nor popular participation in government existed in any of the seven States into which the peninsula was divided. Autocracy flourished in all of them.

**Popular Desire for Union and Liberty.** -- Not all the Italian people took kindly to autocracy and national disunion. The peasantry, who comprised the large majority of the population, were perhaps least influenced by the democratic

doctrines of the French Revolution; but even the peasantry objected to the attempts of the Austrians and of the petty princes to undo the social reforms of Napoleon I, and they objected likewise to the heavy taxation laid upon them for the maintenance of foreign domination. The bourgeoisie went farther: they were thoroughly imbued with the Revolutionary doctrines of popular sovereignty, constitutional government, and national patriotism. In Turin, Milan, Venice, and other Italian towns in which they were numerous and influential, they carried on an agitation against autocracy and in favor of national unity. The



MAZZINI

working class, which the Industrial Revolution was just beginning to bring into prominence in the cities of northern Italy, made common cause with the bourgeoisie. Even some of the nobility and clergy advocated political reform and national independence.

#### **Popular Leaders. —**

Prior to 1848 three Italians had particularly aroused the national sentiment of their fellow countrymen.

(1) *Joseph Mazzini* (1805-1872), a native of Genoa and the son of a

university professor, preached incessantly by word and pen the doctrine of "nationality." With eloquence and passion he told his countrymen that they must make patriotism their religion and have unbounded faith in the destiny and future greatness of Italy. Compelled to spend most of his life in

exile, he organized a society, known as "Young Italy," for the purpose of "liberating the country from foreign and domestic tyranny and unifying it under a Republican form of government." Mazzini was not very practical, but his zeal and sincerity awakened a patriotic ardor in Italy and created a Republican Party among the youth of the land.

(2) *Joseph Garibaldi* (1807-1882), a native of Nice, ran away from home to escape being educated for the priesthood, and became a sailor and adventurer. He joined Mazzini's "Young Italy" and was condemned to death for participating in an unsuccessful rebellion against the King of Sardinia. Escaping, he fled to South America, where he enlisted in an "Italian Legion" and for fourteen years fought continuously and valiantly for the freedom of the Spanish colonies. In a red shirt and a slouch hat he speedily became a romantic hero. Garibaldi added to Mazzini's wordy enthusiasm his own example of brave and striking deeds.

(3) *Vincent Gioberti* (1801-1852), a Catholic priest, was also a subject of the King of Sardinia and spent many years in exile. He wrote a series of philosophical works that appealed powerfully to the upper classes and especially to patriotic members of the clergy. Unlike Mazzini and Garibaldi, he disapproved of force and violence as means of achieving national unity, and, though he believed in democracy, he was not a Republican. Gioberti urged the Pope to put himself at the head of the liberal and patriotic movement and to form a confederation of Italian princes.

*Pope Pius IX.* — Pius IX, who had been elected Pope in 1846, for a time bade fair to realize the dream of Gioberti. He took this Italian priest into his confidence; he introduced reforms in the government of the Papal States; he championed the cause of nationality.

**The Revolutionary Movement of 1848 in Italy.** — By 1848 public opinion in Italy was prepared for experiments with constitutional government and national unity. Early in the year popular demonstrations and riots compelled the four



principal Italian rulers to grant written constitutions — the King of the Two Sicilies, the King of Sardinia, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Pope. All these rulers promised to respect individual liberties and to make no laws and levy



POPE PIUS IX

no taxes without the consent of elected parliaments. The new parliaments, however, were not democratic bodies; they were elected, not by universal manhood suffrage, but by the upper classes, the bourgeoisie, and the more prosperous farmers; the working class and the poorer peasants were still rigidly excluded from politics. In other words, the franchise in the Italian States in 1848 was similar to the franchise in France under Louis Philippe or in England after the

Reform Bill of 1832. It was not democratic, but it was a great advance over autocracy.

*National Revolt against Austria.* — As the year 1848 progressed, rioting occurred in the Austrian provinces of Italy. When the whole Austrian Empire rocked with revolution and Metternich was driven from Vienna, the Italians in Lombardy and Venetia thought the time had come for throwing off the foreign yoke. The Pope sent troops to aid them. The King of the Two Sicilies and the Grand Duke of Tuscany did likewise. Mazzini came back to infuse patriotic

ardor into the breasts of the national volunteers. Garibaldi returned from South America and led his red-shirted "Legion" into battle with the hated Austrians. And to cap the climax, King Charles Albert of Sardinia formally declared war against Austria and assumed the military leadership of the Italians. It looked as though Italy would immediately be freed and unified and revolutionized.

King Charles Albert, however, was neither a great statesman nor an energetic general. He did little to allay the fears and jealousies of the other Italian princes, and at the hands of the Austrians he suffered severe reverses. He received only half-hearted support from Mazzini's followers, who feared lest the triumph of the Sardinian King should weaken the Republican Party, and he was deserted by Pope Pius IX, who feared lest the Church should lose influence with other nations if he himself were too much of an Italian patriot.

In fact, at the close of 1848, the Pope, outraged by popular demonstrations at Rome, abandoned his rôle as an advocate of constitutional government and national unity, and took refuge with the King of the Two Sicilies. Mazzini promptly set up a Republic at Rome, but his radical rule antagonized many Italian patriots and helped to paralyze national defense. Finally, in 1849, the Austrians won a decisive victory at Novara over the King of Sardinia. Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II; and Sardinia made peace with Austria, promising to withdraw from Lombardy.

*Italian Failure to Secure Liberty and Union.* — The Battle of Novara enabled the Austrians to restore their autocratic sway over their Italian provinces and permitted the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the King of the Two Sicilies to revoke the Constitutions which they had granted in the previous year. At the same time, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, in order to curry favor with Catholics in France, sent to Rome a French military force which overthrew Mazzini's Republic and reinstated Pope Pius IX. Once more Italy

was divided into separate States, dominated by foreigners and ruled by autocrats. The Revolution of 1848 seemed a dismal failure.

*Lasting Results of Revolution of 1848.* — Yet the Revolution of 1848 contributed indirectly to the Italian cause in four ways: (1) it enormously quickened popular enthusiasm for national unity and constitutional government; (2) it proved that the Pope could not be depended upon to assume patriotic leadership; (3) it proved that Mazzini and the Republicans were hopeless visionaries in the field of practical politics; and (4) in measure as it weakened the Republican and Papal parties, it exalted the national mission of the King of Sardinia.

**The Sardinian Constitution of 1848.** — The King of Sardinia, alone among the Italian princes, kept his promise and retained the Constitution of 1848. He alone struggled to the end with the Austrians. Henceforth his State was regarded by an increasing number of Italians as the standard-bearer of freedom and independence for the entire nation. Gioberti, perceiving the futility of his earlier dream of papal leadership after the events of 1848, predicted that the emancipation of Italy could and would be achieved by the young King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia.

**King Victor Emmanuel.** — Victor Emmanuel was the sort of king who could command national respect. Brave and honest, he was a good soldier and a reliable ruler. His simple habits and homely wit endeared him to the common people, and his wisdom in selecting ministers was exceeded only by the confidence he reposed in them.

**Count Cavour.** — In the year after Victor Emmanuel's accession to the throne of Sardinia, a certain Count Cavour (1810–1861) became his minister of agriculture, industry, and commerce. In the following year (1851) Cavour became prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, positions which he held almost continuously for the next ten years. Short, stout, and very nearsighted, Cavour was not a magnetic

personality; a man of few words, neither an orator nor a great writer, there was nothing about him which inspired popular enthusiasm. Yet Cavour did more practical work for Italian unification than Mazzini, Gioberti, Garibaldi, or even Victor Emmanuel. He was the greatest statesman that Italy produced in the nineteenth century and one of the greatest diplomats of the world.

#### ITALIANS SECURE NATIONAL UNITY

**Domestic Policies of Cavour.** — (1) *Political.* — Cavour had acquired from his early studies and travel a marked admiration for England, and as prime minister he shaped the internal policies of Sardinia accordingly. In politics he loyally supported the Constitution of 1848, under which the government of Sardinia closely resembled that of England — a King, who reigned but did not rule; a Ministry, nominally appointed by the King but really responsible to the parliament; a Senate, consisting of appointed nobles and dignitaries; and a Chamber of



CAVOUR

Deputies, elected by property-owners who could read and write and who paid fairly high taxes. Sardinia, like England, thus possessed a constitutional government of the upper classes and the bourgeoisie — a small minority of the total population. Like England, too, Sardinia had guarantees of individual liberties, and these liberties Cavour scrupulously respected.

(2) *Economic*. — In economics, no less than in politics, Cavour took England as the model for Sardinia. He labored incessantly to promote the prosperity of the bourgeoisie. Restrictions on commerce and industry were removed: the policy of free trade was substituted for that of protective tariffs; the system of taxation was reformed; roads, canals, and railways were constructed.

(3) *Religious*. — In religious matters, Cavour sought to lessen the political influence of the Catholic Church, which he thought was hostile to his patriotic plans and opposed to his "liberal" ideas. He suppressed all monastic orders that were not engaged in education, preaching, or charity, and confiscated their property. He suggested a separation of State and Church, so that there might be "a free Church in a free State." His interference with the Catholic Church in Sardinia widened the breach between Cavour and the Pope; thenceforth Pius IX was the unwearying opponent of Italian unification under the leadership of Sardinia.

**Cavour's Foreign Policy.** — Having assured the successful operation of constitutional government within the Kingdom of Sardinia, and having increased his country's economic resources and reorganized its army, Cavour looked forward to liberating Italy from Austrian domination. He was convinced by the sorry experiences of 1848-1849 that little Sardinia alone would be unequal to the task of defeating the mighty Austrian Empire; if he were to drive the Austrians from Italy, he must have foreign assistance. Such foreign assistance, Cavour planned, should come from France. He was acutely aware of the sentimental regard of Napoleon III for "oppressed nationalities" and of the French Emperor's ambition to win fame and glory. He would attract the favorable attention of Napoleon III and draw France into alliance with Sardinia.

*Sardinia's Participation in the Crimean War.* — With consummate diplomatic skill, Count Cavour proceeded to isolate Austria and to win for Sardinia the favor of Napo-

leon III. In 1855 he caused Sardinia to join France and England in the Crimean War against Russia. The Italian soldiers acquitted themselves well in the campaign, and at the ensuing peace congress at Paris (1856) Cavour dinned into the ears of the French and English representatives the miseries of Italy and the misrule of the Austrians. He got nothing directly from the Crimean War, but indirectly he won the sympathy of England and the friendship of the French Emperor.

*Alliance between Sardinia and France.* — Closer and closer Cavour drew the bonds with France, until in 1858 Napoleon III secretly promised to aid Sardinia in driving the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia, and in return Cavour promised that Sardinia should cede Savoy and Nice to France. Meanwhile Cavour carried on numerous secret intrigues with a view to undermining the governments of the other Italian States and preparing the whole Italian nation for a general uprising, at the right moment, against foreign domination. He built up pro-Sardinian parties in Tuscany, in the Papal States, and in the Two Sicilies, as well as in the Austrian provinces. He did not hesitate, whenever it suited his purpose, to conspire with Republican followers of Mazzini and Garibaldi.

**The Franco-Austrian War, 1859.** — The first attempt to free and unify Italy had failed in 1849. Ten years later everything was in readiness for a second great attempt and this was Cavour's work. In 1859, Austria, excited by obvious military preparations in Italy, declared war against Sardinia. At once Napoleon III declared war against Austria, and French troops crossed the Alps to join those of Victor Emmanuel. While the Allies invaded Lombardy, popular uprisings occurred in Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, and in the Papal States; the Dukes fled; and Cavour took over the government of the three duchies and a part of the Papal States (Romagna). In the meantime, in the summer of 1859, the Franco-Sardinian armies were winning great victories

at Magenta and Solferino and were driving the Austrians out of Lombardy and back into Venetia.

*Annexation of Lombardy and Central Duchies to Sardinia, 1860.* — At this point, however, Napoleon III stopped short. He had promised to hand over all northern Italy to the King of Sardinia, but he had not consented to the incorporation of central Italy as well. As Cavour was resolved to keep central Italy, Napoleon decided to leave part of northern Italy to Austria. Therefore, after protracted and angry negotiations, peace was made between France and Sardinia on one side and Austria on the other (Treaty of Zurich), and a settlement was effected between Sardinia and France (1860).



GARIBALDI

In accordance with these arrangements, Austria retained Venetia (Venice), Trent, and Trieste, but lost all control, direct or indirect, over other parts of Italy; Sardinia secured the cession of Lombardy (Milan) from Austria and the annexation of the three duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany and a district of the Papal States (Romagna); France obtained Savoy and Nice.

**Garibaldi's Conquest of the Two Sicilies, 1860.** —

Hardly was a settlement effected in northern and central Italy, when (in 1860) Garibaldi, secretly aided and abetted by

Cavour, embarked his thousand volunteer patriots — the famous "Red Shirts" — from Genoa for a filibustering expedi-

tion into southern Italy. He landed in Sicily, which promptly welcomed him as a heroic deliverer from the tyranny of the Bourbons. Crossing over to the mainland, he occupied the city of Naples and routed the army of the King of the Two Sicilies. Within five months Garibaldi had conquered all southern Italy. So great was his popularity that he might have remained dictator of Naples and Sicily, but with characteristic unselfishness in the cause of a united Italy, this Republican patriot voluntarily turned over his whole conquest to King Victor Emmanuel. Cavour, in order to unite Naples with Sardinian territory in the north, appropriated another large slice of the Papal States, leaving only the city of Rome and a little surrounding country under the temporal rule of the Pope.

**Formation of the "Kingdom of Italy," 1861.** — In 1861 Italy was entirely freed and united under the

King of Sardinia, except for two regions: (1) the Papal State of Rome, now guaranteed by Napoleon III and protected by French troops; and (2) the Austrian provinces of Venetia (Venice), Trent, and Trieste. In every district annexed to Sardinia, a plebiscite (democratic referendum) confirmed by an overwhelming majority what had been done. In 1861, Victor Emmanuel dropped his title of King of Sardinia and assumed the title of King of Italy; the Sardinian Constitution of 1848 was extended and applied throughout the new National



VICTOR EMMANUEL II  
The first King of united Italy.



State; and the first parliament of united Italy met at Turin.

In the same year Cavour died. His death was a terrible loss to Italy, for there remained many problems to be solved in which his genius and personality were urgently needed. But the great task of unifying Italy and establishing constitutional government had been carried to such a point that lesser men might now continue and complete it.

**Annexation of Venice, 1866.** -- In 1866 Italy took advantage of a civil war in Germany<sup>1</sup> (the Seven Weeks' War) between Prussia and Austria to ally herself with Prussia and to attack Austria. Though the Italian forces suffered defeat, the Prussian military machine won such a quick and decisive victory in Germany that Austria was compelled to cede to Italy most of Venetia (including Venice). With Prussian permission, however, Austria kept the Italian cities of Trent and Trieste and drew her new frontier with Italy in such a manner that she herself retained the highest mountain peaks and the most favorable points from which in the future she might launch military attacks. Nevertheless, the acquisition of the proud and ancient city of Venice was an important step towards the completion of Italian unity.

**Annexation of Rome, 1870.** -- Four years later (1870), another war in Europe, this time between Prussia and France, gave Italy another favorable opportunity. The Prussian invasion of France led to the withdrawal from Rome of the French garrison which for several years had been defending the Pope. In the same month (September) in which Napoleon III surrendered to the Germans at Sedan and the Third French Republic was proclaimed at Paris, the Italian troops of King Victor Emmanuel invaded the Papal State and seized Rome. Pope Pius IX protested vehemently against the action of the Italian Government and shut himself up in the Vatican. In 1871 Rome became the capital of united and constitutional Italy.

<sup>1</sup> See the next chapter, pp. 532-533.

## ITALY HALTINGLY INTRODUCES DEMOCRACY

**Democracy Handicapped by Poverty and Illiteracy.** — Italy was a united nation in 1871, with a constitutional form of government, but it was not yet a democracy. For many years no one was permitted to vote or hold office who did not own property and could not read and write. These were serious disqualifications, because the majority of the Italian people did not own property, and almost three-fourths of them in 1871 were unable to read and write.<sup>1</sup> As late as 1901, almost half the population were illiterate. Thus the working class and the vast majority of the peasantry were prevented from taking any direct part in politics, and the government of the country was conducted and controlled by the bourgeoisie and upper classes — a small minority of the Italian people.

**Democracy Handicapped also by Conflict between Church and State.** — The conflict between the Italian Monarchy and the Papacy, which, as we have seen, began in 1848 and culminated in the seizure of Rome in 1870, contributed also to render real democracy for a long time impossible. Shortly after Rome was made the national capital, the Italian parliament attempted to make peace with the Pope by enacting the "Law of Papal Guarantees," in accordance with which the Pope was henceforth to be treated as a sovereign of equal dignity with the King, exercising independent rule over the Vatican and Lateran palaces, enjoying the right to maintain a court and diplomatic service of his own, and receiving an annual pension from the State treasury. Pope Pius IX, however, objected seriously to the "Law of Guarantees" on the grounds that it lacked international sanction, that it put the Papacy at the mercy of the Italian Government, and that it was not ample compensation for the loss of his temporal

<sup>1</sup> The percentage of illiteracy varied greatly in different parts of Italy. In Piedmont it was 26 per cent, while in certain provinces in southern Italy it was 90 per cent.



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#### **ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN**

St. Peter's is one of the most famous churches in the world. The Vatican (at the left) is also the residence of the Pope and the central government building of the Catholic Church.

power. Accordingly, the Pope condemned the law, refused to accept the annual pension, made himself a voluntary "prisoner" in the Vatican, and forbade good Catholics in Italy to vote or hold office under the government of the King. From 1871 to 1929, no Pope set foot outside of the Vatican Palace and St. Peter's Church. Though relations improved somewhat under the successors of Pius IX and Victor Emmanuel, the basic dispute between Italy and the Pope remained unsettled until 1929.

This attitude of the Pope was undoubtedly advantageous to his international prestige, for so long as he was not on friendly terms with the Government of Italy, foreigners could not suspect him of undue subservience to Italian interests. But in forbidding Italian Catholics to participate in the government of their country, he weakened both Church and State in Italy. A considerable number of Italians felt that politics was not the Pope's business; they violated his prohibitions, and gradually their Catholicism became lukewarm or merely nominal. On the other hand, there were Italians whose religion was as strong as their patriotism; they obeyed the Pope's injunctions and removed themselves from the political life of the nation. So it came to pass after 1871 that ardent Catholics among the upper classes and bourgeoisie who legally could vote and hold office, would not vote or hold office, and that the constitutional government of Italy fell into the hands of an anti-Catholic group of the bourgeoisie.

**Achievements of the Middle-class Italian Government.**—The actual middle-class rulers of united Italy grappled with domestic problems in their own way. They centralized the administration of the country after the French model. They planned a uniform system of popular education, which, however, was not thoroughly enforced. They did a good deal to bring the backward districts of the South up to a social and economic level with the progressive regions of the North. The State built and operated thousands of miles of new railways, which served not only as arteries of internal trade and

travel, but as valuable means of unifying the culture of the country. Good highways were constructed, harbors were improved, and land surveys undertaken. Encouragement was given to the spread of the factory system to Naples, Palermo, and Messina, as well as throughout the flourishing cities of Lombardy and Tuscany. The merchant marine was subsidized. Everything, in fact, was done to develop industry and commerce and to promote the prosperity of the bourgeoisie.

**Italy a "Great Power."** -- Simultaneously, the Government was driven on by the spirit of national patriotism, which had been enormously quickened during the period of unification from 1848 to 1870, to dream of restoring to modern Italy some of the grandeur that belonged to the ancient Empire of Rome. At least Italy must not merely be a free and united nation; she must be a Great Power. With this end in view, a large navy was built and the army was enlarged and reorganized (1875) on the basis of universal and compulsory military service for able-bodied Italian young men. With this end in view, likewise, efforts were made to emulate other Great Powers in acquiring overseas colonies.

*The Triple Alliance.* -- It is a curious fact that not long after the Italian people ceased to be an "oppressed nationality" themselves, their Government sought, for the sake of imperialism, to bring other peoples into subjection to Italy. For several years they were ambitious to acquire Tunis -- the land of ancient Carthage -- in northern Africa, across the Mediterranean from Sicily. In this they were thwarted by the French Republic, which established a protectorate over Tunis in 1881. So great was the resulting popular outcry against France, that Italy the very next year formed a close alliance with Germany and with the old enemy Austria -- the famous Triple Alliance, which lasted from 1882 to 1915.

The Triple Alliance put still heavier burdens of armament and taxation upon Italy. Also, so long as it lasted, it precluded Italy from obtaining Trent and Trieste from Austria

and completing thereby her own national unification. Finally, it encouraged the Italian Government to persevere in wasteful imperialistic enterprises.

*Italian Imperialism.* — By means of heavy expenditure of money and men, Italy secured two colonies in tropical Africa — Eritrea and Somaliland — but she failed to subjugate Abyssinia, her troops being decisively beaten at Adowa in 1896. In a war with Turkey in 1911-1912 she captured Tripoli in northern Africa and occupied twelve small Greek islands in the Aegean Sea. These colonial ventures were of slight practical gain to Italy, except that they fed the flame of national patriotism and enabled certain business men and government officials to profit personally.

*Corruption in Government.* — Unfortunately, many persons connected with the middle-class Government were unscrupulous and dishonest, and did not hesitate to enrich themselves at the expense of the national treasury. Financial corruption was long a disgraceful characteristic of Italian politics. To support this corruption and to defray the heavy expenses of militarism, imperialism, and public works, as well as to pay the debts contracted during the wars of national liberation, enormous taxes were necessary. Taxes were soon higher in Italy than in any other country of Europe, and they fell with crushing weight upon the peasantry and the working class, for whose material welfare the Government had done little.

*Emigration.* — To escape military service and to improve their economic condition, many Italians of the lower classes began to leave their native land and to emigrate to America. It is estimated that between 1871 and 1914 Italy lost nearly six million citizens who settled permanently in foreign countries, mainly in the United States, Argentina, and Brazil.

*Popular Opposition to the Government.* — Side by side with emigration from Italy went growing opposition within the country to the bourgeois Government and many of its policies. (1) Ardent Catholics assailed it for its interference with the freedom of the Church and for its failure to



THE ITALIAN PALACE OF JUSTICE AT ROME

enact social legislation, especially in behalf of the peasantry. (2) Followers of Mazzini and Garibaldi kept alive a small Republican Party, which advocated the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republican form of government. (3) As the factory system spread and labor problems became acute, large numbers of workingmen in the cities joined the Socialist Party, which demanded thoroughgoing political democracy and revolutionary social changes. (4) Some extremists among the working class, disgusted with government in general and with the Italian Government in particular, espoused Anarchism and preached the violent overthrow of all existing institutions. King Humbert, the successor of Victor Emmanuel, was assassinated by an Anarchist in 1900.

**Gradual Introduction of Political Democracy.** — Slowly a change was effected in the political life of the nation. The Government, alarmed by the growth of popular unrest and by the spread of Anarchism and Socialism, haltingly made democratic concessions. In 1882 the franchise had been extended, but it was not until the twentieth century that the Government, thoroughly alarmed, permitted Italy to become a democratic nation. In 1912 universal manhood suffrage was introduced, and henceforth neither lack of property nor inability to read and write barred an Italian citizen from voting or holding office.

**Catholics Permitted to Vote and Hold Office, 1906.** — Gradually, too, the papal prohibition on the participation of good Catholics in Italian politics was removed. Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) dispensed with it in specific local elections, and Pope Pius X (1903-1914) practically revoked it altogether in 1905. Catholics at once availed themselves of their new freedom; they elected members to the Chamber of Deputies and even entered the Ministry. Subsequently, in 1919, they organized a new political party — the Popular Party — which championed radical political democracy (including woman suffrage), religious liberty, and thorough



social reform. In the number of parliamentary representatives the Popular Party stood second only to the Socialists.

**Social Legislation.** — While the franchise was being extended to the peasantry and working class, and Socialism was spreading, and Catholics were beginning to participate actively in politics, the Italian parliament sought further to allay popular discontent by enacting social legislation. Factory acts were passed. Workingmen were insured against accidents, illness, and old age. Trade-unions were legalized, and their funds and many activities were safeguarded. Co-operative societies for banking, for wholesale buying and selling, and for agriculture were encouraged. By 1914 Italy had become a democratic nation, utilizing her political machinery for social purposes.

**Heightening of National Patriotism.** — Under the democracy of the twentieth century, national patriotism flourished in Italy as luxuriantly as under the bourgeois government of the nineteenth century. National patriotism showed itself in the war against Turkey and the acquisition of Tripoli (1912). It showed itself more clearly in a renewed popular desire to possess Trent and Trieste, which were inhabited by Italians, and to dominate the Adriatic Sea, which in earlier centuries had been the seat of the greatness of Venice. At last, in 1915, in an outburst of national patriotism, Italy broke the bonds of the Triple Alliance, and, aligning herself in the Great War with France, England, and Russia, attacked Austria. Italy gained Trent and Trieste, and more, as a later chapter will show. After the war, in 1922, Benito Mussolini, the leader of an organization of extreme patriots known as the Facists, became practically dictator. Mussolini believed that what Italy needed was a strong ruler, with iron will, rather than parliamentary discussions, in order to become a great and powerful nation. Nationalism triumphed at the expense, temporarily, of democracy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 878-883.

## QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What separate States existed in Italy in 1848? What foreign country was then most influential in Italian affairs? Was any Italian State absolutely independent? Was any Italian State democratic?

2. What promoted a desire for national unity among the Italian people?

3. Who was Mazzini and what was his aim? Garibaldi? Gioberti?

4. Discuss the revolutionary movement of 1848 in Italy, explaining what steps were taken in the direction of democracy, and likewise what steps were taken in the direction of national unity and independence. What were the permanent results?

5. What was the Kingdom of Sardinia? How did it assume the leadership in the cause of Italian unity?

6. Who were Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, and what did each do to promote Italian unity?

7. Explain the causes and results of the War of 1859. What part did Napoleon III take in this war?

8. How did Italy acquire the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies? Venice? Rome? Trieste?

9. When was the Kingdom of Italy formally created? Who was its first King? What was its form of government?

10. What was the "Law of Papal Guarantees"? Why did the Pope refuse to accept it? Trace the relations between Church and State in Italy from 1848 to 1914.

11. How was democracy handicapped in Italy? How were the handicaps gradually overcome?

12. What were the chief internal problems of Italy from 1871 to 1914?

13. How did Italy establish herself as a Great Power?

14. What were the chief elements of popular opposition to the Italian Government?

15. How was the franchise extended? Explain the significance of the Suffrage Act of 1912 and the removal of the papal ban on Catholic participation in elections.

16. Why has there been such a large emigration from Italy? How has Italy sought to deal with the problem?

## SPECIAL TOPICS

Mazzini. *CAESARESCO*, *Liberation of Italy*, ch. iv; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 115-118; ANDREWS, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, 205-213.

**Revolution of 1848.** CESARESCO, *Liberation of Italy*, ch. vi; THAYER, *Dawn of Italian Independence*, II, ch. iv.

**Cavour.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, 118-121; CESARESCO, *Cavour*, esp. ch. ii; ORSI, *Cavour*; THAYER, *Life and Times of Cavour* (2 vols.).

**The Plombières interview.** CESARESCO, *Cavour*, ch. viii; THAYER, *Life and Times of Cavour*, I, 526-540; KING, *Italian Unity*, II, 45-67.

**Garibaldi and the Red Shirts.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 126-128; GARIBALDI, *Autobiography*, II, 147-152, 215-235; CESARESCO, *Liberation of Italy*, ch. xiv; KING, *Italian Unity*, II, chs. xxxi-xxxii.

**Attitude of papacy after 1871.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 370-372; OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 540-543, 549-553; WALLACE, *Greater Italy*, 159-174.

**Crispi.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, VII, 467-468; SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, 368-372; KING AND OKEY, *Italy Today* (use index).

**Government.** OGG AND BEARD, *National Governments and the World War*, ch. xx, or OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 504-553, esp. 516-518, 520-532; ZIMMERN AND AGRESTI, *New Italy*, ch. iii.

**The labor problem.** OGG, *Economic Development*, 471, 562-564; OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 546-549.

**Emigration.** OGG, *Economic Development*, 361-365; KING AND OKEY, *Italy Today*, ch. xvii.

**Art and literature.** ZIMMERN, *Italy of the Italians*, chs. iii-vi, x.

#### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 163-175, 367-378; KING AND OKEY, *Italy Today*; ZIMMERN AND AGRESTI, *New Italy*; MOWER, *Immortal Italy*; GORGOLINI, *The Fascist Movement in Italian Life*.

#### HISTORICAL FICTION

MARION CRAWFORD, *Saracinesca*; GEORGE MEREDITH, *Vittoria*.

**Austria.** — Austria, whose Habsburg rulers in the old days had been Holy Roman Emperors, held the "presidency" of the German Confederation. Austria was a large and powerful State, but it had fewer *German* inhabitants than Prussia and not many more than Bavaria. What rendered Austria powerful was the fact that for centuries her Habsburg sovereigns had been annexing one foreign nationality after another. By 1848 the Habsburg Emperor of Austria ruled not only over Austria proper (*German* Austria, including Vienna) but also over Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and large numbers of Yugoslavs (in Croatia), Poles (in Galicia), Rumanians (in Transylvania), and Italians (in Lombardy-Venetia). This meant that the "presidency" of the German Confederation was held by a Power whose chief interests were not in Germany at all. It meant, too, that the "president" opposed any catering to the spirit of nationality among the Germans or any strengthening of the German Confederation. In a word, Austria refused to allow any other German State to assume national leadership and she used her own position in the Confederation to keep Germany weak and disunited.

**Prussia.** — The Kingdom of Prussia was smaller than the Empire of Austria, but its German population was much larger. Prussia, in fact, was the most important *German* State. With the exception of her Polish subjects she was thoroughly German. Her earlier traditions of "enlightened" autocracy, of successful militarism, of efficient bureaucracy, and of militant Protestantism had raised her to a proud eminence. Twice in the eighteenth century she had defeated and humiliated Austria, and in the early part of the nineteenth century she had led Germany in the final War of Liberation against Napoleon Bonaparte. Prussia might have established a strong German national State, prior to 1848; under her own leadership, had it not been for two obstructive facts: (1) her own Hohenzollern Kings, after the time of Frederick the Great (died 1786), were poor cringing

creatures, much given to emotionalism, and to the fancy that Austria was their great friend and benefactor — they were not the stuff of which patriotic and statesmanlike leaders could be made; (2) the princes of the thirty-odd smaller German States, jealous of the military strength of Prussia and fearful of a national unification which might deprive them of their independence, sympathized with Austrian efforts to keep Germany disunited and could be counted upon, as members of the German Confederation, to side with the “president” in blocking any attempt of Prussia to assume national leadership.

**Lack of Democracy in Germany.** — Not only was Germany weak and disunited at the beginning of 1848; it was also undemocratic. The smaller States in the south and west which had come under French influence in the time of Napoleon were pretty well saturated with the doctrines of the French Revolution — popular sovereignty, liberty, equality; they had effected social reforms, such as the abolition of serfdom and feudalism, the break-up of large estates, the establishment of peasant ownership of the land, the extinction of privilege, and the introduction of the Code Napoléon; and the monarchs of several of them (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, etc.) had granted to their people written constitutions similar to the Charter which Louis XVIII granted to the French people in 1814. Prussia, too, in the time of Napoleon had carried out social reforms, but her reforms were based on the tradition of enlightened autocracy rather than on the theory of popular sovereignty, and despite promises to the contrary the Hohenzollern King of Prussia had not established constitutional government. In Austria, the dominant figure from 1814 to 1848 was the minister Count Metternich; and in an earlier chapter<sup>1</sup> we have seen how absolutely opposed was this courtly and suave gentleman to the ideas of the French Revolution, how persistently he refused to recognize the principle either of nationality

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XV.

or of democracy, and how successfully he utilized Austria's influential position to prevent the unification both of Italy and of Germany and the spread of individual liberty or constitutional government.

GERMANY FAILS IN 1848 TO SECURE NATIONAL UNITY  
WITH DEMOCRACY

**Popular Opposition to Metternich's Domination of Germany.** — Metternich "sat on the lid" until 1848 and firmly held it down. Beneath Metternich's "lid," however, Germany was seething with popular discontent. There were several elements of danger to his régime.

(1) *The "intellectuals,"* that is, journalists, literary men, university professors and students, and learned lawyers and physicians, had developed a patriotic fervor early in the nineteenth century; they resented governmental interference with freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of education; as patriots they demanded national unity, and as liberals they demanded constitutional government.

(2) *The industrial middle classes* — bankers, manufacturers, mine owners, etc., — felt that the important economic undertakings in which they were concerned, such as the construction of railways, and the promotion of commerce and industry, could best be conducted under the auspices of a strong national state, and that they themselves should have some direct say in the levying of taxes and the expenditure of public funds. Economic considerations made them confirmed patriots and liberals and powerful opponents of Metternich.

(3) *The working class* of the cities, Munich, Cologne, Leipzig, Berlin, and even Vienna, were infected somewhat with Socialist teachings and could be counted upon in revolt to lend the force of numbers to the support of the "intellectuals" and the middle classes.

(4) *The peasants* of southern and western Germany were determined not to lose any social or economic advantage

which they had gained; and the peasants of Austria and of other German lands were anxious to improve their lot. The peasantry might easily be arrayed against Metternich and his reactionary policies.

**The Revolutionary Movement of 1848 in Germany.**— Everything seemed in readiness for a revolution which might usher in a strong and democratic national German State. In February, 1848, a revolution at Paris overthrew the Bourbon monarchy and set up the Second French Republic.<sup>1</sup> Immediately there were rumblings far and wide throughout Germany. Suddenly the "lid" on which Metternich had been sitting since 1814, blew up.

*The Revolution in Austria.*— Riots in Vienna in March so frightened the Austrian Government that Metternich fled to England and the Emperor granted a Constitution, guaranteeing individual liberties and a parliamentary government by the upper and middle classes. Shortly afterwards, serfdom and feudalism were abolished in Austria.

When Metternich fled, all central Europe was in turmoil. German Austria became "liberal" and "constitutional"; the Hungarians (Magyars) set up a constitutional government of their own at Budapest; the Italians revolted; the Czechoslovaks held a "Pan-Slavic" Congress at Prague; the Yugoslavs formed a "liberal" government at Agram. It looked as though the Austrian Empire were disintegrating and becoming a mere confederation of self-governing nationalities.

*In Prussia.*— Simultaneously the Kingdom of Prussia became "liberal." To put a stop to rioting and bloodshed at Berlin, King Frederick William IV, an absurd and theatrical member of the Hohenzollern family, dressed himself in revolutionary colors, appointed middle-class ministers, and promised to grant a Constitution to his people.

*In Other German States.*— Most of the German monarchs were compelled to follow the examples of the Austrian Emperor and the Prussian King. And to cap the climax, the Diet of

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XVI, pp. 466-470.

the German Confederation was induced to authorize the election of a National Assembly, which should establish a united and democratic government for all Germany. Apparently, with the utmost ease and promptness, Germany was to become a democratic nation.

**The National Assembly at Frankfort, 1848-1849.**— The National Assembly was elected by universal manhood suffrage and met at Frankfort in May, 1848. Its members were chiefly from the middle class, men of brains and wealth, patriotic and liberal. The overwhelming majority were agreed that the Germany of the future should be a national State and a constitutional State. But on the question of what territory should be included in the proposed national State and what should be its form of government, they were badly divided. A talkative and turbulent minority advocated a Republic. The majority favored a limited Monarchy. The majority, however, was split on what should be done with the Austrian Empire: one faction ("Large German," *Gross-Deutsch*) urged that the entire Austrian Empire should be included within Germany because of the historic rôle of the Habsburg family in German affairs; the other faction ("Little German," *Klein-Deutsch*) demanded the exclusion of Austria, at least of non-German Austria, pointing out that if all the Austrian territories were included within Germany, such a Germany would not be a national State.

*The "Fundamental Rights of the German People" and the Democratic Plan for a United Germany.*— After long deliberation the Assembly adopted in December, 1848, a "Declaration of the Fundamental Rights of the German People"—equality before the law, religious liberty, the right of petition, and freedom of speech, publication, and association. After long deliberation the Assembly adopted in April, 1849, a compromise-Constitution. A German Empire was to be founded as a close federation of the thirty-odd German States (including German Austria, but excluding non-German lands of the Austrian Empire), headed by the King of Prussia as Emperor,



and controlled by a parliament of two chambers, one representing the States and the other representing the people.



A STREET IN FRANKFORT-ON-MAIN

the old capital of the Holy Roman Empire and later, from 1815 to 1866, the capital of the German Confederation. Frankfort was annexed to Prussia in 1866.

The Frankfort Assembly was a fateful landmark in the history of modern Germany. If its work had been accepted and honestly observed, it would have rendered Germany

not only a nation but a democracy. Yet it failed. And its failure postponed national unity almost twenty-five years and democracy nearly seventy years.

*Failure of the Frankfort Assembly: Attitude of King Frederick William IV of Prussia.* — The chief reasons for the failure of the Frankfort Assembly are to be sought not in lack of popular enthusiasm but in the attitude of the anti-democratic rulers and upper classes of Austria and Prussia. King Frederick William IV of Prussia was particularly despicable. For a time in the spring of 1848 he meekly surrendered to mob violence in Berlin and seemed to become "liberal" and "national." In the autumn, however, finding that the traditional props of the Hohenzollern autocracy — the landowning nobles (Junkers), the civil service, the Protestant State Church, and the army — were still standing in undiminished loyalty to his anointed person, he grew courageous, dismissed his liberal ministers, and declared that he would not allow the Prussian people to have a Constitution of their own devising. If Prussia were to have a Constitution at all, he would grant it himself out of the fullness of his God-given powers. In the spring of 1849 he was so puffed up with his own importance that he insulted the Frankfort Assembly and declined the imperial crown which it offered him. He would accept the headship of Germany, he stated, if he were invited by all the princes, but he would not accept it from a democratic Assembly — "from the gutter," as he phrased it.

Some of the German princes, yielding to the patriotic demands of their subjects, consented to invite King Frederick William IV to become German Emperor, with or without democracy. But the most influential German prince, the Habsburg Emperor of Austria, positively refused to subordinate himself to the King of Prussia, even if such subordination did not involve a recognition of democracy.

Throughout 1848 the Austrian Empire was in such revolutionary chaos that King Frederick William IV of Prussia, if

he had been a bold and farsighted statesman, might have ignored the Habsburgs and put himself, with the aid of his army, at the head of the patriotic movement in Germany. He might have been enabled thereby to get rid of the Frankfort Assembly and to realize his own ambition of effecting national unity without democracy. But King Frederick William IV was neither bold nor farsighted. He was flattered by the reactionaries in Prussia. He was intimidated by the Tsar of Russia. He was deceived by the Emperor of Austria. He missed two chances of becoming Emperor of a united Germany. He wouldn't become a democratic Emperor because the Frankfort Assembly invited him. He wouldn't become an autocratic Emperor because Austria didn't invite him. By doing nothing, he allowed Austria to regain her old-time position in Germany.

**Recovery of Austria from the Revolution of 1848.** — Gradually the Austrian Empire recovered from the revolutionary chaos of 1848. Germans living in Czechoslovakia coöperated with the Austrian army in suppressing the national insurrection of the Czechoslovaks. The Yugoslavs, discovering that they were more likely to be oppressed by the Hungarians and the Italians than by the Habsburg Emperor of Vienna, fought valiantly in the Austrian army to put down rebellion in Italy and in Hungary. In Austria proper (German Austria) the Government was so strengthened by its victories over other nationalities and by the rally of nobles and peasants (the more conservative classes) to its support, that early in 1849 the new and youthful Emperor Francis Joseph (1848-1916) could safely refuse to accept the democratic Constitution which was being drafted.

**Subjugation of Hungary.** — The Hungarians, under the leadership of Louis Kossuth, alone refused to recognize Francis Joseph as their sovereign; they proclaimed a Republic at Budapest and renewed their struggle for national independence. Nevertheless the odds were against the Hungarians. The Yugoslavs and the armies of German Austria

now received active military assistance from Russia. In August, 1849, the allied autocrats — the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria and the Tsar Nicholas I of Russia — overwhelmed the Hungarians and blotted their Republic out of existence. The subjugation of Hungary completed the restoration of Habsburg rule throughout the Austrian Empire.

**Restoration of Autocracy in Austria.** — Francis Joseph celebrated his triumph by reviving the policies and practices of Metternich. He abrogated all the Constitutions within his dominions. He deprived the various subject nationalities of all rights of self-determination. He put the press under a rigorous censorship and abridged personal liberties. He governed through officials appointed by himself. Autocracy was once more in the saddle in Austria,

and was ready to ride rough-shod over opposition in Germany.

**Restoration of the "German Confederation," 1851.** — Austria refused to recognize the Constitution of the Frankfurt Assembly, because (1) it was democratic, (2) it admitted only a small part of the Austrian dominions to membership in the proposed German Empire, and (3) it vested the new



(By permission of D. Appleton & Co.)

EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH OF  
AUSTRIA

The picture shows him when he ascended the throne, in the midst of the Revolution of 1848. At that time he was eighteen years old. He ruled over Austria almost sixty-eight years.

imperial authority in the King of Prussia. Austria would accept no proposal whatsoever which might transfer the headship of Germany to Prussia.

King Frederick William IV of Prussia, as we know, was resolved not to fight Austria for the headship of Germany. The princes of the smaller German States were only too anxious to undo the work of the Frankfort Assembly and to preserve their own independence. The result was that, despite popular protests and even republican uprisings in some places, the German Confederation was revived in 1851 precisely as it had been from 1815 to 1848. The first Diet of the restored Confederation repealed the "Declaration of the Fundamental Rights of the German People" and appointed a committee to eliminate from the State Constitutions of 1848 such dangerous principles as popular sovereignty and universal manhood suffrage. Germany fell back into division and disunion under autocratic and illiberal governments. In 1851 she still lacked democracy and national unity.

**Permanent Results of the Revolutionary Movement.**—The revolutionary movements of 1848–1849 in Germany left a few clear traces (1) Emperor Francis Joseph, with all his zeal for reëstablishing autocracy, did not restore serfdom and feudalism, which had been abolished in the Austrian Empire in 1848.

(2) King Frederick William IV so far compromised with liberal demands as to promulgate (in 1850) a *Constitution for Prussia*, under which a parliament was created, consisting of a House of Lords and a House of Representatives, the latter dominated by wealthy citizens, though the craven King was careful to stipulate that the Ministry should be responsible to him and independent of the parliament. The Prussian Constitution of 1850 remained in force until 1918.

(3) Numerous German liberals and democrats, disgusted with the failures of 1848–1849 or troubled by the ensuing reaction, emigrated from Germany and found refuge in foreign countries, especially in the United States.

(4) Many German conservatives (nobles, etc.) caught the fire of national patriotism; they denounced the democratic Frankfort Assembly for its failure to build a strong national State, but they regretted that King Frederick William IV of Prussia had lacked the courage to defy Austria and to assume the headship of Germany. These conservatives came to the fore after 1850. They demanded that all popular attempts to unify Germany, in a democratic manner, should be abandoned in favor of an effort on the part of the King of Prussia to establish national unity under autocratic auspices and by military methods. They called their demand "more practical." It certainly involved more bloodshed.

GERMANY SUCCEEDS IN 1866-1871 IN SECURING NATIONAL  
UNITY WITHOUT DEMOCRACY

**Bismarck.** — The most famous Conservative whom the revolutionary commotions of 1848 brought into prominence was Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), a member of the influential class of Prussian landlords (Junkers). Born in the year of the Congress of Vienna (1815), he had received a university education and had early acquired the reputation of being at once a roistering fellow, a successful farmer, and a Prussian patriot. During the troubled times of 1848-1849 (he was then in his early thirties), he missed no opportunity to display his deep-seated convictions: that autocracy was the best form of government; that the popular demand for Constitutions was preposterous; that the Frankfort Assembly was silly; and that the unification of Germany should be achieved, if at all, by the King of Prussia, through Divine Providence, with the aid of the Army, the Nobility, the Bureaucracy, and the Protestant State Church. He believed in German unity, but it must be under Prussian leadership and without democracy. Germany must be "Prussianized."

For several years (1851-1859) Bismarck represented the King of Prussia at Frankfort in the Diet of the German Con-

federation. There he coöperated with others in repressing liberalism throughout Germany. There, too, he developed an intense dislike for Austria. He gained valuable diplomatic experience, and with coolness and cleverness he maintained Prussia's position in the Confederation on an equal



**BISMARCK**

Chief Minister of Prussia, 1862-1871;  
Chancellor of the German Empire, 1871  
1890.

footing with Austria's.

In 1859 he was transferred to Petrograd as Prussian ambassador to the Tsar of Russia. He sincerely admired the Tsar's autocracy and did much to cement the cordial relations which had existed between Russia and Prussia since the time of Frederick the Great. In 1862 he was sent to Paris, where he met Napoleon III and formed an accurate opinion of the complex character of the French Emperor. In the same year (1862) he was recalled to Berlin and appointed chief minister of

Prussia. As chief minister he remained from 1862 to 1890, expanding Prussia, erecting the German Empire, and shaping most of the policies which were to guide Germany down to 1918.

**King William I of Prussia.** — Just before Bismarck took office in Prussia, the crazy King Frederick William IV died (1861) and was succeeded by his brother William. William I, like his immediate predecessors, was conservative, religious, and fully convinced of the divine right of his kingship, but, unlike them, he resembled the Hohenzollerns of the eighteenth

century in his determination and in his fondness for military affairs. He was not a brilliant man, but he was honest and he reposed the utmost confidence in his ministers.

**Bismarck's Domestic Policies in Prussia.** — The first thing Bismarck did upon becoming chief minister was to back King William's demand for a reorganization and increase of the Prussian Army. A large, well-disciplined army, Bismarck knew, would be a mighty prop for autocracy and an indispensable means of unifying Germany under Prussian leadership. Now it so happened that at this time a majority of the House of Representatives in the Prussian parliament were "Liberals," men who sympathized with the aspirations of 1848 and who wished to establish the English type of constitutional government in Prussia. Fearing militarism and anxious to subordinate the King and his ministers to the parliament, they refused to vote the funds necessary for army reforms. Bismarck was furious. "Germany does not look to Prussia's liberalism," he told the Representatives, "but to her power. . . . The great questions of the day are not decided by speeches and majority votes — therein lay the weakness of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron!"

As the Representatives proved obstinate, Bismarck proceeded to levy taxes and reform the army without their consent. When protests were raised against his arbitrary actions, he muzzled the press and jailed his opponents. He knew he had the support of the King and the Army — what more did he need? For four years the Constitution of 1850 was a dead-letter in Prussia.

**Bismarck's Diplomatic Policy.** — While universal military service was being enforced within Prussia, Bismarck directed his foreign policy toward a future struggle between Austria and Prussia for the headship of Germany. He placed the Tsar of Russia under obligations to Prussia by offering to help him suppress an insurrection of the Poles in 1863. He duped Napoleon III by hinting that France might obtain "compensation" if Prussia were given a free hand in Germany



**The Danish War, 1864.** — In 1864 Prussia, under the astute guidance of Bismarck, joined Austria in a war against Denmark. The bone of contention was the territory of Schleswig-Holstein, consisting of two duchies in northwestern Germany which were peopled mainly by Germans but governed by the King of Denmark. It would have been comparatively easy to divide the disputed territory on the line of nationality, ceding the northern quarter (inhabited by Danes) to Denmark, and annexing the southern three-quarters (inhabited by Germans) to the German Confederation. But the King of Denmark insisted on having the whole territory, and so did the German Confederation. The immediate result was that the two principal German States — Austria and Prussia — wrested from Denmark by force the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein.

**Austro-Prussian Dispute over Schleswig-Holstein.** — The most important outcome of the Danish War of 1864, as Bismarck had foreseen, was that Schleswig-Holstein at once became a bone of contention between Prussia and Austria. Austria wished to make it an independent member of the German Confederation; Bismarck desired to annex it to Prussia. After protracted and quarrelsome negotiations, Bismarck proposed in June, 1866, a thorough reformation of the German Confederation, involving the exclusion of Austria. At the same time the Prussian army was mobilized. Austria at once prevailed upon the smaller German States to unite with her in making war on Prussia for the preservation of the loose Confederation.

**The Seven Weeks' War, 1866: Triumph of Prussia.** — In the war which ensued (the Seven Weeks' War of 1866), Prussia had the advantage of a large army, well equipped, well disciplined, and ably led, besides active military assistance from Italy.<sup>1</sup> She made quick work of the smaller German States and overwhelmed Austria on the bloody battlefield of Königgrätz (Sadowa) in July, 1866. Peace was concluded

<sup>1</sup> See p. 506.

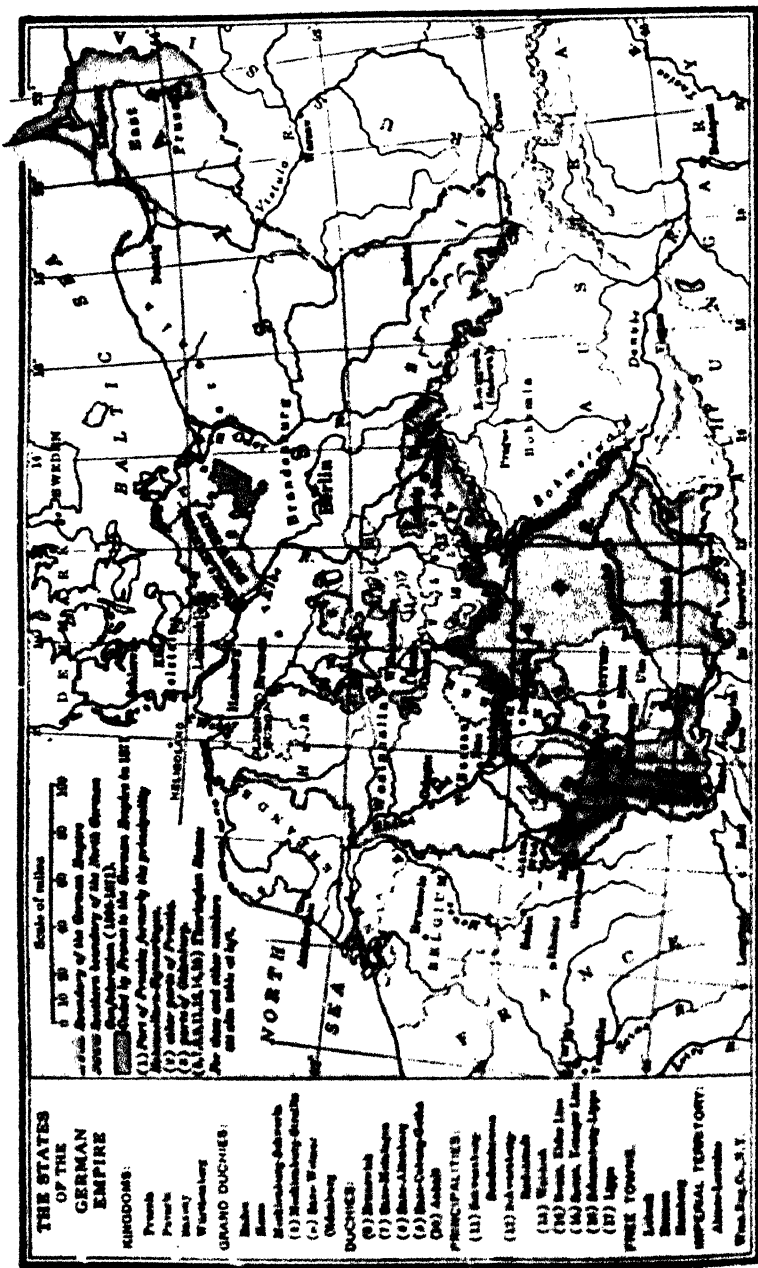
at Prague in August. Prussia was now free to deal with Germany as she would.

**Reconstruction of Germany, 1866-1867.** — Bismarck's reconstruction of Germany in 1866-1867 was as follows: (1) The German Confederation of 1815 was finally dissolved. (2) The Austrian Empire<sup>1</sup> was definitely detached from Germany and compelled to cede Venetia to Italy. (3) Prussia annexed outright the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, the Kingdom of Hanover, the free city of Frankfort, and certain other regions, thereby rounding out her territories and adding four and a half million citizens. Thereafter, Prussia embraced two-thirds the area and two-thirds the population of Germany, exclusive of Austria.

(4) The remaining small German States north of the Main River were federated, under the leadership of Prussia, in a close political and military union called the *North German Confederation*. The King of Prussia was made "President" of the new Confederation, and the Prussian military system was introduced in all the federated States. The parliament of the Confederation was composed of two chambers, a *Bundesrat*, representing the sovereigns of the States (among whom the King of Prussia was foremost), and a *Reichstag*, elected by universal manhood suffrage. Bismarck, while conciliating the "Liberals" by recognizing the principle of universal manhood suffrage, took pains to prevent the Reichstag from controlling the Ministry or exercising wide powers over legislation. He himself, in addition to remaining chief minister of Prussia, now became Chancellor of the North German Confederation.

(5) The four German States south of the Main River (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse) were recognized as independent Powers; but they were bound to the North German Confederation by the economic ties of a

<sup>1</sup> The history of the Austrian Empire after 1866 is reviewed in Chapter XX, pp. 603-613.



THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1871-1918

tariff-union (the *Zollverein*<sup>1</sup>) and by defensive military alliances.

**The War with France, 1870-1871.** — Delicately Bismarck worked from 1867 to 1870 to draw the South German States into voluntary political union with the North. He knew that they distrusted Prussia but he knew also that they feared French aggression. Napoleon III, in seeking to obtain "compensation" for France after the Seven Weeks' War, played into Bismarck's hands. Gradually, by means of diplomacy as unscrupulous as it was clever, the German Chancellor egged on the French Emperor, until at last in July, 1870, France declared war against Prussia. The South German States, swept along on a wave of national patriotism, immediately made common cause with the North German Confederation and went to the "defense" of Prussia.

**Creation of the German Empire, 1871.** — The Franco-German War of 1870-1871 has been sketched in an earlier chapter.<sup>2</sup> Suffice it here to say that it completed German unity. For while the German armies were besieging Paris, the four Southern States were duly admitted, upon their own request, to political union with the North. The name of the union was changed from "North German Confederation" to "German Empire," and on January 18, 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors in the palace at Versailles, King William of Prussia was proclaimed "German Emperor." The Treaty of Frankfort, concluded with France in May, 1871, brought to the new Empire a war indemnity of a billion dollars and the French territory of Alsace-Lorraine.

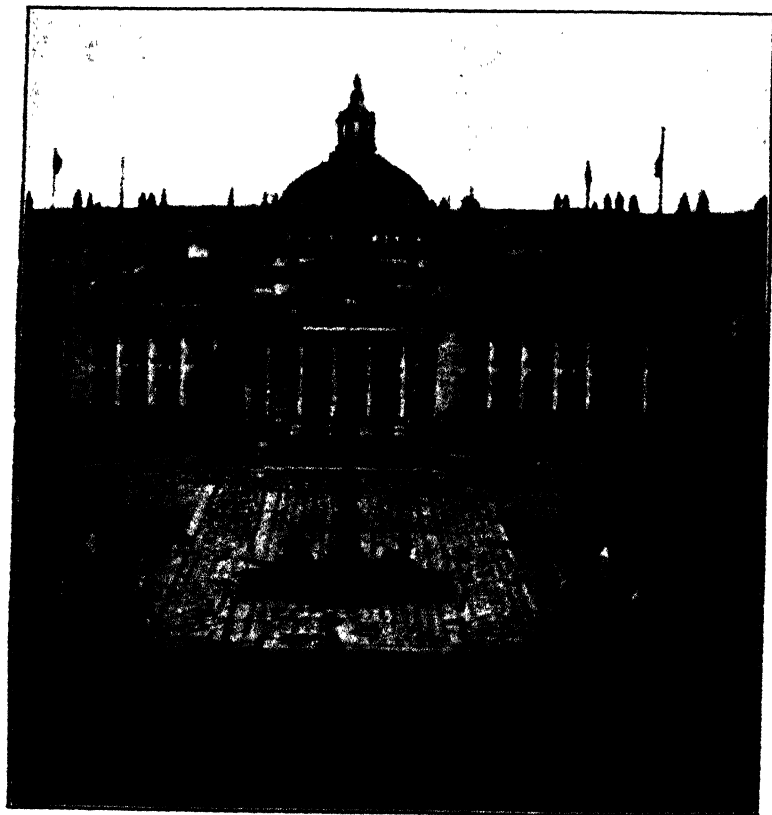
*An Achievement of Blood and Iron.* — What the Frankfort Assembly of 1848-1849 had failed to accomplish by speeches and majority votes, was achieved by Bismarck through the "blood and iron" of three wars. Thanks to the defeat of Denmark in 1864, of Austria in 1866, and of France in 1871, the German Empire was finally established

<sup>1</sup> See p. 454.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XVI. pp. 480-482.

under the headship of Prussia. But it did not include the German part of Austria or of Switzerland.

**The Constitution of the German Empire.** — The new Empire assured the Germans partial national unity but not



THE REICHSTAG BUILDING IN BERLIN

In the foreground is a statue of Bismarck.

democracy. Prussia, the largest and most influential State in the Empire, retained her undemocratic Constitution of 1850; and very few of the other German States found it expedient or desirable to introduce real parliamentary govern-

ment (of the English type) in their internal affairs. In imperial affairs, supreme authority was vested in the *Bundesrat*, a body of personal agents of the sovereigns of the several States. The *Reichstag*, the popular assembly elected by universal manhood suffrage throughout the nation, was hardly more than a debating society; its resolutions could be effectively blocked by the *Bundesrat*. In practice, the King of Prussia, who ipso facto was "German Emperor" (commonly referred to as the Emperor-King), was an autocrat; he named the chief minister of Prussia without consulting the Prussian parliament, and he appointed the Imperial Chancellor without the advice of the *Reichstag*. For many years Bismarck was both Imperial Chancellor and chief minister of Prussia. As Chancellor, he presided over the *Bundesrat*, prepared legislation for the *Reichstag*, and conducted the administration of the Empire. As chief minister of Prussia, he directed how the Prussian votes in the *Bundesrat* should be cast; and these votes, according to the Constitution of the Empire, were sufficient to veto any reduction of the Army or any decrease of the taxes or any amendment of the Constitution. The ministers of the Emperor-King could not be forced out of office either by the Prussian parliament or by the German *Reichstag*. Assured of financial independence and military support, they retained their offices so long as they enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor-King. The government of Germany from 1871 to 1918 was similar in effect to the government of France under Napoleon III (1852-1870); it certainly could not be termed democratic.

#### THE GERMAN EMPIRE BECOMES STRONG BUT NOT DEMOCRATIC

**German Militarism.** — Democracy was lacking. But militarism was present. In fact, the old Prussian tradition of militarism gradually became the most valued tradition of the new Empire. By militarism the Empire had been created. By militarism, patriots believed, the Empire would be preserved. Both William I and Bismarck put their

chief reliance in the German Army, and already in 1871 Bismarck and William I were great national heroes.

Just as Prussia in 1862 had obliged every able-bodied young man to serve in the Army in order to enforce her kind of national unity, so now in 1871 the German Empire retained the principle of compulsory universal military service in order to guarantee the maintenance of German unity under Prussian headship. The Prussian military system was extended throughout the Empire; great fortifications were constructed in Alsace-Lorraine and along the Belgian and Russian frontiers; and the unusual spectacle was presented of a nation supporting an enormous standing army in time of peace.

The spectacle did not long remain unusual. Within five years the extraordinary military example of Germany was imitated by the neighboring Great Powers — France, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy. As her neighbors increased their armaments, Germany sought by diplomacy to prevent them from uniting against her.

*Bismarck's Foreign Policy, 1871-1890.* — Bismarck in 1879 concluded with Austria-Hungary a close military alliance, which was transformed by the adherence of Italy three years later into the famous Triple Alliance that lasted until 1915. Moreover, so long as Bismarck was in office (until 1890), Germany's relations with Russia were most amicable, and with England quite so. Nevertheless, thanks to Germany's militarism and to Bismarck's diplomacy, the whole era from 1871 to 1914 became an "era of armed peace." Armaments increased everywhere; they never decreased. National jealousies grew ever more acute, and military expenditures ever more burdensome.

*National Effects of German Militarism.* — Within Germany militarism was generally extolled as a national blessing. It kept the spirit of nationality at fever-heat. It called into existence many patriotic societies, such as the Pan-German League and the National Security League. It promoted

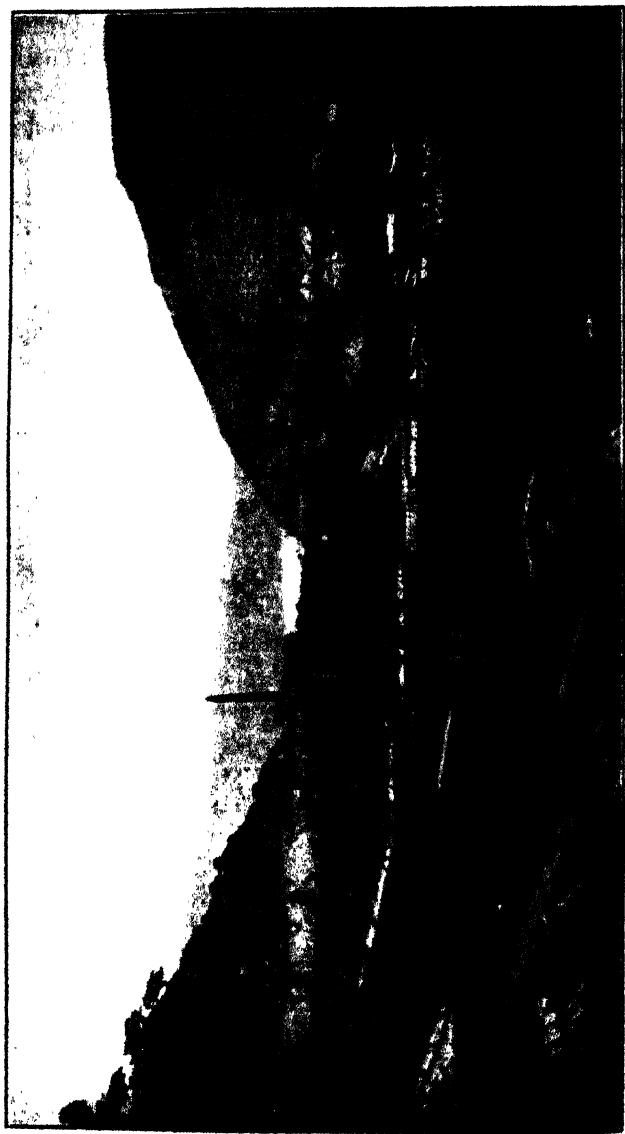
national unity and national discipline. It fortified the Empire. It overawed the Poles in Prussia and the French in Alsace-Lorraine. It enabled Germany to be a Great Power and to take an influential part in world politics. It satisfied many members of the middle class because it preserved order and security at home and backed German traders and investors abroad. It pleased the upper classes, because the higher commands in the Army were held by nobles (Junkers). It gratified the Hohenzollern Emperor-King, the Court, and the Government because it was the bulwark of autocracy.

Occasionally protests were raised in the Reichstag against militarism, and once in a while a determined effort was made to refuse financial appropriations for it. Bismarck soon discovered, however, that by dissolving an obstreperous Reichstag and appealing to the country's patriotism in the matter, he could get a new Reichstag elected which would do the Government's will. Bismarck's discovery was utilized repeatedly not only by himself but by his successors (after 1890) in the Chancellorship. Militarism was the most striking characteristic of united Germany from 1871 to 1914.

**German "Paternalism."**—Another important characteristic of united Germany was "paternalism," the idea that the Government should take the leading part in promoting the economic welfare of the people. "Paternalism" was a tradition inherited from the Prussia of the eighteenth century, and the tradition which actuated most of Bismarck's domestic policies. His "paternal" policies were twofold: (1) To strengthen the federal, national government; (2) to foster the material prosperity of all classes in the country.

*Strengthening of the Federal Government.*—To strengthen the federal, national government, Bismarck persuaded the Reichstag to assent to four main reforms: (1) Financial uniformity was effected throughout the Empire. Imperial coinage supplanted the coinage systems of the several States. The control of banking was transferred from the State Governments to the Imperial Government. In 1876 the famous





AN INDUSTRIAL TOWN ON THE RHINE

Imperial Bank (*Reichsbank*) was established, under the management of the Empire, as a central credit institution for the nation and as a guarantor of the financial stability of the Federal Government. (2) The various systems of State railways were unified and brought into close relationship with the military, postal, and telegraphic organizations of the Empire. (3) Uniformity in law was secured. State laws were superseded by Imperial Codes for commerce and banking, for legal procedure and organization of law courts, and finally (in 1896) by a common German Code of Civil Law. (4) The Federal Government was rendered financially independent of the State Governments. Up to 1879 the Federal Government obtained its funds by levying contributions on the several States, a practice which tended to exalt the States and to debase the Empire. In 1879, therefore, the *Zollverein*<sup>1</sup> (which was then practically identical with the Empire) was prevailed upon to abandon free trade and to impose protective tariffs on the importation of foreign goods. Germany became thereby a country with a high tariff, and from 1879 to 1914 the German tariff was gradually increased. The tariff policy of Bismarck provided funds for the federal Government and at the same time protected German industry and German agriculture.

*Fostering of Material Prosperity.* — To foster the material prosperity of all classes in Germany, Bismarck pursued a threefold policy.

(1) *The Tariff.* — The tariff of 1879, with its subsequent increases, enabled German agriculture to hold its own against foreign competition and likewise stimulated industrial development within Germany. The farmers, on one hand, and the manufacturers, on the other, were the classes most benefited.

(2) *Social Legislation.* — As aids to the working class, Bismarck championed a broad program of social legislation. Not only were laws enacted limiting the hours of labor, but, under Imperial auspices, all workmen were insured against

<sup>1</sup> See p. 454.

illness, accidents, incapacity, and old age. (In modern social legislation Germany was the pioneer among the nations of the world. Her scheme of national insurance, together with enlightened factory regulations, an admirable system of labor exchanges, a network of technical schools, and the remarkable growth of trade-unionism, prepared the German people from below, as the protective tariff aided them from above, to become one of the most efficient industrial nations in the world.

(3) *Imperialism.* — For the encouragement of German traders overseas, as well as for missionary and patriotic reasons, Bismarck in 1884–1885 took over for Germany a colonial empire which merchants and missionaries had already staked out: in Africa — Togoland, Kamerun, German East Africa, and German Southwest Africa; and in the South Seas — the Marshall Islands, the Bismarck Islands, and a part of New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelmsland).

Subsequently Germany added to her colonial empire the Caroline Islands and two of the Samoan Islands in the Pacific, the port of Kiao-chao in China, and a part of the French Congo in Africa. Besides, she arranged for the construction of a railway in Asiatic Turkey, from Constantinople to Bagdad, and brought the whole Ottoman Empire under her influence. With Governmental assistance, a great number of large merchant vessels were built and operated, so that by 1914 Germany ranked next to England among the world's commercial nations. To protect her commerce and her colonies, Germany in the first years of the twentieth century applied her militarism to the high seas and constructed a navy which in size and strength was surpassed only by England's.

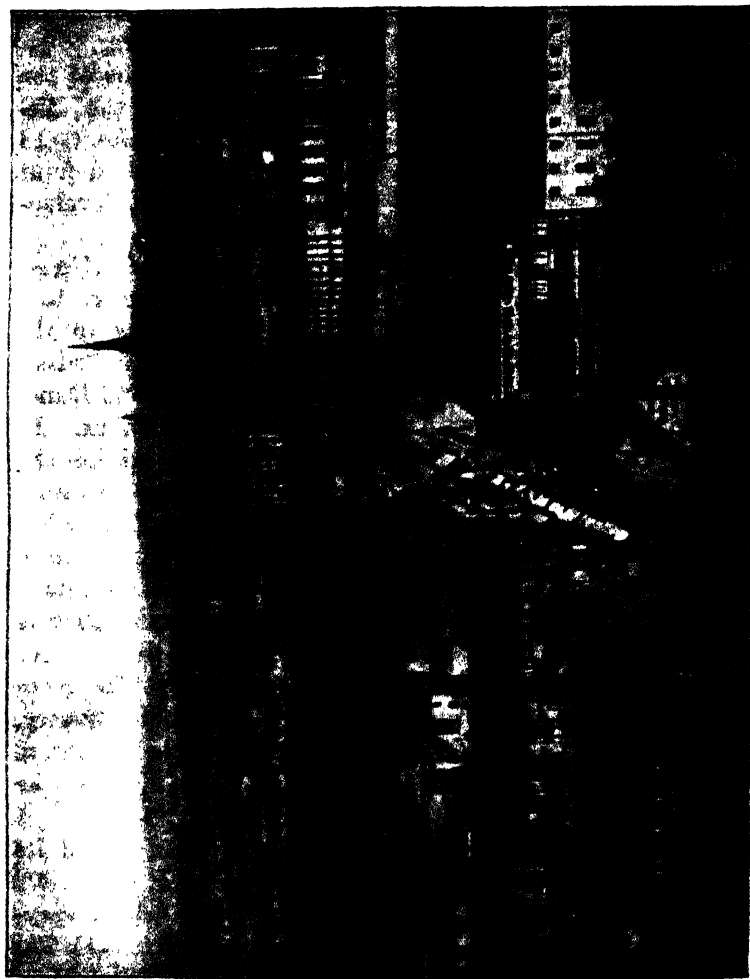
Under the paternal direction of Bismarck and his successors, Germany became a Great Power not only in a military and political sense, but in material prosperity as well. Not a country in the world witnessed in so brief a time such a prodigious economic development as the German Empire experienced between 1871 and 1914. Factories and mine shafts multi-

plied; cities grew rapidly; and with the expansion of industry and trade, popular education kept pace. These achievements constituted a most significant element in German civilization — in what the Germans themselves called their *Kultur*.

**Popular Opposition in Germany.** — Not all citizens of the German Empire were enthusiastic supporters of the Bismarckian policies of "paternalism" and "militarism." In fact, from 1871 to 1914 large groups of people found fault constantly with the political institutions, the economic developments, or the national tendencies, of the Empire.

*"Oppressed" Nationalities: Danes, Poles, and Alsace-Lorrainers.* — Among the opposition groups were certain non-German elements that did not wish to belong to the German Empire at all. In northern Schleswig, which Prussia had conquered in 1864, were several hundred thousand Danes who advocated reunion with the Kingdom of Denmark. In Prussia were some three million Poles who longed for the restoration of an independent Poland. In Alsace-Lorraine, which Germany had conquered in 1871, were a goodly number of persons who desired the return of the territory to France. In Alsace-Lorraine Germany maintained practically a military dictatorship. Against the Poles and the Danes, Prussia enacted repressive laws, abridging the use of their native languages and restricting their ownership of land. The more the Government sought to "Germanize" the whole country, the more these "oppressed nationalities" struggled to retain their own individuality and to oppose all the policies of the Empire.

*German Opposition.* — Opposition to the Empire and its institutions was not confined to "oppressed nationalities." Among the Germans themselves were four groups who in varying degree belonged usually to the "Opposition." (1) *The Guelfs*. These were Germans in the old Kingdom of Hanover who had not taken kindly to the incorporation of their State in Prussia in 1866 and who kept up an agitation for self-government. (2) *The Democrats, or Radicals*. These



PART OF BERLIN

were intellectual descendants of the revolutionaries of 1848, men who wished the German Empire to be truly democratic, with a parliamentary government modeled after England's, with effective guarantees of individual liberties, and with freedom of trade (rather than protective tariffs). The Democrats were a middle-class Party, outspoken against militarism and against the Government's chronic interference with the freedom of speech and of the press. They were hated by Bismarck.

(3) *The Catholics*.—Comprising a minority of the population of Germany, these regretted the exclusion of Catholic Austria from the Empire in 1866 and disliked the preponderance of Protestant Prussia. As their chief numerical strength lay in the States of southern Germany, they early banded themselves together as a political Party (the "Center Party") to resist the "Prussianization" of Germany. They denounced militarism and paternalism; they demanded more rights for the States, greater democracy in the Empire, and radical social reforms (which, however, should be realized not so much through the Imperial Government as through associations of workers and employers). Against the Catholic Center Bismarck in the first years of the Empire waged the so-called *Kulturkampf* ("fight for civilization"). By legislative measures he attacked the Catholic Church and endeavored to make it a subservient tool of the Government. The Catholics resisted, and for several years the struggle continued. Bishops were imprisoned, priests were muzzled, monks and nuns were exiled, Catholic newspapers were suppressed. In spite of persecution, the Catholics preserved their unity and discipline, the Center Party grew and thrived, and by 1886 Bismarck had to admit, by repealing most of his anti-Catholic measures, that the *Kulturkampf* was a failure. Nevertheless, the Center Party continued, after the cessation of active persecution, to be one of the most important political parties in Germany, with a fourth of the seats in the Reichstag; and although on specific questions it occasionally supported the

Government, generally and fundamentally it was always in opposition down to 1914.

(4) *The Socialists*. — In 1875 a Social Democratic Party was formed through the fusion of two Socialist groups of German workingmen: (1) the followers of Karl Marx,<sup>1</sup> the "father of modern Socialism"; and (2) the followers of Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864), a well-educated, well-to-do Jew, famed both as a man of fashion and as a "messiah of the poor," whose doctrines resembled those of the French socialist Louis Blanc.<sup>2</sup> The new Party talked about a "revolution," which would establish thorough political democracy in Germany, set up a Republic, destroy militarism, abolish private property, and usher in an era of working-class control of factories and farms. Bismarck at once took fright and managed to communicate his fright to a majority in the Reichstag, so that, despite protests of Catholics and Democrats, laws were enacted in 1878 against the Socialists. These laws remained in force twelve years. They prohibited Socialist propaganda, empowered the police to break up meetings and to suppress publications, and legalized the arbitrary arrest and punishment of Socialist agitators. Bismarck rigorously enforced the laws against Socialism, but in vain. The Socialists preserved their organization, conducted their propaganda from neighboring countries, and steadily increased their influence within Germany. In course of time, especially after the lapse of the anti-Socialist laws (in 1890), the Social Democratic Party won the support of a large majority of the German working class and likewise of a considerable number of middle-class radicals who, though not deeply interested in the economic demands of the Party, voted for its candidates as the best means of combating autocracy. By 1914 the Socialists constituted the largest political party in Germany.

**Emperor William II, 1888-1918.** — In 1888 Emperor William I, one of the great heroes of German national unity, died at the advanced age of ninety-one. His son, Frederick III

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 458-459.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 458.

who was reputed to be "Liberal," reigned only three months. In 1888, accordingly, William II, the son of Frederick III and the grandson of William I, became King of Prussia and German Emperor. He reigned until 1918.

William II was twenty-nine years of age at the time of his accession, and a typical Hohenzollern. He loved power and the trappings that went with it. He extolled militarism and asserted that "the soldier and the Army, not parliamentary majorities, have welded together the German Empire — my confidence is placed in the Army." At the same time he posed as an ardent Protestant Christian and affirmed in no uncertain terms the divine basis of his sovereignty. He dabbled in everything, traveled everywhere, and talked incessantly.

*His Dismissal of Bismarck.*

— In Germany, the country of militarism and paternalism, there was not room for two such overbearing autocrats as William II and Bismarck, and in 1890 William II dismissed Bismarck from office. "It was a question," the Emperor explained, "whether the Hohenzollern dynasty or the Bismarck dynasty should reign." Bismarck, the man who had done more than anyone else to give Germany national unity without democracy, withdrew



EMPEROR WILLIAM II

William II became Emperor in 1888 and abdicated in 1918, at the close of the Great War for which he bears a heavy share of responsibility. After 1918 he lived in Holland as an exile.



to his private estates, where he lived in more or less open criticism of the Emperor until his death, at the age of eighty-three, in 1898.

*His Policies.* — The chief ministers of Prussia and the Chancellors of the Empire who succeeded Bismarck from 1890 to 1918, were the personal agents of William II. In vain the Socialists, the Catholics, and the Democrats sought to make the Imperial Government responsible to the Reichstag; to the end William II insisted that it was responsible only to him and to God. He himself determined the principal policies of the Empire. Like Bismarck before him, William II was a natural ally of fire-eating militarists, of landowning aristocrats, of conservative university professors, and of industrial capitalists. Under his rule, autocracy in the interest of the upper classes remained the ideal both for the Prussian Monarchy and for the German Empire. Germany had national unity without real democracy. But she had democratic forms and political parties that were to prove capable, after the military defeats of the Great War, of transforming Germany from a monarchy into a republic.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What was the "German Confederation"? When was it created? What was Austria's relation to it? Trace its boundary on the map. Locate Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, Hanover, Saxony, Prussia, Austria, Frankfort, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck.
2. What State had in 1848 the largest German-speaking population?
3. Why did not Austria create a strong, united Germany under her own leadership between 1815 and 1848? Why not Prussia?
4. To what extent was Germany democratic prior to 1848?
5. Was there any opposition in Germany to the policies of Metternich? By whom?
- ✓ 6. Describe the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, showing its effects upon Metternich, upon the King of Prussia, and upon national unity.
7. What was the Frankfort Assembly? What did it attempt to do? Why did it fail?
8. What were the final results of the Revolution of 1848 in Austria? In Prussia?

9. What was the difference between the "liberals" and the "conservatives" in Germany? Why did the "conservatives" gain the leadership after 1848?

10. Who was Bismarck? What were his political beliefs? Under what circumstances did he become the chief minister of Prussia? How long did he remain in power?

11. Why did William I and Bismarck wish to increase the Prussian army? How did they accomplish this aim?

12. Discuss the dispute over Schleswig-Holstein and explain how it led to civil war in Germany.

13. What were the results of the Seven Weeks' War as regards the German Confederation? As regards Austria? Italy? Prussia? The South German States?

14. When was the North German Confederation created? What was its form of government? What States did it include?

15. Show how Prussia's war against France in 1870-71 led to the final step in Bismarck's unification of Germany.

16. Why would it be incorrect to call the German Empire from 1871 to 1918 democratic? Was it democratic in any respect? How did it differ from the North German Confederation in government and in territorial extent? Did it include all of the German-speaking lands?

17. In what respects was the German Empire militaristic? Paternalistic?

18. How did Bismarck strengthen the federal government? How did he promote the welfare of landlords and business men? (Of the workingmen?)

19. What was Germany's foreign policy under Bismarck's administration?

20. How did Germany acquire colonies? Where were her colonies? Were they very valuable?

21. What was meant by *Kultur*?

22. What groups of people in Germany opposed the policies of Bismarck?

23. How did Bismarck combat the Catholics? The Socialists? Was he wholly successful?

24. Who was William II, and what were his policies? Compare his policies with Bismarck's.

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**The Frankfort Assembly.** SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, 390-396; MARRIOTT AND ROBERTSON, *Evolution of Prussia*, 322-327.

**William I.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXVIII, 665-666.

**How Bismarck brought about the war with Austria.** MUNROE SMITH, *Bismarck*, 28-36; ROBERTSON, *Bismarck*, 190-205.

**Bismarck and Louis Napoleon.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 158-159; ROBERTSON, *Bismarck*, 496-497; MUNROE SMITH, *Bismarck*, 43-59; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 411-424.

**The Seven Weeks' War.** HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 398-410; ROBERTSON, *Bismarck*, 204-221; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 142-154.

**The Kulturkampf.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 408-409; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 453-459; ROBERTSON, *Bismarck*, 309-327.

**The Socialists.** OGG, *Economic Development*, ch. xxii; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 460-464; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, 185-189, 204-207.

**Social legislation.** HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, ch. xiii; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 189-192; OGG, *Economic Development*, ch. xxiv.

**William II.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXVIII, 667-669; GAUSS, *The German Emperor as shown in his public utterances*; WILLIAM II, *The Kaiser's Memoirs*.

**Dismissal of Bismarck.** HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, 477-483; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 200-203.

**Polish question.** DAWSON, *Evolution of Modern Germany*, ch. xxiii; FIFE, *German Empire between Two Wars*, ch. xii.

**Government.** FIFE, *German Empire between Two Wars*, ch. v; OGG, *Governments of Europe* (1913 edition), chs. ix-xiv; KRÜGER, *Government and Politics of the German Empire*.

**Economic progress.** HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, II, ch. xii; OGG, *Economic Development*, 218-234, 296-314.

**The Junkers.** DAWSON, *Evolution of Modern Germany*, 29-36; FIFE, *German Empire Between Two Wars*, ch. vii; TOWER, *Germany of Today*, ch. ix.

**Literature.** ROBERTSON, *The Literature of Germany*, chs. vi-vii; TOWER, *Germany of Today*, ch. x.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 180-206, 397-426; DAWSON, *The German Empire, 1867-1914*; KRÜGER, *Government and Politics of Germany*; FIFE, *German Empire between Two Wars*.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

SPIELHAGEN, *The Hohensteins; In Rank and File; To the Front; Flood-tide and Storm; What Shall the Harvest Be? A Modern Pharaoh*; GUSTAV FRENSSEN, *Jörn Uhl*; THOMAS MANN, *Königliche Hoheit*; FRIEDA VON SUTTNER, *Die Waffen Nieder*.



GROWTH OF RUSSIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

sarabia (a strip of Rumanian territory), abandoned her claims to a protectorate over the Rumanians and other Christian nations of Turkey, and lost the right to keep a fleet on the Black Sea.

Tsar Alexander II (1855–1881), who had ascended the throne in the midst of the Crimean War, waited twenty-one years before renewing the attack upon Turkey. The Franco-German War of 1870 gave him an opportunity, which he promptly seized, to tear up the Treaty of 1856 and regain the right of keeping warships on the Black Sea. A little later, another opportunity knocked at the door.

*The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878.* — The Turks were massacring thousands of Bulgarians, and the Yugoslavs were revolting against the Sultan. As the champion of the Balkan Christian peoples, Alexander declared war in 1877. This time, neither England nor France raised a finger to prevent an allied Russian and Rumanian army from marching victoriously up to the very outskirts of Constantinople and dictating peace on their own terms.<sup>1</sup>

No sooner, however, had peace been signed, than England and Austria stepped in and insisted on having the treaty revised by a congress or conference of all the Great Powers. Accordingly, a congress was held at Berlin in 1878, and a new treaty was drawn up. As the spoils of victory Russia carried off part of Armenia and part of Rumania (Bessarabia). But the Russian plan of making Bulgaria a self-governing principality, friendly to Russia, was defeated and most of the Bulgarians were again placed under Turkish rule.

*Russia's Balkan Policy after 1878.* — After 1878, Russia remained at peace with Turkey, seeking not so much to increase her own territory as to win control over the Balkans

<sup>1</sup> By the Treaty of San Stefano, March 3, 1878, the Yugoslav states of Montenegro and Serbia were to be given additional territory and complete independence; Rumania also was to become independent; Bulgaria was to be made a self-governing principality; and Russia was to get several small pieces of territory.

by intrigue and diplomacy. The Tsar still posed as the protector and friend of the Balkan nations, especially of the Yugoslavs. He desired them to be independent of Turkey but subservient to Russia. The age-long dream of conquering Constantinople and obtaining an outlet through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean was put on the shelf, not

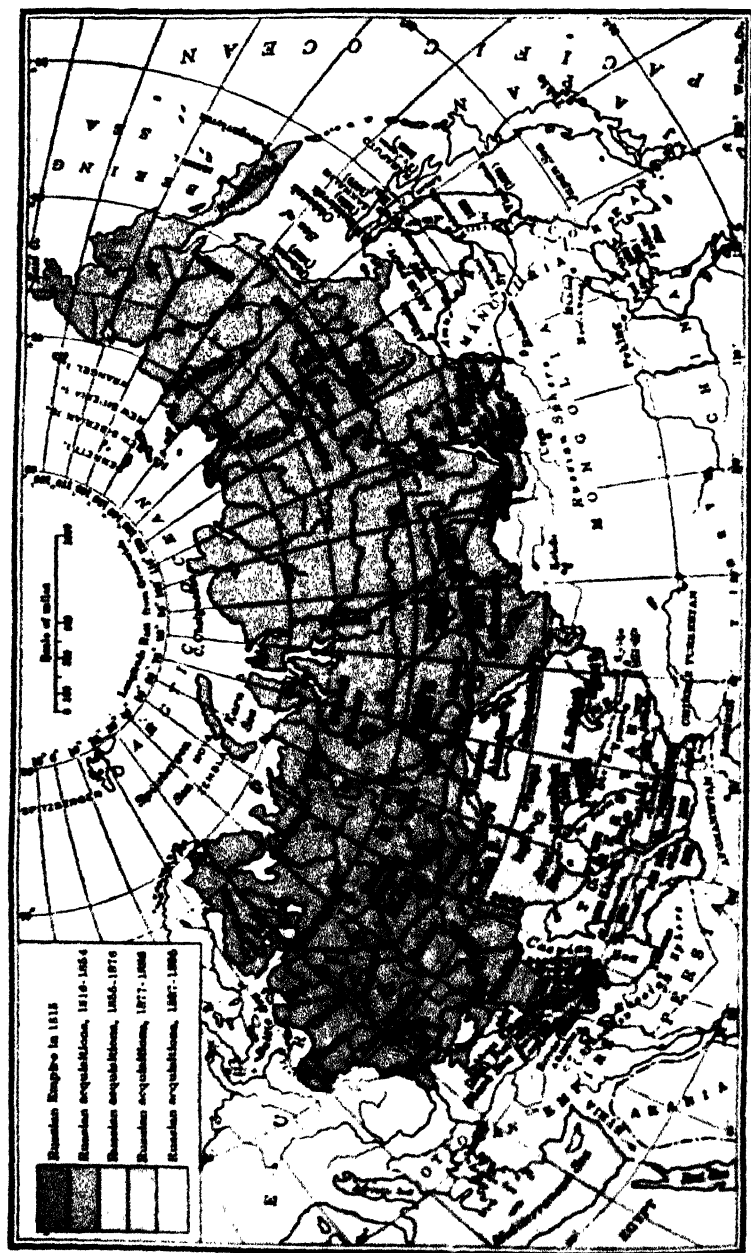


*Courtesy of the World Book Co.*

#### RUSSIAN COLONISTS EMIGRATING TO SIBERIA

forgotten. It was to be taken down from the shelf in 1914, when another Tsar took up arms as the champion of the Balkan Christians — this time of the Yugoslavs — and gazed longingly, expectantly, toward the domes and minarets of the coveted city on the Bosphorus.

**Expansion in Asia.** — But Russia had other aims as well. All through the nineteenth century, Russian colonists were steadily pouring into Siberia and Russian armies were making new conquests in Asia. Bit by bit the broad steppes or



EXTENSION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN ASIA

plains of Turkestan, in Central Asia, were brought under the Tsar's far-reaching scepter. The northern part of Persia in 1907 became a Russian "sphere of influence"—a region under Russian control but not yet formally annexed. Meanwhile, several strips of land along the western and northern borders of China had been boldly grasped. About the opening of the twentieth century Russia's long arm was stretched out to take Manchuria (the northern part of China) and Korea (then a more or less independent monarchy). In this case, however, there was an obstacle—Japan. Japan also coveted Korea and Manchuria, and was not afraid to fight her rival.

*Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905.*—When Japan declared war, in February, 1904, the Russians felt sure of an easy victory. The little nation of the Far East was a dwarf, compared with gigantic Russia; the former had 45,000,000 people, the latter 130,000,000. Japan was a small fox terrier barking at a burly bear. Painful indeed was Russia's surprise when her armies in Manchuria—where all the fighting took place—were defeated time and again with terrible losses; when the supposedly impregnable Russian fortress of Port Arthur (in Manchuria) was forced to surrender; and when a large Russian fleet, which had sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to the Far East, was totally destroyed. One difficulty was that Russian troops and supplies had to be transported thousands of miles across Siberia, by the Trans-Siberian railway. But the worst trouble was that the Russian military system was almost unbelievably inefficient. Shocking stupidity and carelessness were revealed on the part of army officers and civil officials. The troops were poorly fed, badly equipped, and hopelessly mismanaged. The army—the very foundation stone of the autocracy—was rotten through and through. What the Russian people thought of this situation we shall soon see.

At the invitation of President Roosevelt, Russia and Japan sent delegates to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for



peace negotiations. As was to be expected the peace treaty signed at Portsmouth (September 5, 1905) was a blow to Russian pride. All hope of acquiring Korea was abandoned, and the southern part of Manchuria was handed over to Japan. In later years Russia and Japan came to an agreement whereby, while Japan annexed Korea and retained southern Manchuria, Russia was permitted to strengthen her control in northern Manchuria and in western Mongolia, although these regions remained part of the Chinese Empire, in name at least.

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 was the third of the great conflicts into which Russia was plunged by the aggressive policy of her rulers. The Russian nation was like an obedient elephant, trained to do the bidding of its puny master. The Russians fought for the expansion of the Tsar's dominion. When would they learn to battle for their own freedom?

#### THE AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT TRIES TO RUSSIFY THE EMPIRE

**Meaning of "Russification."** — Hand in hand with the Tsar's policy of conquest went the policy of "Russification." The Russian Empire, it must be remembered, had been built up by autocratic conquerors, without regard for race or nationality. As a result, it included not only the Russians, but many other peoples as well. The Empire was a patchwork quilt, and militaristic autocracy was the thread by which the patches were held together. But the Tsars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were not content with patchwork. They were determined to make the whole empire thoroughly Russian — to "Russify" Russia. Conquered nations which had separate languages, separate religions, and separate administrations, were too much inclined to desire a separate national existence and independence. The Russian language, the Russian Church, Russian administration, must be forced upon all the Tsar's subjects. No nationalism beside Russian nationalism could be tolerated.

**Russification in Poland.** — One of the conquered nations was Poland. The greater part of Poland had been given to the Tsar Alexander I by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, but he had promised to treat it as a kingdom separate from Russia, with a constitution and a parliament of its own, with Polish as the official language, and with Poles as the officials. The Poles, however, had rebelled in 1830, and Tsar Nicholas I, after suppressing the rebellion, had annulled their constitution. Thereafter, the policy of Russification was begun. Poland was governed as a conquered province. The Polish universities of Warsaw and Vilna were suppressed, and Polish students were compelled to attend Russian universities. The Poles, who had previously possessed an army of their own, were now forced to serve in Russian regiments. The Russian language was substituted for Polish in the schools. Shopkeepers had to put their signs in Russian. Russian officials, using the Russian tongue, conducted the administration and presided over the courts. The Poles revolted again, in 1863, but without success. Their lot was simply made harder.



TSAR NICHOLAS I

Nicholas I was Tsar from 1825 to 1855. He was an ardent believer in autocracy and "Russification." He engaged in two wars with Turkey and deprived the Poles of the last remnant of their liberties.

**Russification in Finland.** — Finland also suffered. The Tsar had become Grand Duke of Finland in 1809, and had permitted the grand-duchy to have a parliament, maintain a separate customs tariff, make its own laws (with his consent),

and enjoy its own religion, the Lutheran form of Christianity. As the upper classes were Swedish, their language was used by the officials, while the peasants were allowed to use their own mother tongue, Finnish. But at the close of the nineteenth century Tsar Nicholas II began to apply the policy of Russification, by appointing Russian officials to rule Finland, establishing a Russian police force, and insisting that Finnish laws must be drawn up by Russians. As a protest the people declared a national strike, and the Tsar (whose power had been weakened by uprisings in Russia in 1904-1905) not only restored the old Finnish constitution but reluctantly consented to a democratic reform of the Finnish parliament. Nevertheless, a short time later he was again beginning to bring Finland more completely under Russian control, when the Great War of 1914 interrupted his plans.

**Russification Elsewhere in the Empire.** — Russification was also considered necessary in various regions where the people, though possessing no remnant of their former independence, still preserved their individuality in language or in religion. For example, there were twenty millions or so of *Ukrainians* or "Little Russians" in southwestern Russia, who spoke a dialect of Russian that was sufficiently different from the official Russian language to be annoying. Therefore the Tsar's government forbade the publication of books or the acting of dramas in the Ukrainian dialect.

In the case of the *White Russians* and the *Lithuanians*, who inhabited the region just east and northeast of Poland, there was much trouble about religion, because many of these people were Roman Catholics. For these Catholics the Russian officials made life as uncomfortable as possible, sometimes by closing their churches, sometimes by compelling their children to become members of the official Russian Orthodox Church. Similarly, in *Estonia* and *Latvia* (two small subject nations living along the Baltic coast, north of Lithuania), where the people were Lutherans, Lutheran churches could not be constructed without the consent of the chief official of the Russian Orthodox Church.

It would take too long to go through the entire list of subject nations — the Armenians and Georgians and Tatars in the Caucasus region, the various pagan and Mohammedan tribes in Asiatic Russia, the Rumanians in Bessarabia, etc. In almost every case, the aim of the Tsar's government was to place such restrictions on the use of the native language and on the practice of other faiths that gradually the inhabitants would adopt the Russian language and the Russian Orthodox religion. In a word, they would be Russified.

*The Jews in Russia.* — The plight of the Jews calls for special mention. There were some five million Jews in Russia.<sup>1</sup> Since the eighteenth century, Jews had been forbidden to settle in any part of Russia outside the "Jewish Pale," which included Poland, Ukrainia, Crimea, and a few other regions in the west and south. There was a very bitter feeling against the Jews, partly because they were not Christians, partly because they differed from the Russians in language and dress and manners, partly because they had a reputation for avarice in business dealings, and partly because many of them had revolutionary ideas.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the Government launched a campaign against the Jews. They were forbidden to own or lease farms; they were debarred from most professions excepting business; and none could live outside the Pale without special permission. A Russian statesman is said to have predicted that as a result, a third of the Jews would be converted and a third would emigrate, while the rest would die of hunger. As a matter of fact, hundreds of thousands did emigrate to the United States, and doubtless many of those who remained in Russia did die of starvation. Frequently there were "pogroms" or anti-Jewish riots and massacres somewhat like the lynchings and anti-negro outbreaks in the United States. Doubtless the "pogroms" were as much due to popular prejudice and mob spirit as to the Government, but they were tolerated by the Government and often incited by officials.

<sup>1</sup> In 1897

What was accomplished by all these efforts to suppress non-Russian languages and religions, remains to be seen. One result was that the Poles, Finns, Jews, and others learned to hate Tsarism with the fierce hatred that injustice engenders. The various subject peoples instead of becoming Russianized became so many powder magazines of discontent, ready to be exploded by any spark. An explosion, a revolution, would shatter the empire of the Tsars into a dozen fragments. How such an explosion did occur, in 1917, will be narrated in a later chapter, but the fact that it did occur is mentioned here as proof that with all its ruthless power autocracy failed to Russify Russia.

#### TSARISM TIGHTENS THE REINS

**Repression of Liberalism in Russia.** — Not only the non-Russian races but also the genuine Russians in the Empire had to be kept in hand, if Tsarism were to remain masterful and strong. If the Russians should become liberals or revolutionists, they would no longer be content to obey a despotic Emperor. Hence, the spread of Liberalism in the nineteenth century made the Tsars of Russia more determined than ever to hold the reins of government firmly in their own hands.

**Alexander I, 1801-1825.** — At the beginning of the century, Tsar Alexander I had shown some sympathy with Liberalism. For example, he had granted a constitution guaranteeing to Russian Poland the right of having a parliament. He had exhorted the Poles to make good use of this right, in order to prove that "free institutions . . . are not a dangerous dream." He had even hinted that he intended some day to establish parliaments in all his realms. Alexander, however, experienced a change of heart a few years later, abandoned his plans of reform, and accepted Metternich's idea that the only way to prevent revolutions and conspiracies and disorders was to maintain autocracy in the saddle.

**Nicholas I, 1825-1855.**—No trace of Liberalism was found in the make-up of the stern and soldierly man, the "Iron Tsar," who succeeded his brother Alexander I. As a boy, Nicholas I had been taught history by a French émigré,<sup>1</sup> who filled his mind with hatred for everything smacking of revolution. His prejudices were simply strengthened when, at the time of his accession to the throne, a group of Liberal military and naval officers attempted by violence to seat his brother on the throne and secure a constitution. As soon, therefore, as he had suppressed the uprising, Nicholas punished the conspirators with relentless severity, organized a secret police force (the so-called "Third Section") to ferret out Liberal leaders, and ordered his officials to see that no revolutionary or dangerous doctrines were taught in the schools. Nicholas became, next to Metternich, the foremost conservative in Europe. It was he who suppressed the Polish revolt in 1830-1831;<sup>2</sup> it was he who signed a secret agreement with Austria and Prussia for coöperation in putting down rebellions;<sup>3</sup> it was this same monarch who offered to send an army against the French revolutionists in 1848,<sup>4</sup> and who actually sent a force of 80,000 men to aid the Austrian Emperor in crushing the revolutionary Hungarian Republic in 1849;<sup>5</sup> it was Nicholas I who helped Austria prevent Prussia from unifying Germany in 1849-1850. Tsarism in Russia was a foe of Liberalism and nationalism everywhere.

**Alexander II, 1855-1881.**—Alexander II, like his uncle Alexander I, was inclined at first to grant reforms. The Crimean War,<sup>6</sup> in the midst of which he ascended the throne, revealed Russia's weakness and showed the need of reorganization. During the first ten years of his reign, Alexander II was a reformer: he emancipated the serfs, established local assemblies, introduced the jury system, and made the censor-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 315-317.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 443.

<sup>3</sup> See nn. 443-444.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 467-470.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 526-527.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 475, 552-554.

ship of the press less strict. But in 1866 a revolutionist attempted to shoot him. From that day, the Tsar was more conservative. The schools, he commanded, were henceforth to



TSAR ALEXANDER II

Alexander II was Tsar from 1855 to 1881. He liberated the Russian serfs about the time that Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves in America.

teach religion and respect for authority. Revolutionary ideas must be stifled.

*Growth of Revolutionary Ideas.*—As events proved, revolutionary ideas could not be stifled. In fact, the more they were persecuted the more radical and violent the advocates of progress became. A few words should be said about them to make our story clear. In the 1860's and 1870's, during the reign of Alexander II, many of the more highly educated people in Russia had grown discontented with the existing state of affairs. The Russian Orthodox Church, they believed, was full of superstition and bigotry; the Tsar's government was backward and corrupt and

opposed to liberty; the mass of the population were groveling in ignorance and poverty, and were treated like slaves or brute animals by the nobles and officials. So hopeless did conditions seem that many Russian writers became bitterly pessimistic; Russian literature was deeply tinged with gloom; Russian novelists and dramatists portrayed the vice and misery and crime which they saw about them.

*The Nihilists.* — Some of the "intellectuals" (as the educated people, especially university graduates, were called) thought that the only remedy was to criticize all existing institutions and ideas, in order to prepare the way for freedom. Science, reason, and individual liberty were their ideals. Everything else — autocracy, religion, marriage, private property — they denounced and ridiculed. As one of them said, if such institutions had any good in them, they would stand criticism; if not, it was right to smash them as "rubbish." Persons who held such views were called "Nihilists," because nothing (the Latin word for nothing is *nihil*) was sacred to them. The name came from a novel, in which a "Nihilist" was defined as "a man who bows to no authority." The original Nihilists were more theoretical than practical; they did not attempt a violent revolution; they simply formed secret associations and endeavored to spread their doctrines among the common people. They were inclined to be bookish and philosophical.

Punishing the Nihilists, or imprisoning them, or torturing them, or sending them off to bleak Siberia as convicts, or driving them into exile, did little good. Other agitators took their places, and became still more radical. If the Tsar and his police would not permit peaceful discussion of reforms, the Tsar and his police must be fought with violence.

*Bakunin, an Apostle of Violence and Anarchism.* — One of the men who was sent to Siberia as a convict was Mikhail Bakunin, a Russian nobleman. After escaping from Siberia, he went to Switzerland and began to use his pen to stir up the Russian "intellectuals" and, through them, the workmen. The Tsar, the whole government, the church, the landowners, the police, marriage, religion, hereditary property — all must be attacked and annihilated. Associations of workmen and of peasants should take possession of land and other property, not hesitating to use ruthless violence. This was Anarchism. And during the 1860's and 1870's Bakunin's anarchist doctrines gained headway in Russia.



*The Terrorists.* — As time went on, and peaceful reform seemed more and more hopeless, the idea of using violence became more and more popular. Secret conspiracies were organized to assassinate high officials. Bombs were used instead of books, by the new generation of revolutionists. This was Terrorism. The Terrorists believed that the only way to win liberty and bring about reforms was to strike terror into the hearts of the Tsar and his officials. The killing of a Tsar or of an official now and then would at least teach Russia's rulers a wholesome lesson and might even prepare the way for a revolution.

*Assassination of Alexander II.* — Thus, in place of mild, bookish reformers, the Tsar had Terrorists on his hands, thanks in no small part to his own policy. By the irony of fate, it was a bomb thrown by a Terrorist that put an end in 1881 to the reign and the life of Alexander II.

*Alexander III, 1881-1894.* — The result was not what the Terrorists had hoped. The new Tsar, Alexander III, instead of granting reforms, ruled more harshly and despotically than his predecessors. The Terrorists were hunted down and punished. The newspapers were tightly muzzled, so that no word of criticism could be uttered. University professors who were known to favor reform were dismissed. Children of workingmen were forbidden to attend high schools or universities, lest they should become discontented with their lot. The officials of the autocratic Tsar ruled with iron hand.

*Nicholas II, 1894-1917, and the Official Theory of Autocracy.* — The theories on which Alexander III and his successor Nicholas II based their policy, were taught to them by a certain professor of law, Pobedonostsev by name, who served as their tutor in childhood, their adviser in later life, and one of their chief ministers.<sup>1</sup> Russia, he believed, could be truly great only by being herself, by clinging steadfastly to the old Russian institutions instead of following the fads

<sup>1</sup> He was Procurator of the Holy Synod, that is, chairman of the governing committee of the Russian Orthodox Church.

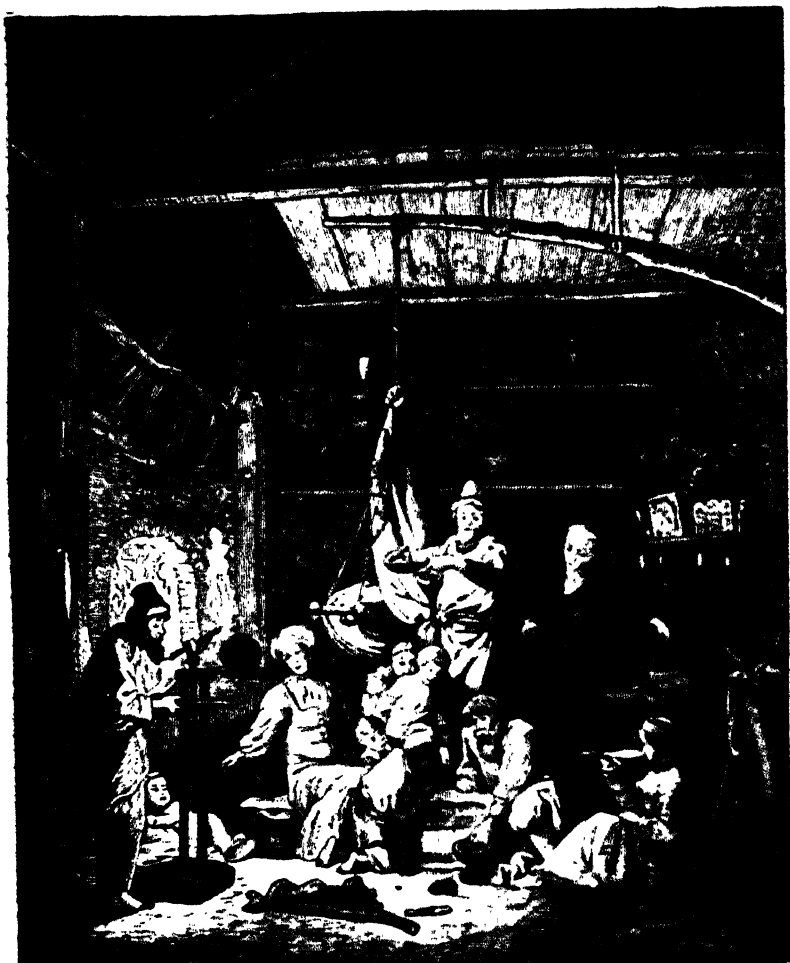
of western Europe. The French Revolutionary principles of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, he regarded as dangerous poisons. In place of them, Russia should cherish Autocracy, Orthodoxy, Nationality — one Tsar, one church, one language. It was a great misfortune, he declared, that since the French Revolution the idea of government by the people had become so popular. Parliaments were evil things; they served only the personal ambitions and vanity of the men elected to them. Trial by jury was absurd and illogical. The newspapers would simply print lies if allowed freedom. Superstitions were useful, because they made the people more obedient. Science and general education were dangerous because they bred unrest. Let the schools teach the common people reading, writing, arithmetic, the fear of God, devotion to the Tsar, and nothing more!

Such was the spirit of the Russian government at the close of the nineteenth century. Tsarism had indeed tightened the reins. But among the common people — the peasants and workingmen — as well as among the middle classes and "intellectuals," a spirit of rebellion was developing which boxed ill for the hand that held the reins. The Russian people would take the bit in its teeth before many years had passed, and the Tsar would be dashed from his seat.

#### THE SERFS RECEIVE LIBERTY — AT A PRICE — AND GROW MORE REBELLIOUS

**Condition of the Serfs prior to 1861.** — First let us examine the reasons for rebelliousness among the peasants. Down to the year 1861, most of the Russian people were downtrodden serfs. Words can hardly picture their condition.

If you had visited a typical farming village, you would have found the serfs there living in little log cabins, with roof of thatch (straw), and with only one or two rooms, dark, dirty, and cheerless. In winter the whole family slept over the oven in the living-room, to keep warm, and sometimes the cow or the pig shared the room with the family. Vermin



#### RUSSIAN PEASANT'S HOME IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The family is eating the evening meal out of the wooden tub, using wooden bowls and ladles instead of plates and silver. The sacred pictures on the shelf at the right were supposed to keep evil away. The object suspended from a pole in the center is a cradle. The man at the left is lighting a chip of wood to serve as a torch. The beds are on top of the oven.

infested the place. Of course there were no books — the serf could neither pay for them nor read them. Often he was too poor to buy even sufficient food. The village and all the surrounding farmland were owned by a wealthy nobleman, who rarely visited his mansion. The serfs possessed no land at all. A small part of the land the nobleman allowed the villagers to use; this land was divided up into small strips of less than an acre apiece, and each serf was permitted to cultivate several such strips, taking the crops for himself. Once in ten or fifteen years, the strips were redistributed. The remainder of the land was also tilled by the serfs, but the crops on it belonged to the noble. Each serf was compelled to work three or four days a week, without pay, on the nobleman's land.

Not only did the serf own no land. He could hardly be said to own himself. He could not leave the estate without the nobleman's permission. If the estate were sold, he was sold with it. The nobleman could send him into the city to work at a trade, in which case part of his wages must be paid to the nobleman. The nobleman had the right to whip him, or to send him off to Siberia as punishment for his offenses. A tyrannical nobleman could compel his serfs to marry as he pleased, could torture and abuse them unmercifully, could treat them as worse than slaves. The serfs had no redress, for there was a law forbidding them to complain against their masters. There was but one remedy — revolt — if the serfs dared to use it. Over five hundred local revolts were recorded in the reign of one Tsar (Nicholas I, 1825–1855). This was what serfdom meant in Russia before 1861.

**Emancipation of the Russian Serfs, 1861.** — At about the same time that the negro slaves were freed in the United States, Tsar Alexander II signed an edict emancipating the Russian serfs (March 3, 1861). The measure was not due entirely to humanitarian motives. As one Russian statesman said, "It might be better to free the serfs from above,

than to wait for them to free themselves by revolt." Besides, some of the landowners thought that serfdom was less profitable than a new system, based on wages and rents, would be. And the industrial capitalists hoped that if the serfs were given freedom without much land, there would be a plentiful supply of ex-serfs willing to work at low wages in the factories.

**Serious Defects in the Emancipation Edict.** — If the serfs had received a reasonable amount of land with their freedom, the Emancipation Edict might have been a great blessing. But the serfs received no land at all individually. What actually happened was as follows. The government paid the noblemen a large sum as compensation for the loss of the serfs and for a portion of the lands which the serfs had formerly been allowed to cultivate for themselves. This land was then turned over to the villages, each village of ex-serfs being given a tract of farmland as *collective* property. Each villager was allowed to use — but not own — a share of the village land, a share so small that it could not possibly afford him a living. In return each village was compelled to repay the government, in instalments, the money the government had advanced to the nobles. So heavy were these payments, and so small were the shares of land, that many of the serfs were worse off, economically, than before, although a few were shrewd enough and lucky enough to become rich.

At best, the ex-serf had about half as much land as he could cultivate with his own labor. It has been estimated that only about a third of the total area of agricultural land was transferred to the villages, while almost a quarter remained in the possession of the nobles, and somewhat more than a third was held as property of the State, and considerable shares by monasteries, by the Imperial family, and by wealthy but non-noble landlords. For years the ignorant peasants fondly believed that the Tsar, whom they had been taught to regard as their loving "Little Father," intended to give them additional land. They were mistaken.

As the years passed, and no improvement came, the *mujiks* or peasants grew bitter and rebellious. If an opportunity offered, they would take by force the land of the hated aristocrats.

It should not be forgotten, however, that, great as was the price they paid, the *mujiks* had gained something — personal liberty. They were no longer the property of other men.



A RUSSIAN PEASANT WOMAN, HER CHILDREN, AND HER VILLAGE

**Judicial Reform.** — Soon after the Emancipation Edict, Alexander II proclaimed a reform of the judicial system, making all men equal before the bar of justice, at least theoretically equal. Moreover, the jury system, copied from England, was adopted in court trials, except in cases of treason, rebellion, and agitation against the government.

**Reform of the Local Government: the Zemstvos.** — Another reform that came as a sequel to the Emancipation was the establishment, in each province and county, of a *zemstvo* (assembly or local legislature) elected by the landlords, *mujiks*, and townsfolk, to take care of roads, bridges, public buildings, churches, schools, paupers, prisons, etc. The

*zemstvos* gave the people a slight taste of representative government. They also did a good deal to encourage improved methods of farming, by arranging for the sale of good seeds and better agricultural implements to the farmers, as well as by hiring instructors to teach the ignorant peasants how to fertilize the soil and how to employ a rotation of crops. Unfortunately Alexander II's successor, the conservative Alexander III, thinking the *zemstvos* too liberal, altered the election laws so as to give control to the nobles and almost no voice at all to the common people.

**Halting Character of Reforms.** — All in all, the reforms of the 1860's — emancipation, civil equality, and the *zemstvos* — constituted an important forward step. But the government failed to see that it was impossible to halt there. Granting the peasants liberty without sufficient land and without democracy was a halfway measure, more likely to increase discontent than to lessen it, as was shown by the alarming growth of revolutionary agitation (described in the preceding section) during the sixties and seventies. Groaning under oppressive taxes, often starving in the midst of plenty in the world's most fertile wheat country, the peasants grew more and more inclined to listen to "intellectuals" preaching rebellion. By the opening of the twentieth century a strong party of Social Revolutionaries had begun to grow up, demanding that all land should be the property of the people, and that the man who tilled the soil should be entitled to its fruits instead of being obliged to pay rents. We shall hear more of these land-hungry peasants.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AGGRAVATES THE SITUATION

✓ **Industrial Development in Russia.** — Even more menacing to the rule of autocracy and aristocracy was the growth of a discontented industrial population of city dwellers during the last decade or so of the nineteenth and the first few years of the twentieth century. Russia is often mistakenly spoken of as an agricultural country, with no industries worth taking

into account; in reality, Russia had (in 1914) one city of over two million inhabitants (Petrograd), one with almost two million (Moscow), and over a hundred with more than fifty thousand. She had as many town dwellers as France, and many more large cities than Italy. European Russia's urban population, to be sure, was not quite one-seventh of her total population, but one-seventh of 130,000,000 is not a small number. Russia's industries were overshadowed by her enormous production of wheat and cattle, but they were far from pygmies when compared with the industries of France or Italy.

*Undemocratic Character of Russian Industry.* — From the very beginning, Russian industry was peculiarly undemocratic. From the days of Peter the Great, who began to establish workshops for the production of war munitions and other manufactures, down to the nineteenth century, most of the workshops were owned by the Tsar and by noblemen, and a large share of the employees were serfs, compelled to work at their masters' bidding.

*Effects of the Emancipation of the Serfs on Industrial Development.* — The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 had interesting effects on industry. In the first place large numbers of the serf workmen promptly exercised their new freedom by refusing to work in the factories, mines, and iron foundries. This, however, was only a temporary effect. In the long run, thousands of ex-serfs drifted into the cities to become industrial wage earners. Another result was the growth of capitalism. After the Emancipation many landowning nobles were willing to invest in industry the funds they received as compensation for the loss of their serfs, or the money received from rents (which rose rapidly), or in some cases money obtained by selling their estates.

*The Industrial Revolution in Russia.* — At this time, in the 1860's and 1870's, the Industrial Revolution was just beginning in Russia. Machinery for spinning and weaving had been brought over from England and had been slowly coming



into general use since the 1840's. The building of railways had commenced in 1837. Factories were being built in large numbers. But the great period of development did not begin until the last ten years of the nineteenth century, when the government established a high tariff for the protection of infant industries and did everything in its power to stimulate manufacturing. The production of iron and steel and coal was much more than doubled in ten years, from 1890 to 1900. All along the line — in the cotton industry, in railway construction, in mining, in the oil business, in beet sugar production, in shipbuilding — the progress was almost incredibly swift.

These rapidly developing industries were concentrated for the most part in a few industrial regions, such as the western part of Russian Poland, Petrograd, the region around Moscow, and the coal country between the Don and Dnieper Rivers. Concentration, of course, meant that the proletariat (industrial workers) could be more easily united, more readily stirred to revolt.

**The Russian Socialists.** — This industrial proletariat was good soil for the Socialist doctrines which disciples of Karl Marx<sup>1</sup> began to spread in Russia during the 1880's and 1890's. The workingmen at this time were receiving extremely small wages (averaging about \$2.50 a week) although their hours of labor were very long (twelve hours or more a day). Being discontented, they were easily converted to Socialism. The Russian Social Democratic (that is, Marxian Socialist) Party, founded in 1898, grew rapidly in the large cities. Its aim was to transform Russia into a democratic republic and to make the factories, mines, railways, banks, and land the collective property of the whole people rather than the private property of individuals. Some of the Socialists (*Mensheviks*) were willing that this change should be made gradually; others (*Bolsheviks*) desired to bring it about all at once by a revolution.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 458-459.

**The Russian Bourgeoisie.** — The growth of a discontented industrial proletariat was one of the important social consequences of Russia's industrial development. A second was the growth of the middle classes — capitalists, merchants, shopkeepers, engineers, lawyers, etc. Just as we have seen in the case of England, France, and other countries, the upper middle class, or bourgeoisie, desired moderate reforms and constitutional government. In Russia, the bourgeoisie was comparatively weak in numbers, because the ownership of factories and mines was concentrated in fewer hands. There were fewer small scale business enterprises and fewer small factories than in other countries. Besides, many of the Russian railways, factories, and mines were owned by French, English, German, and Belgian capitalists. As a result, Russia did not have so strong a tendency toward middle-class Liberalism and moderate reform. Russia was a country of extremes, with an extremely conservative autocracy on one hand, and extremely revolutionary masses on the other hand, and without much in between.

#### STORM CLOUDS DRAW NEAR

**Elements of Popular Opposition to Tsarism.** — What we have said so far might be summarized in the statement that, while the Tsars had been trying to enlarge their territory and maintain their autocracy, five forces had been developing which threatened to overthrow Tsarism. These five were, in the order that we have discussed them: (1) The discontent of the various conquered nationalities and of the Jews, whom the Tsars had attempted to "Russify"; (2) the discontent of the "intellectuals" (professors, writers, etc.), whose radical theories the government had failed to stifle; (3) the discontent of the peasants, who had received liberty but wanted more land; (4) the discontent of the industrial proletariat, which was inclining toward Socialism; (5) the discontent of the capitalists and other middle-class people, who desired con-

stitutional government and moderate reform.<sup>1</sup> These were the storm clouds on the Tsar's horizon.

**The Revolutionary Movement of 1905.** — The five forces just enumerated were the causes of the Russian revolutionary



THE PALACE OF THE TSARS

Begun by Peter the Great two hundred years ago, at Tsarskoye Selo, fifteen miles south of Petrograd.

movement of 1905. The occasion for the outbreak was the Russo-Japanese War, which began early in 1904. When the people heard the news that Russia was being defeated by Japan, they became excited and indignant. They argued

<sup>1</sup> One might add, as a sixth discontented class, a few of the nobles, for there were a few who sympathized with Liberal ideas.

that Russia's disgraceful failure in the war was a proof that reforms were needed.

Many of the common people still hoped that the Tsar would listen to their complaints and grant reforms of his own free will. For example, in January, 1905, a priest by the name of Father Gapon led a great procession of workingmen to the Tsar's palace carrying a petition which declared: "We are oppressed, we are overburdened with work, we are abused, we are treated like slaves." But when the crowd of unarmed workingmen gathered in front of the palace, they were shot down in cold blood by the Tsar's troops (Sunday, January 22, 1905). Five hundred were left dead and thousands wounded on the bloodstained snow. That was the Tsar's reply.

After that a real revolution began. In the cities the workingmen declared a general strike. *Soviets*, or Councils of Workingmen's Deputies, were formed, to take charge of the strike and supply the strikers with revolvers and guns. In the country, the peasants began to loot and burn the mansions of noblemen. At the same time the college professors and other intellectuals demanded liberty and a parliament. The bourgeois capitalists likewise sent in petitions for reform. And the various oppressed nationalities, such as the Finns, Poles, etc., joined in the movement. All the revolutionary forces were in action in 1905.

*The Tsar's October Manifesto, 1905.* — Thoroughly alarmed, the rather weak and timid Tsar, Nicholas II, issued a remarkable manifesto in October, 1905, promising: (1) Freedom of conscience, of speech, of assemblage, and of union; (2) a *Duma* (parliament), elected by all classes of the people. In the future, no law was to be binding without the Duma's consent. In other words, Russia would cease to be an autocracy and would become a constitutional monarchy.

**Disruption and Suppression of the Revolutionary Movement.** — The Tsar's October Manifesto satisfied the middle-class Liberals, especially the capitalists, but it failed to satisfy



RUSSIAN SOLDIERS CHARGING AGAINST POLISH STRIKERS IN WARSAW IN 1905  
© Illustrated London News

the revolutionary peasants, who wanted land, and the industrial workingmen, who wanted a democratic republic and socialistic reforms. After October, 1905, the workingmen and the peasants continued the struggle alone, and now they were opposed not only by the Tsar but also by the aristocracy, the capitalists, and the wealthy classes generally. Consequently, the Tsar recovered his courage and allowed his officials to take vengeance on the revolutionists. Soldiers were sent to arrest the members of the Petrograd Soviet. More soldiers were used to crush the workingmen's rebellion in Moscow. By the beginning of 1906 the revolution had been suppressed and the revolutionary leaders were being executed or imprisoned or sent off to hard labor in Siberia.

Thus the Revolution of 1905 came to an end without overthrowing the Tsar or achieving the aims of the peasants and workingmen. All that the people had to show for the Revolution was a promise, the Tsar's October Manifesto. And that soon proved to be a scrap of paper.

**Establishment of a Parliament: the Duma and the Imperial Council.** — As he had promised, the Tsar in 1906 established a parliament. The upper house (Imperial Council) was half elected by the wealthiest classes and half appointed by the government. The lower house or *Duma* was elected by the people, though not on a thoroughly democratic basis.

**Political Groups in the Duma.** — The first Duma was composed chiefly of three political groups: (1) The Constitutional Democrats, who wanted liberty and political democracy; (2) representatives of the peasants, who wanted land; and (3) representatives of the oppressed nationalities, who wanted to stop the "Russification" policy. They promptly requested the Tsar to establish liberty of religion and freedom of speech and writing; to abolish all restrictions on the use of non-Russian languages; to provide more land for the peasants; and to release the prisoners who had been jailed for partici-

pating in the recent revolution. The Tsar, however, now felt confident of his strength and dissolved the Duma without granting one of its demands. A new Duma, elected in the following year, met the same fate.

*Subordination of the Duma to the Tsar.* — In order to make sure that the future Duma would be more conservative, the Tsar in 1907 issued a decree making the election law less democratic, so that the workingmen, peasants, and subject nations would have fewer representatives, while the landlords and capitalists would have more. After 1907 the Duma continued to exist as an undemocratic assembly, without any real power. In practice, the October Manifesto was disregarded and Russia was once more an autocracy. Or rather, it was an oligarchy, ruled by a small clique of despotic officials and aristocrats, whom the Tsar allowed to conduct the government in his name.

**Autocracy Preserved.** — In some ways, the situation was even worse than before. (1) The Russification policy was more harshly applied than ever, especially against the Jews, who lived in constant terror of "pogroms." (2) The newspapers were so strictly censored that articles criticizing the government, and even news about famines or other calamities, could not be published. (3) The "intellectuals" were spied upon and persecuted. Many authors were thrown into jail for having written "dangerous" books. (4) Persons accused by the secret police of being revolutionists were sentenced to death, prison, or exile, without even the form of a fair trial.

**Continuance of Popular Opposition.** — Nevertheless, the forces of opposition to the Tsar were growing stronger during the period between 1907 and the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. For one thing, the mere fact that there was a weak and undemocratic Duma made the people desire all the more keenly that the Duma should be made democratic and given more power. In the second place, the peasants became better organized, as coöperative associations were formed

among them.<sup>1</sup> In the third place, workingmen in the cities were also better organized, and big strikes were becoming more common. In the summer of 1914 there was a great strike in Petrograd, the strikers were rioting, and it seemed as though the events of 1905 were about to be repeated. The storm-clouds of revolution were again threatening. This was the situation when the Great War came in 1914.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What nationalities were included in the Russian Empire?
2. What were the most noteworthy Russian traditions or policies in the nineteenth century?
3. What were the causes and results of the Crimean War? Of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878? Of the Russo-Japanese War?
4. What was the policy of "Russification"? How was the policy applied to the Poles? To the Finns? To the Ukrainians? To the Lithuanians? To the Esths and Letts? To the Jews? What was the attitude of the subject nationalities toward this policy?
5. Who was Nicholas I, and how did he seek to suppress "liberalism"?
6. What reforms did Alexander II undertake?
7. Discuss the growth of revolutionary sentiments in Russia under Alexander II, defining Nihilism, Anarchism, and Terrorism.
8. If Alexander II was a type of "liberal" Tsar and Nicholas I a type of reactionary Tsar, which type did Alexander III more closely resemble? Which type did Nicholas II resemble?
9. Upon what theories was Russian autocracy based?
10. What was the condition of the Russian peasants in the first half of the nineteenth century? What was done in 1861 to improve their condition? Why was the reform of 1861 unsatisfactory?
11. Why were the *zemstvos* established? What were they? Were they of much benefit to the people?
12. What Russian political party in the twentieth century demanded radical reforms in favor of the peasants?
13. Discuss the Industrial Revolution in Russia. When did it begin? In what respects did it differ from the Industrial Revolution in England,

<sup>1</sup> The coöperative associations lent the peasants money on reasonable terms, bought agricultural implements for them, maintained stores to sell goods at cost price, and marketed the farm products better than the individual farmer could do.



France, and Germany? How did it strengthen popular opposition to autocracy?

14. Why was a revolution attempted in 1905? Why did it fail? Was anything obtained by it?

15. Describe the form of government that existed in Russia from 1906 to 1914. Compare it with the French, English, and German governments.

16. What were the chief political parties in Russia during the decade before the Great War?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

✓ **The Crimean War.** BEAZLEY, *Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks*, 419-425; FYFFE, *Modern Europe*, III, ch. iii.

✓ **San Stefano and the Berlin Congress.** BEAZLEY, *Russia*, 457-464; ROSE, *European Nations*, I, 264-298.

**Polish Revolt of 1863.** PHILLIPS, *Poland*, 125-149.

**Russification.** PHILLIPS, *Poland*, 149-176; *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, 334-339.

**Why Russian intellectual leaders became revolutionists.** A. S. BLACKWELL, *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution*, 1-40; KROPOTKIN, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*.

**Emancipation of the serfs.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 345-352; OGG, *Economic Development*, 318-328; SCHAPIRO, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, 507-513; BEAZLEY, *Russia*, 423-430, 475-478.

**Rural life.** OLGIN, *Soul of the Russian Revolution*, 25-36.

✓ **Industry and trade.** OGG, *Economic Development*, 329-339; OLGIN, *Soul of the Russian Revolution*, 11-24.

✓ **The Revolution of 1905-1906.** ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 373-391; BEAZLEY, *Russia*, 525-536; OLGIN, *Soul of the Russian Revolution*, 134-168.

**The Duma.** BEAZLEY, *Russia*, 536-549; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 375-378.

**Expansion in Asia.** BEAZLEY, *Russia*, 453-456, 499-508, 516-522; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 354-359.

**Nihilism.** ROSE, *European Nations*, I, 344-354; SKRINE, *Expansion of Russia*, II, 219-221; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 353-354.

**Prison and exile.** OLGIN, *Soul of the Russian Revolution*, ch. xxxi; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 354-361.

**The Jews.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 471-472; SKRINE, *Expansion of Russia*, 275-277; ROSE, *European Nations*, I, 362-364; ROBINSON AND BEARD, *Readings*, II, 371-372; *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, 339-341.

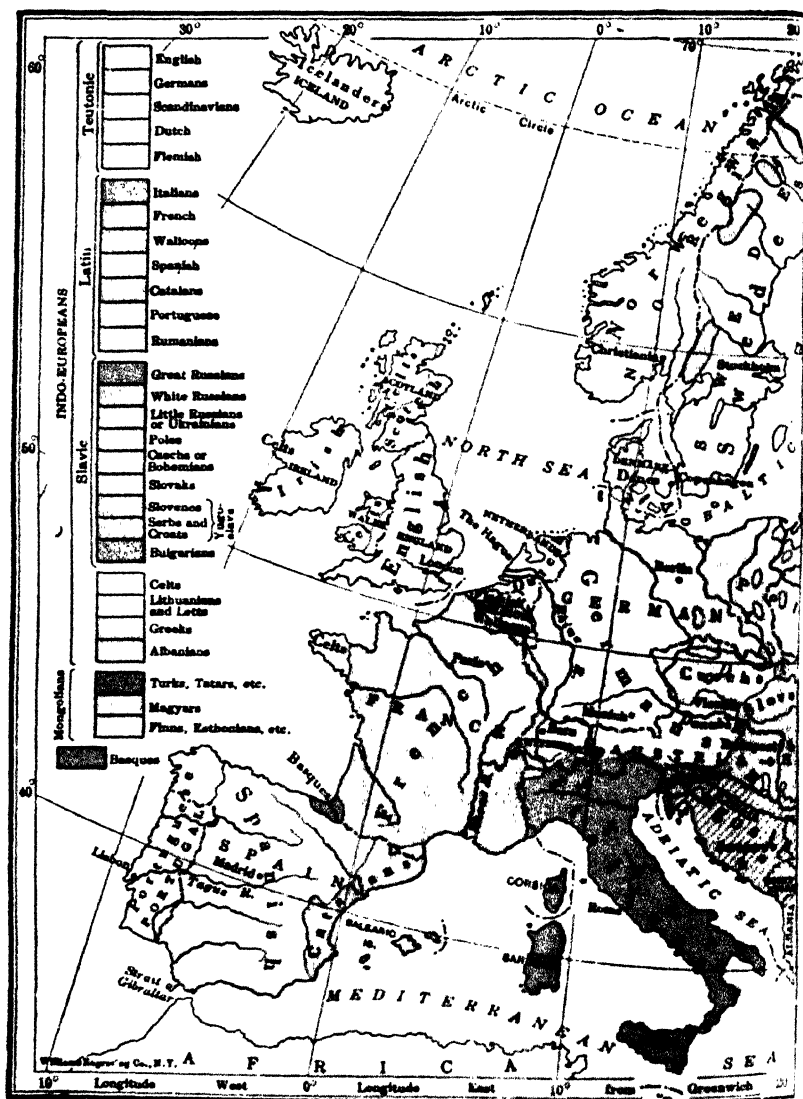
**Russian literature.** *Cambridge Modern History*, XI, 648-652; W. L. PHELPS, *Essays on Russian Novelists*.

**ADDITIONAL REFERENCES**

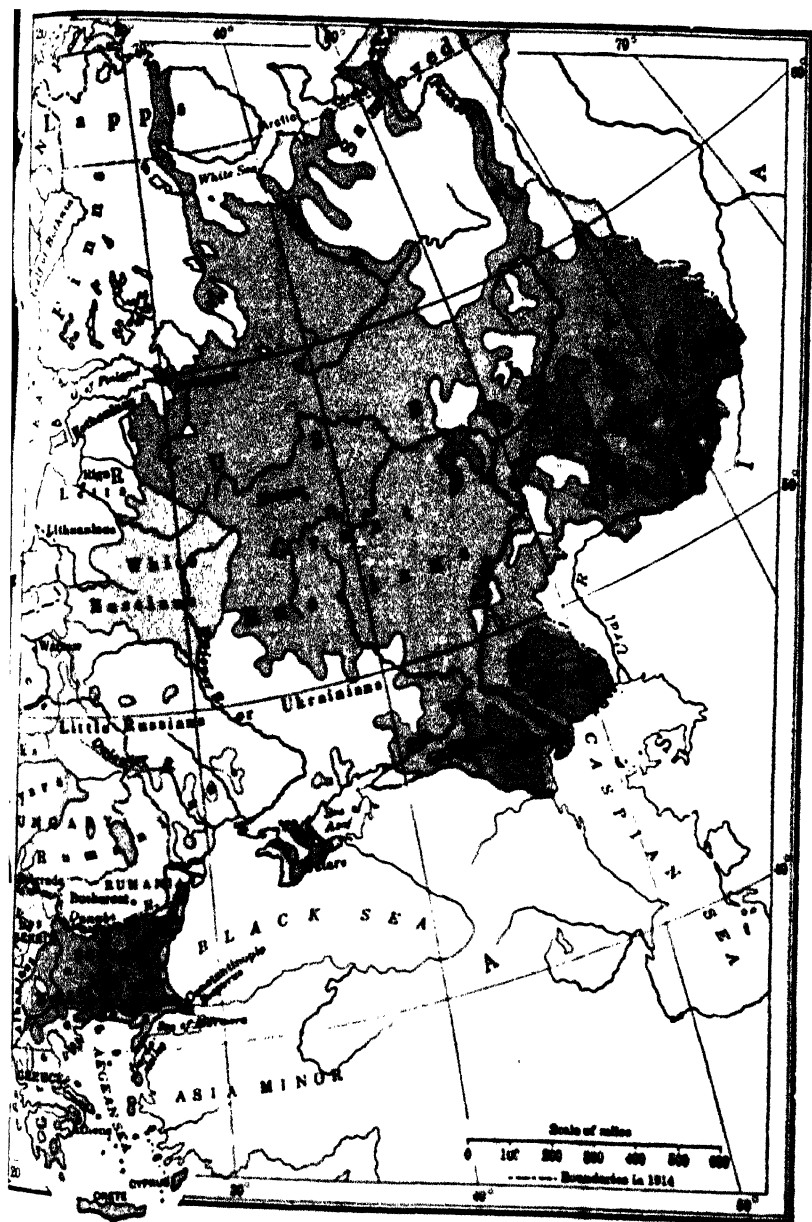
HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, ch. xxv; SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, ch. xix; MAVOR, *Economic History of Russia*; OLGIN, *Soul of the Russian Revolution*; WALLACE, *Russia*

**HISTORICAL FICTION**

TURGENEV, *The Diary of a Sportsman*; *Rudin*; *Fathers and Sons*;  
TOLSTOI, *Anna Karenina*; *The Invader*.



EUROPEAN NATIONALITIES ACCORDING TO



PREVAILING LANGUAGES IN 1914

## CHAPTER XX

### SUBJECT NATIONALITIES STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

#### WHAT SELF-DETERMINATION MEANS

**Self-determination, an Expression of Popular Sovereignty.** — The term "self-determination" was coined only a few years ago, but it describes something that is much older. It means the right of the people of any country to decide for themselves how they shall be governed and by whom.

The earlier chapters of this book have shown how this idea gradually developed. The story may be reviewed in a few words. In the days of autocratic monarchs, who claimed a "divine right" to their thrones, self-determination was of course entirely out of the question, and people were handed about from sovereign to sovereign like dumb cattle. However, the idea that the people themselves were sovereign — that the people could overthrow one ruler and set up another — was successfully put into practice by the English revolutions of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century the idea was carried further by the American Declaration of Independence, which proclaimed the right of the people in a given area to establish an entirely new government if they chose to do so. A few years later, as we have seen, the French people by their Revolution of 1789-1795, claimed a similar right to determine their own form of government, and urged all the peoples of Europe to do the same. By the nineteenth century, the principle of self-determination was becoming popular in many countries, although men like Metternich and most autocratic monarchs attempted in vain to strangle it.

During the nineteenth century this idea that there was such a thing as a "right" of self-determination was employed in two ways: first, nations like France, which already enjoyed independence, exercised the right of self-determination in order to establish more democratic forms of government (this was the aim of the French revolutions of 1830, 1848, and 1870); and second, nations which did not have independence exercised the right of self-determination for the purpose of obtaining national independence. In other words, self-determination could be used to promote either democracy or nationalism. It is this second kind of self-determination, "national self-determination," that we are to study in this chapter.

**Connection of Self-determination with "Nationalism."**—At the very start it will be wise to form a clear idea of what nationalism meant, and this can be done best by reviewing what was said about it in Chapter V. As Chapter V explained, the sentiment of national patriotism first came into existence four or five centuries ago, when people who were subject to the same king began to realize that they really belonged together, since they spoke the same language and had the same customs, manners, and traditions, while people of other lands had different languages and customs. The English and the French began to become conscious that they were "nations" about the fifteenth century. A little later, the same kind of patriotism developed in most of the other States of western Europe, namely, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. In each of these States, national patriotism could easily develop because the bulk of the people in the state spoke one language, different from the languages of neighboring countries. Thus most of western Europe, long before the nineteenth century, was composed of "National States." It is easy to see how the idea would grow up that every large body of people with a language of its own was really a "nation" and ought to form a political unit, a National State, with a government of its own.

But in central and eastern and southeastern Europe the situation was quite the opposite, in the first half of the nineteenth century. As the reader will remember, there were then over thirty German States instead of one German National State. Italy was likewise badly divided. And there were three great empires, the Austrian, Russian, and Turkish empires, each of which contained at least half a dozen "nations" or would-be nations.

A "Nation" and a "Nationality."—Would-be nations, or groups of people having a separate language of their own but not having an independent national government, we may call "nationalities," in order to avoid confusion. In order to become a real "nation," a "nationality" would have to win its independence and establish its own National State. That is to say, it would have to exercise the right of self-determination.

The desire of subject nationalities for self-determination was greatly strengthened by the events of the Napoleonic period, as we saw in Chapter XIII. This was especially true of the Germans and the Italians. And the success which crowned the struggles of the Germans and of the Italians for national independence, between the years 1848 and 1871, stimulated other nationalities to claim the same right of self-determination.

**Basis of Claims for National Self-determination.**—It is interesting to compare the reasons given by the various nationalities or would-be nations to justify their claim to self-determination. Czechoslovaks, Irish, Greeks, Finns, Poles, Lithuanians, and Yugoslavs—all used very similar arguments. In fact, they were so similar that it is quite easy to make out a standard list of them, as follows:

(1) *Foreign Oppression.*—Usually the would-be nation claimed—with much truth—that it was being oppressed by the foreign government to which it was subject. Patriotic leaders often described the nationality's plight as "slavery," though of course this description was not literally true.

(2) *Distinctive Language.* — Equally common was the claim that the nationality was entitled to independence because it possessed a native language of its own, different from all other languages. In many cases this native language had been spoken only by the ignorant peasants and scorned by the upper classes, until in the nineteenth century a number of writers or professors began to declare that the old native language and the ancient folk-songs in the native tongue were very beautiful, and that preserving the native language ought to be a matter of pride. Then, in most cases, there would be a campaign in favor of the language; books and newspapers would be published in the native tongue; and soon the formerly despised language would be regarded as a priceless possession, a symbol of nationalism, a proof of the right to national self-determination.

(3) *Peculiar Customs.* — Usually this revival of the national language was accompanied by a revival of pride in the peculiar customs, manners, folk-dances, folk-songs, etc., of the common people. For these things too helped to prove that the would-be nation was really different from other peoples. Thus, the Irish leaders encouraged people to dance the old Irish dances and wear the old national costume of kilts, as badges of national patriotism.

(4) *Race.* — Often the advocates of self-determination went still farther, and asserted that the nationality had descended from common ancestors and was therefore united by ties of blood-relationship. In other words, it was racially different from other nations. This argument, however, was usually untrue, because most "nations" are mixtures. As far as ancestry goes, some of the present-day Greeks are doubtless descendants of the ancient Greeks, but many have non-Greek blood in their veins and may be closer blood-relatives of Albanians, Slavs, and other foreign nationalities than of their own fellow-countrymen.

(5) *Religion.* — In some cases religion strengthened the national feeling. Thus the Irish were mostly Catholics,



whereas their British rulers were mainly Protestants. Similarly, the Poles as Catholics objected to being ruled by a Protestant German Government or an Orthodox Russian Tsar. Similarly, the Greek Christians hated the Turkish Mohammedans.

(6) *Common Economic Interests.* — Economic interests, too, often were important, because the peasants and the businessmen belonging to an unfree nationality believed they would be better off if the nation were independent and could establish its own tariff, promote its own industries, etc.

(7) *Geographical Unity.* — In most cases, also, the leaders of the nationality claimed that the area inhabited by their people was a natural geographical unit, marked off from other countries by natural boundaries such as rivers, mountains, or seas. Thus the Irish claimed that their island was designed to be a separate state; thus the Poles declared their land to be a geographical unit. There were almost always two sides to such arguments. And, besides, it is at least doubtful whether mountain ranges and rivers were made for the special purpose of dividing humanity up into National States.

(8) *Common Historical Traditions.* — History provided many of the favorite arguments. Most would-be nations could point back to some time in the distant past when their country had been independent and glorious. Thus the Greeks treasured the memory of the glory of ancient Athens, the Poles recalled their former greatness, the Irish reminded England that Ireland had been free in the Middle Ages, and the Yugoslavs took pride in the fact that there had once been a powerful Yugoslav empire in the fourteenth century, even though it lasted only a few years. Unfortunately, if every nationality were to be entitled to all the lands it had ever possessed at any time in the past, there is hardly a square inch of territory which would not have several rightful owners.

(9) *Special Mission.* — Finally, the leaders of each would-be nation claimed that their nationality in some way or other

was better than all others. Either it was braver in battle, or more virtuous, or more talented, or more poetic, or more sensible, or more civilized. Almost every would-be nation believed that it had some special mission to fulfill, some particular idea to carry out.

**Universal Nineteenth-century Demand for National Self-determination.** — The foregoing nine reasons explain in a general way the almost universal demand for self-determination that arose among the subject nationalities in Europe during the nineteenth century. There were at least two dozen such nationalities. Most of them, as we said before, were in eastern and southeastern Europe, where the three great empires of Austria, Russia, and Turkey stood as opponents of national self-determination.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Austrian and Russian Empires were sufficiently strong so that national self-determination could not make much headway among the nationalities subject to them. The Turkish Empire, however, was weaker, and four<sup>1</sup> of its subject nationalities — the Greeks, the Yugoslavs, the Rumanians, and the Bulgarians — succeeded in emancipating themselves during the century before the Great War of 1914. How these four nationalities won freedom is told in the following section.

#### THE BALKAN NATIONALITIES WIN FREEDOM FROM TURKEY

**The Ottoman (Turkish) Empire.** — At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Greeks, the Bulgarians, most of the Rumanians, and about half of the Yugoslavs were in the position of conquered peoples under the rule of the Turkish Sultan or Emperor, whose capital was at Constantinople and whose authority extended not only over the whole Balkan Peninsula in Europe but also over Asia Minor, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis.

<sup>1</sup> A fifth nationality, Albania, was made independent in 1912-1913, but it was too small and weak to be worth our attention here.



CONSTANTINOPLE

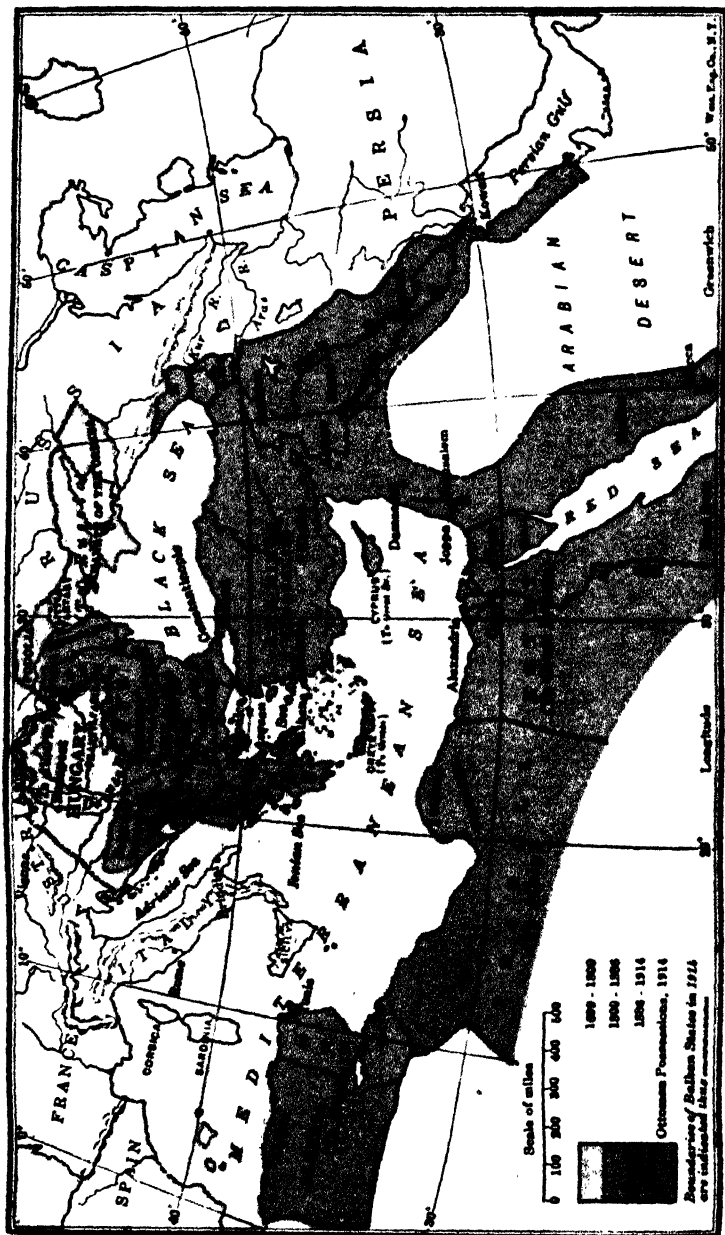
This picture taken from an old engraving, shows the city as it was a century or so ago.

This great Empire had been built up centuries ago by a half-civilized, warlike tribe, the Ottoman Turks, who had originally come from some part of central Asia. They were Mohammedans in religion, and believed it a religious duty to conquer and rule all non-Mohammedans. By bloody wars, they had brought the above-mentioned Christian nationalities of the Balkan Peninsula under their sway. The bulk of the population in European Turkey consisted of these conquered Christians, mostly poor peasants, while the ruling class consisted of Mohammedans, that is, Turks.

*Weakness of Turkey.* — The Turkish government, in the nineteenth century, was not only despotic but also inefficient and weak. At the head of the government was an autocratic Sultan or Emperor, who was oftentimes inclined to show less interest in government than in his numerous wives (for it was the custom for the Sultan to have a large number of wives in his "harem"). His officials were often greedy for bribes and indifferent to their duties. In short, the Turkish government in the nineteenth century was rotten through and through.

*Freedom Won by Yugoslavs: Establishment of Serbia.* — Against the Turkish government, the Yugoslavs were the first to rebel successfully. The Yugoslavs were a Christian nationality, speaking a language somewhat similar to Russian, Polish, and other "Slav" tongues. In fact "Yugoslav" means "South Slav." In anger because a number of their fellow Christians had been massacred by Turkish soldiers the peasants in one of the Yugoslav provinces took up arms, defeated the Turks, and established a Yugoslav state called Serbia, with a native Prince (1817). But Serbia was not yet completely independent. The Prince was still subordinate to the Turkish Sultan, and Turkish garrisons were kept in Serbian towns. Not until 1878 was Turkey compelled (chiefly by Russia<sup>1</sup>) to grant Serbia complete independence. A few years later the Prince assumed the title of King.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 554.



DISMEMBERMENT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1699-1914

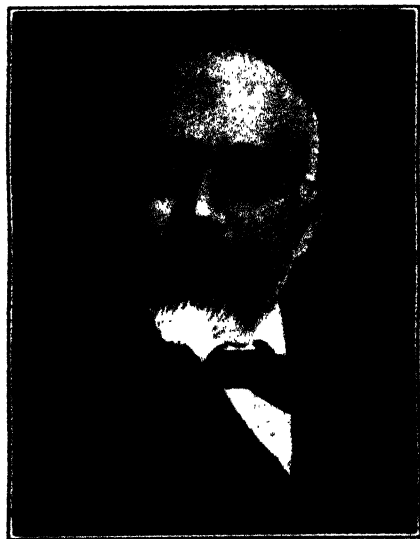
*Expansion of Serbia.* — From 1878 to 1912 Serbia remained a very small independent kingdom, embracing only a fifth or a sixth of the Yugoslav nationality. In 1912, however, she joined with three other little kingdoms (Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro), which had by that time become independent, in a war against Turkey. So successful were the allies, that they drove the Turks out of the whole region of Macedonia—a region in which the Turks had been particularly cruel in their treatment of the Christians. The allies promptly quarreled over the spoils, and a second war ensued in 1913. As a result of this second war, Serbia gained even more than her share; she just about doubled her size. Not a single Yugoslav remained under Turkish rule.

Yet even then the process of self-determination for the Yugoslavs was very far from complete. In all, there were twelve or thirteen million Yugoslavs, and of these only four and a half million were included in Serbia. A small number, less than half a million, dwelt in the tiny kingdom of Montenegro, perched up high on the mountains west of Serbia. Seven million or so were in the southwestern provinces of Austria-Hungary. To wrest these provinces from the powerful Habsburg Emperor seemed an impossible task for so small a state as Serbia. Yugoslav self-determination could not go much farther unless the Austrian Empire were destroyed.

*Freedom Won by Greeks.* — The second Balkan nationality to rise against the Turks was Greece. The desire for self-determination among the Greeks, or Hellenes, had been awakened at the close of the eighteenth century, partly by the ideas of the French Revolution, and partly by the work of Greek literary men, who published the ancient Greek literature in popular editions and revived the people's pride in the glory of the ancient Greek city-states. Early in the nineteenth century an "Association of Friends" was formed with the aim of expelling the Turks from Europe. By a member of this association the signal for revolt was given in 1821: "Hellenes, the hour has struck!" The revolutionists bravely held

a national assembly, issued a declaration of independence, drew up a constitution, and elected a president. With the help of Russia, France, and England,<sup>1</sup> they won freedom, but these three Great Powers insisted that the new state should be a monarchy and they selected a young German prince as King (1832).

The Greeks, however, disliked their German King and, thirty years later, exercised the right of self-determination by driving him out of the country. As his successor they elected a son of Queen Victoria of England. Again the Great Powers interfered, and this time chose a Dane to be Greek King. Nevertheless the Greeks were allowed to adopt a constitution which made the monarchy very democratic — the most democratic kingdom then in existence.



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VENIZELOS

The patriotic Greek statesman who guided his country through the Balkan wars.

#### *The Kingdom of Greece.*

— At this time the Kingdom of Greece had probably less than two million inhabitants and included less than a third of the Greek nationality. Several

million “unredeemed” Greeks still remained to be emancipated from Turkish rule. The kingdom was but a part of the “Greater Greece” which patriots hoped to build. It was a courageous and diplomatic Greek prime minister by the name of Venizelos who, like Cavour in Italy, accomplished the task of uniting his nationality. By joining Serbia and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 440.

Bulgaria in a war against Turkey in 1912, and then by fighting a second war, in alliance with Serbia, against Bulgaria, he added to Greece the large island of Crete, several islands along the coast of Asia Minor, and a large extension of territory on the mainland, including a considerable part of Macedonia and Thrace. By this stroke of diplomacy, two million "unredeemed" Greeks were redeemed and incorporated in the Kingdom in 1913.

After this success, some of the Greeks dreamed of acquiring from Turkey the province of Smyrna (on the coast of Asia Minor) and Thrace (the region between Constantinople and Macedonia) and perhaps even Constantinople itself, although probably in none of these places were the Greeks a majority of the population.

**Freedom Won by Rumanians.** — We may now turn to Rumania, the third of the nationalities which shook off the Turkish yoke. The Rumanians claimed to be descendants of the Roman colonists who had settled in the region north of the Danube River in ancient times. As a matter of fact, the modern Rumanians are probably of mixed blood, although they show some resemblance to the Italians and speak a language derived from ancient Latin. In the early nineteenth century, when their desire for national self-determination began to awaken, they found themselves divided as follows: (1) The most important part of their territory consisted of two principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia) subject to the Turkish Sultan. What happened to these principalities will be told in the next paragraph. (2) Another large section (Transylvania and Bukovina) had been annexed by the Austrian Habsburg Emperor and remained under his rule until 1918. (3) The third part, namely Bessarabia, had been conquered by Russia and was not regained until 1918.

The desire for self-determination was greatly stimulated in Moldavia and Wallachia by French ideas, since the Rumanian nobles usually sent their sons to be educated in Paris.



When the Revolution of 1848 occurred in France, the Rumanians likewise revolted, but without success. Ten years later, the two Rumanian principalities voted to unite. As one of their leaders declared, "We have the same origin as our brothers, the same name and language, the same faith and history, the same institutions, laws, and customs; we share the same hopes and fears." The Great Powers of Europe were stupid enough to forbid their union. The Rumanians, however, adopted a clever trick; they elected the same man (Alexander John Cuza) to be Prince of both principalities. Two years later, in 1861, this Prince formally proclaimed that the two principalities were united into one state, Rumania. "The Rumanian nation is founded," he declared. And this time the Great Powers gave their consent, though it was not until 1878 that the complete independence of Rumania was recognized.<sup>1</sup>

*The Kingdom of Rumania.* — Prince Alexander John Cuza endeavored to make Rumania a second France. He founded universities, he abolished feudal dues, he gave land to the peasants, he introduced the Napoleonic codes of law. Perhaps his reforms were too hasty. At any rate, the nobles and politicians deposed him in 1866 and invited Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, a relative of the King of Prussia, to take the throne. Though Charles had never heard of Rumania before, he looked it up on the map and decided that becoming the ruler of this new country would be an interesting adventure. He ruled Rumania for almost fifty years (as Prince from 1866 to 1881 and as King from 1881 to 1914), and under his administration the country became the strongest and most prosperous of all the Balkan states. In 1914 Rumania had almost eight million people. However, there were still one million Rumanians living under Russian rule in Bessarabia and more than three millions under Austro-Hungarian domination in Transylvania, Bukovina, and neighboring

<sup>1</sup> By the Congress of Berlin at the close of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. See p. 551.

provinces. The task of self-determination was not yet completed.

**Freedom Won by Bulgarians.** — Finally, we come to the youngest of the four Balkan nations, Bulgaria. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century, few Europeans had ever heard of the Bulgarians, as the people living in the region between the Danube River and the Aegean Sea are now



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BULGARIAN WOMEN SPINNING FLAX

called. These people were thought to be Greeks, because the language used in their churches was Greek. But outside of church, the people spoke a Slavic language, similar to, but not identical with, Yugoslav. During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the Bulgarians began to found schools to teach this language; they broke away from the Greek Orthodox Church and formed a separate Bulgarian Church; and they grew eager for self-determination.

Before long they won the sympathy of people all over Europe. They revolted against the Turks in 1875 and when the Turks took revenge by massacring thousands of Bulgarian peasants, these massacres provided one of the reasons why Russia attacked Turkey in 1877. As the "big brother" of the Balkan nationalities, Russia forced Turkey to agree that the Bulgarians should be given home-rule, under a Christian Prince. England and Austria-Hungary, however, stepped in to veto this plan, and as a result, in 1878, the country was divided into three sections, one of which was left entirely under Turkish rule, the second was to be a Turkish province under a Christian governor, and the third an almost independent principality paying tribute to the Turkish Sultan.

This third section, the principality of Bulgaria, adopted a democratic Constitution (providing for a parliament elected by all adult male citizens) and waited for an opportunity to tear up the Treaty of 1878. Seven years later (1885), the people of the second province drove out their Turkish officials and united with the principality. Still later, in 1908, when Turkey happened to be in the midst of a revolution, the Prince of Bulgaria declared he would no longer pay tribute to the Sultan, and assumed the title of Tsar of the independent Kingdom of Bulgaria.

**The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913.** — Hoping to liberate the remaining third of the Bulgarian nationality from Turkey, Bulgaria took part in the Balkan War of 1912, with Greece and Serbia as her allies, and drove the Turks back almost to Constantinople. However, as we have already seen in connection with Serbia and Greece, a dispute arose among the allies over the division of the conquered territory, and Bulgaria too ambitiously began a second war, in 1913, this time against Serbia and Greece, her former allies, who were joined by Turkey and Rumania. Bulgaria was simply overwhelmed by her four enemies. The result was that she lost a small strip of territory (part of Dobrudja) in the north

to Rumania, while in the south part of the territory won in 1912 was lost again to Turkey and most of the remainder was taken by Serbia and Greece. Bulgaria's net gains by these two Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 were ten thousand square miles, including an arm of territory which reached down to the Aegean Sea. Needless to say, the Bulgarians felt bitterly disappointed, because Serbia and Greece had taken certain provinces (in Macedonia) which were inhabited by people of Bulgarian nationality — at least so the Bulgarians claimed.

**Dismemberment of the Turkish Empire.** — By 1914 four national states had arisen in the Balkans, and Turkey had been left with only a small region around Constantinople as the remnant of her former large empire in Europe. Also, we might add, Turkey had lost her African possessions of Tunis (to France), Tripoli (to Italy), and Egypt (to England).<sup>1</sup> In Asia, the Empire was still intact, although a desire for self-determination was beginning to arise among the Armenians (in the eastern part of Asia Minor) and also among the Arabs (in Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia).

**Nationalism among the Turks: the "Young Turk" Revolution of 1908.** — The Turks themselves caught something of the spirit of nationalism that was in the air everywhere. Early in the twentieth century a secret organization of "Young Turks" arose, whose aim was to make Turkey a progressive national state, with a constitution and a strong sense of national patriotism, just like the nations of western Europe. In the year 1908 these enthusiastic reformers seized power by means of a revolution. They established a parliament for the Turkish Empire, deposed the too conservative Sultan, put a more manageable man on the throne in his place, and proclaimed a Constitution. At first it was thought that the Young Turks were inaugurating a new era of liberty and progress in the backward empire. Soon, however, it became apparent that they cared less for liberty than for na-

<sup>1</sup> Egypt had become practically a British protectorate, although still paying tribute to the Turkish Empire.

tionalism. They were determined to make the empire thoroughly Turkish by "Turkifying" the non-Turkish races — that is forcing all to use the Turkish language — and by harshly persecuting people who refused to be Turks. "Turki-



A TURKISH LETTER WRITER

fication" was very much like "Russification" in spirit and methods. If anything, it was more unjust and more cruel.

The Young Turks were disastrously unsuccessful in their patriotism. They were unable to prevent Bulgaria from achieving independence in 1908, as we have seen, or to prevent Austria-Hungary from annexing the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the same year. They lost Tripoli to Italy in the Turco-Italian War of

1911. The following year, they were defeated by the allied Balkan nations and compelled to relinquish most of Turkey's European territory. Besides, there were revolts in Arabia. No wonder, then, that they turned more and more to the strongest military Power in Europe — Germany — for assistance in reorganizing the Turkish Empire. German military officers were invited to aid in reforming the Turkish army. The most influential Young Turk leaders became increasingly pro-German. Turkey, by 1914, was preparing, with German help, to recover her military prestige.

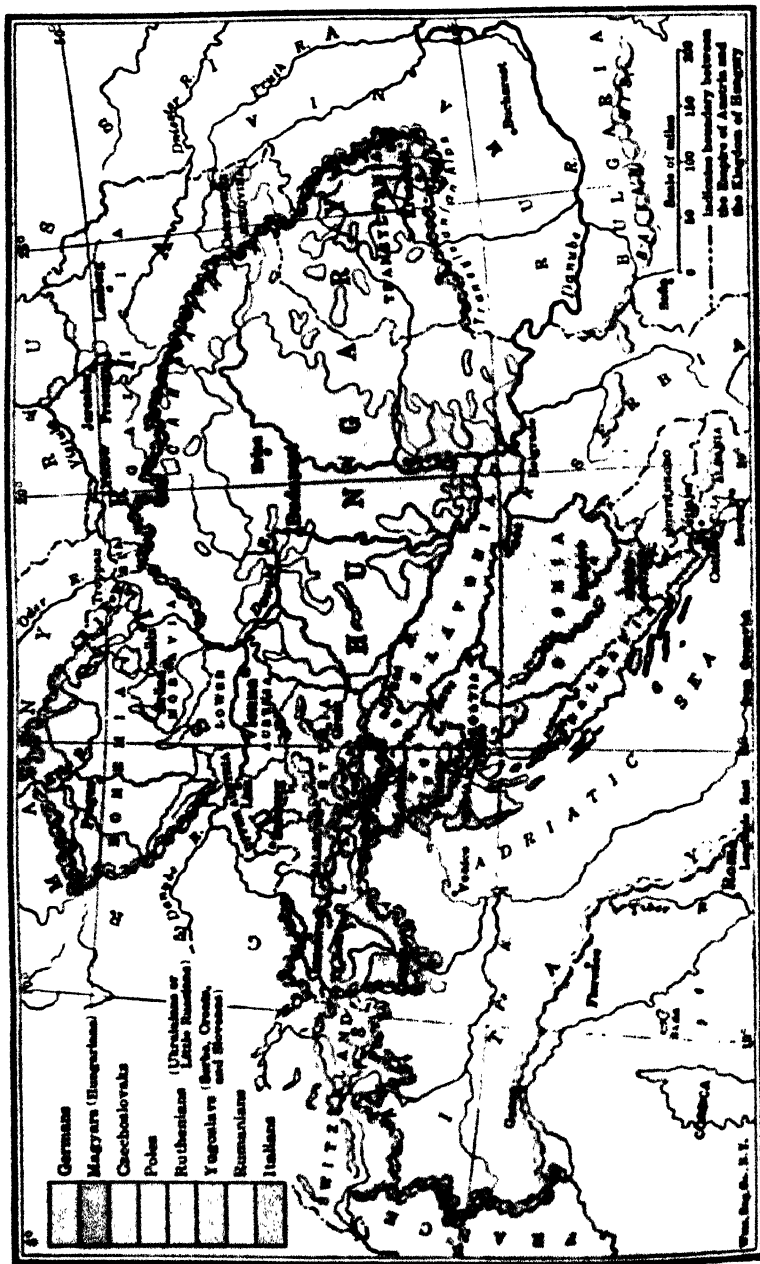
**SELF-DETERMINATION IS CHECKED IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND  
RUSSIA**

Like Turkey, Austria-Hungary was an empire composed of many nationalities, but, unlike Turkey, Austria-Hungary was strong enough to hold the self-determination movement in check, at least during the period from 1867 to 1914.

**Nationalism in the Habsburg Empire.**— Before 1867, as we learned in Chapters XVII and XVIII, the Habsburg Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph,<sup>1</sup> had lost his grip on Germany and Italy, by the wars of 1859 and 1866. But he still possessed a large empire composed of Germans, Magyars (Hungarians), Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, Poles, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Rumanians, and a small number of Italians. This empire he was determined to preserve and enlarge.

**The Hungarians and the Compromise of 1867.**— At first the chief trouble of Francis Joseph was with the Magyars or Hungarians, who inhabited the broad and fertile Hungarian plain in the Danube Valley. The Hungarians showed a very strong spirit of self-determination. As Chapter XVIII explained, they once attempted, in 1848-1849, to establish an independent Hungarian Republic. Their republican government was crushed by force of arms, in 1849, but force could not entirely destroy the Hungarian desire for self-government. A shrewd and practical Hungarian politician, Francis Déak, persuaded his fellow-countrymen that it would be better to work for home rule by peaceful methods than to risk another violent revolution. So strong was his influence that he was able to keep the Hungarians from rebelling even during the Seven Weeks' War of 1866, when the Austrian Emperor was defeated by Prussia. After this war, the Emperor rewarded the Hungarians for their pa-

<sup>1</sup> Francis Joseph, the outstanding representative of the Habsburg family in the nineteenth century, came to the throne of the Austrian Empire in 1848 when he was eighteen years of age. His reign, which lasted until 1916, was one of the longest in European history.



NATIONALITIES IN THE DUAL MONARCHY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1867-1918

tience by giving his consent to an agreement called the "Compromise" (or *Ausgleich*, in German) of 1867. According to this famous Compromise, Hungary was to be a separate kingdom, with a constitution and a parliament and a cabinet of its own, and was to have complete control of its own affairs. The King of Hungary, however, was to be the same person as the Emperor of Austria.

**The Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.** — Thus the Austrian Empire became in 1867 the "Dual Monarchy" of Austria-Hungary, and the joint ruler became the "Emperor-King." Moreover, certain affairs such as foreign relations, war, and some financial matters were to be managed by joint ministers representing both Hungary and Austria. These joint ministers were responsible to a sort of joint parliament known as the "Delegations." The Delegations really consisted of two separate committees of sixty members each, one of the committees being elected by the Austrian parliament and the other elected by the Hungarian parliament. The Austrian committee used the German language and the Hungarians used their own tongue, Magyar. Such arrangements as these made the Hungarians feel that they were treated as the equals of the Austrians.

On the whole the "Compromise of 1867" worked surprisingly well as the Constitution of the Dual Monarchy from 1867 to 1918. Nevertheless, it was not entirely satisfactory. There were special difficulties about the treaties on commerce, taxes, and railways. These treaties had to be renewed every ten years, and when the time for renewal came there was usually a good deal of bickering and wrangling. The Austrians, on one hand, felt that Emperor Francis Joseph had been too lenient when he allowed Hungary's share of the joint expenses to be fixed at only thirty per cent, in the original treaties. Finally, in 1907, the Austrians succeeded in having Hungary's share increased to thirty-six and four-tenths per cent. On the other hand, greater economic and military independence for Hungary was demanded by the



**Hungarian Independence Party** led by Francis Kossuth (the son of Louis Kossuth, the famous leader of the Hungarian revolution of 1848). For example, Kossuth believed that there should be separate national banks for Austria and Hungary, instead of a joint Austro-Hungarian bank at Vienna. He also demanded that the Magyar language should be used for all commands and orders in the Hungarian part of the army; but the Emperor-King insisted upon one language, German, for the entire army. This discontentment on the part of the Hungarians should be borne in mind by the reader, because it will help to explain why Hungary revolted and declared her absolute independence in 1918, at the close of the Great War.

**Oppression of Subject Nationalities in Hungary.** — While they cherished their own rights with the utmost pride, the Magyars or Hungarians ruthlessly trampled upon the rights of the other nationalities that were unfortunate enough to be included in the Kingdom of Hungary. In the mountainous eastern part of the kingdom, chiefly in the region called Transylvania, there were about three million Rumanians, who were just as proud of their own national language and customs as the Hungarians were of theirs. In the southwest, between the Danube and the Adriatic Sea, were about three million Yugoslavs, who inhabited the province called Croatia-Slavonia and were just as eager as the Hungarians for home rule.<sup>1</sup> And on the hilly northern fringe of the Hungarian plain dwelt about two million Czechoslovaks, who were gradually becoming more and more eager for the establishment of a self-governing Czechoslovakia. All these nationalities were treated as subject races by the proud Hungarians. Only the Hungarian language, Magyar, could be used in the public schools and in the law courts. The Czechoslovaks and Rumanians were practically excluded from voting and from political offices. In fact, out of over four hundred members in

<sup>1</sup> A very moderate kind of home rule was granted by Hungary to Croatia.

the undemocratic Chamber of Deputies, all but about ten were Hungarians, although the other nationalities composed more than half of the entire population and should therefore have had half of the members in the Chamber. Any one who attempted to stir up discontent among the subject nationalities was sure to land in jail. Rumanian schoolboys, on one occasion at least, were expelled from school merely for speaking their own language in the street. Once a nurse maid was



THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT BUDAPEST

clapped into prison for allowing a three-year-old child to wear a bow of ribbon with the Rumanian national colors. To such lengths the Hungarians were willing to go, in order to hold the subject nationalities in subjection. A celebrated Hungarian patriot once said, when some one pleaded for more liberal treatment of the subject nationalities, "No, let the sword decide between us." In the Great War of 1914, as we shall see, the sword did decide.

**The Other Half of the Habsburg Dual Monarchy: Austria.** — In the other half of the monarchy, that is, in the Empire of

Austria, conditions were better. To be sure, the ten million German inhabitants of Austria had the upper hand in the government, although they constituted only about thirty-five per cent of the population; and some of the German leaders were very anxious to make Austria as German as possible. Nevertheless, social reforms were adopted, the subject nationalities were given some voice in the government, and progress was made toward democracy. In the 1880's a series of laws were passed by which child labor was limited, Sunday work was forbidden, the working-day was reduced to eleven hours in factories and ten hours in mines, trade unions were legalized, and workmen were insured against accidents and illness. Political reforms, also, were adopted. In 1861 there had been established in each of Austria's seventeen provinces a provincial legislature (or "diet") which was elected mainly by the wealthy landlords and merchants, but the poorer classes had at least a few representatives. These local legislatures elected representatives to a central House of Representatives at Vienna, the capital. The central government was conducted by the Emperor, his cabinet ministers, and a parliament (*Reichsrat*) consisting of a House of Lords and the above-mentioned House of Representatives. This was a fairly liberal form of government at the time it was adopted, in the 1860's, but as the years rolled by there arose a demand for more democracy. Accordingly, in 1907, a law was passed which gave every adult male citizen a vote in elections for the House of Representatives. The law also made it compulsory for every voter to use his ballot. As a result of this epoch-making democratic reform, the parties that demanded social reforms were greatly strengthened. In fact, two of the strongest parties in Austria were the Social Democrats, who upheld the Socialist principles of Karl Marx, and the Christian Socialists, a Catholic party that desired to pass laws in favor of the workingmen. In spite of the reforms which have just been mentioned, Austria continued to have much trouble with her *subject nationalities*.

(1) Particularly troublesome were the *Czechoslovaks*, who inhabited the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia in the northern part of the country, and who were constantly reminding the government that in bygone times Bohemia had been an independent kingdom, before it fell under Austrian rule. The Czechoslovaks were particularly anxious to have their language placed on at least an equal footing with German in the schools, courts, and administration of Bohemia. This matter was discussed in the Austrian parliament and caused such an angry debate that excited members of parliament began to throw inkwells at each other. So violent was the quarrel that the Emperor dissolved the parliament and for six years ruled without it.

(2) With the five million *Poles* in Galicia (the part of Poland which Austria had taken in the eighteenth century) the government had less difficulty. In fact, by permitting them to use the Polish language in their schools and by allowing them to manage their local government, the Austrian government won a considerable amount of gratitude and loyalty from the Poles. But even the most generous treatment could never make the Poles entirely forget that they belonged to a separate nationality which had once been independent and - if their dreams came true - would achieve liberty again.

(3) In the eastern part of the Polish province of Galicia there lived three and a half million *Ukrainians* (sometimes called Ruthenians) who spoke the same language as the many millions of Ukrainians in southern Russia. These people, mostly poor farmers, bitterly hated the Polish aristocrats, landlords, officials, and business men who controlled the government of Galicia. The Austrian government, therefore, was able to play the Ukrainians off against the Poles: "Divide and rule."

(4) Austria also held sway over a few fragments of the *Italian* people, although the bulk of the Italian nation had won independence in the years 1859-1866. After 1866

Austria continued to hold the mountainous region called Trent, north of Venice; also the valuable seaport of Trieste at the northern tip of the Adriatic Sea; and the peninsula of Istria, which lies between Trieste and Fiume. In all of these regions there were considerable Italian-speaking populations — about three-quarters of a million all told. These districts were regarded by Italian patriots as "Unredeemed Italy" (*Italia Irredenta*), that is to say, as territories which ought to be liberated from Austria and annexed to Italy.

(5) The Italian problem was complicated by the fact that, although part of Istria was populated by Italians, other parts were inhabited by a different nationality, the *Yugoslavs*, and the interior of the country back of Trieste and Istria was also inhabited largely by Yugoslavs. There were about two million of these Yugoslavs. In this case, just as in the case of the Poles and Ukrainians, the Austrian government was able to take advantage of the quarrels between the two subject nationalities and pursue the policy of "divide and rule."

**Austria-Hungary's Foreign Policies.** — Not content with the possession of such a "patchwork" empire, the Habsburg Emperor-King Francis Joseph and his ministers were eager to gain more lands. In 1868 they introduced compulsory military service in Austria-Hungary, in order to make sure that the army would be powerful. Ten years later, in 1878, they made their first step toward conquests in the Balkan peninsula, to the south of Austria-Hungary. In that year they sent an army into the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and henceforth Bosnia and Herzegovina were governed by Austria-Hungary, although they were still theoretically part of the Turkish Empire. This event was called the "occupation" of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This bold step made it necessary for Austria-Hungary to have strong allies on whom she could count in case her ambitious policy should arouse the enmity of other nations, especially of Russia. Accordingly, in 1879 Francis Joseph entered into an alliance

with Germany, and three years later, in 1882, he signed a Triple Alliance with Germany and Italy. For a number of years the Austro-Hungarian government waited, watching for an opportunity. Finally, in 1908, when a revolution occurred in Turkey, Austria-Hungary promptly annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus completing the step which had been begun in 1878. Unfortunately, most of the two million inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina were Yugoslavs, unwilling to accept Austro-Hungarian rule. As we have seen, Austria already had about two million Yugoslavs, and Hungary had three million; the total was brought up to seven million by the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But in the little independent Yugoslav Kingdom of Serbia, south of Austria, there were about three million Yugoslavs, who feared and hated the giant empire and dreamed of a future day when all the Yugoslavs would be freed from foreign rule. In the light of these facts, it is easy to see why the Austro-Hungarian government regarded Serbia as a thorn in the side of the empire. When Serbia engaged in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and conquered additional territory from Turkey, the Austrians and Hungarians were filled with resentment. The thorn was growing larger. Secretly the Austro-Hungarian government proposed to Italy that a blow should be struck at Serbia, before the latter became too ambitious and too strong. We shall return to the Yugoslav question again. It was one of the causes of the Great War and of Austria-Hungary's downfall.

**Summary of Nationalities in Austria-Hungary.** — Taken altogether, Austria and Hungary, with their joint possession of Bosnia-Herzegovina, embraced people of nine different nationalities. Two of these nationalities were in the saddle, namely, the twelve million Germans and the ten million Magyars or Hungarians. The Germans controlled Austria, and the Magyars ruled Hungary, according to the Compromise of 1867. The other seven nationalities might be called subject peoples. There were eight million Czechoslovaks,

seven million Yugoslavs, five million Poles, four million Ukrainians, three million Rumanians, and almost a million Italians. Thus twenty-eight million people belonging to subject nationalities were held down by twenty-two million Germans and Magyars. Quite naturally the latter were



*By courtesy of the Czechoslovak Consulate, New York*

#### SLOVAK PEASANT GIRL

in her best clothes. Each nation in eastern Europe has its own traditional costume and its peculiarities of dress.

unwilling to grant self-determination to the oppressed nationalities. Quite naturally, also, they feared the awakening of national consciousness among the Yugoslavs, Rumanians, Poles, and others.

#### **Pan-Slavism. —**

Most of all the Hungarians and German Austrians dreaded the rise of nationalism among the Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks. These two nationalities, as well as the Poles and Ukrainians, spoke languages quite similar to one another and closely related to the Russian language.

Russian, Czechoslovak, Polish, Ukrainian, Yugoslav, and also Bulgarian are called "Slavic" languages and the people who speak them are called Slavs. Among the Slavic nationalities the Russians endeavored to spread the idea that all Slavic peoples were kindred and that Russia was the natural leader and "big brother" of all other Slavs. This idea is called "Pan-Slavism." The Russian Pan-Slavists were especially sympathetic toward

the desire of the Yugoslavs for self-determination — possibly because Russia had no Yugoslavs to lose. Now if the Yugoslavs and perhaps other Slavic nationalities could count on Russian sympathy and perhaps even Russian aid, the rulers of Austria-Hungary might well tremble for the safety of their empire-kingdom. As we shall see later on, the Habsburg monarch's fear of Yugoslav self-determination and of Russian Pan-Slavism led him in 1914 to start a war — a war which unexpectedly destroyed, not Yugoslav self-determination, but the Habsburg monarchy.

**Subject Nationalities in the Russian Empire.** — Concerning the third great patchwork empire of eastern Europe — Russia — little need be said in this place, since we have already seen (in Chapter XIX) how the Tsar applied harsh measures of "Russification" to the subject nationalities unfortunate enough to be under his autocratic scepter. Of these nationalities the most important were the following: (1) The *Ukrainians*, numbering thirty millions or so, in the fertile region north of the Black Sea; (2) the *Poles*, about fourteen million of whom lived in Russian Poland, five million in Prussian Poland, and five million in Austrian Poland; (3) the four million *Lithuanians*, no theast of Russian Poland; (4) the two million *Letts*, on the Baltic coast; (5) the two million *Esthonians*, next door to the Letts; (6) the three million *Finns* in Finland. Each of the six desired more or less strongly to preserve its own language and determine its own future. But self-determination could hardly succeed in Russia while an autocratic Tsar held sway.

#### OTHER ASPECTS OF SELF-DETERMINATION

**Belgium, Norway, and Ireland.** — It should not be thought that the idea of national self-determination was confined to central and eastern Europe. Belgium successfully practiced the idea in 1830, when she revolted against Holland and won independence. Norway exercised the same right — if it is a right — when she declared her independence from Sweden in



22. What nationalities outside of eastern Europe have demanded the right of self-determination in recent times?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Abdul Hamid II.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, I, 35-36; FORBES, *The Balkans*, 361-368; SCHEVILL, *The Balkan Peninsula*, 397, 420-437.

**The Young Turk Revolution.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 524-527; SETON-WATSON, *Rise of Nationality in the Balkans*, 134-141; SCHEVILL, *Balkan Peninsula*, 438-454; GIBBONS, *World Politics*, ch. xviii.

**The Macedonian Question.** GIBBONS, *New Map of Europe*, ch. x.

**How Bulgaria won freedom.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 507, 508, 521-523; FORBES, *The Balkans*, 47-78; SCHEVILL, *Balkan Peninsula*, 407-419.

**The making of Rumania.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 517-519; SCHEVILL, *Balkan Peninsula*, 306-379; FORBES, *The Balkans*, 265-306.

**Serbia.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 519-521; FORBES, *The Balkans*, 110-130; SCHEVILL, *Balkan Peninsula*, ch. xx.

**Greece.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 499, 515-517; SCHEVILL, *Balkan Peninsula*, ch. xxi; FORBES, *The Balkans*, 181-250.

**The Balkan Wars.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 528-539; SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, 224-244; MARRIOTT, *Eastern Question*, 386-419; GIBBONS, *World Politics*, chs. xxii-xxiii.

**Francis Joseph.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, X, 942-944; RUMBOLD, *Francis Joseph and His Times*.

**Louis Kossuth.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XV, 916-918; SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, (use index).

**The Austrian constitution of 1860 and the Ausgleich.** SEIGNOBOS, *Europe since 1814*, 518-529; *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, 178-184.

**Hungary, 1867-1914.** SCHAPIRO, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, 437-441; DRAGE, *Austria-Hungary*, 559-578.

**Bosnia-Herzegovina.** DRAGE, *Austria-Hungary*, 595-650; SCHEVILL, *Balkan Peninsula*, 455-462.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 426-435; WICKHAM STEED, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*; SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, chs. ix-x; SETON-WATSON, *German, Slav, and Magyar*; SCHEVILL, *History of the Balkan Peninsula*; W. S. DAVIS, *Short History of the Near East*.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

VAZOFF, *Under the Yoke*.

## CHAPTER XXI

### GREAT BRITAIN GRAPPLES WITH PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE (1867-1918)

#### GREAT BRITAIN BECOMES A POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

**Queen Victoria (1837 1901)**, a strictly "Limited" Monarch. — England destroyed autoocracy in the seventeenth century. Thereafter, no English monarch on his own responsibility made laws or levied taxes or determined national policies. All these functions were exercised either by the majority of the Parliament directly or by a small group of ministers, called the Cabinet, which represented the majority of the Parliament. English monarchs continued to claim that they reigned "by the Grace of God," but Queen Victoria (1837-1901),



QUEEN VICTORIA

whose long reign covered the greater part of the nineteenth century, knew that if in some mad moment she should act like an autocrat, such as Napoleon III of France or the Russian Tsar or the German Emperor, she would be deposed by Parliament as was James II in 1689. Queen Victoria delivered speeches (prepared by the Cabinet), signed

documents (when requested by the Cabinet), and laid corner stones of public buildings; being a good and sensible woman, she was loved and venerated by the English nation; but in politics she was only a figurehead. Her actual powers were not much greater than those of a President of the Third French Republic.

**Undemocratic Parliamentary Government.** — In spite of the fact that the Parliament was the supreme political authority in the country, Great Britain during the first half of the reign of Queen Victoria was not a democracy. The Parliament represented only a small minority of the nation: one of its chambers — the House of Lords — comprised hereditary nobles and certain bishops of the Established (Anglican) Church; the other — the House of Commons — was elected by a small number of well-to-do country gentlemen and city business-men. The masses, whether working-men in the towns or laborers on the farms, had no part in politics, not even after the Reform Act of 1832.<sup>1</sup> It was not until 1867, midway in the reign of Queen Victoria, that the principle of democracy was even partially adopted in elections to the House of Commons. England was the first country to destroy autocracy, but it was one of the last to establish democracy.

**Political Parties prior to 1867.** — Prior to 1867 there were two political parties in Great Britain, the Liberal and the Conservative. The country gentlemen were usually Conservatives, and the bulk of the city business-men were Liberals. The parties alternated in securing the majority in the House of Commons and therefore in forming the Cabinet, but between 1832 and 1867 the Liberals were in power most of the time.

*Gladstone and the Liberal Party.* — Immediately prior to 1867 the most promising leader of the Liberals was William E. Gladstone (1809-1898), the son of a wealthy merchant of Liverpool. He had received an excellent classical edu-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 444-456.

education and had originally entered the House of Commons as an opponent of political reform and social change. Gradually, however, he became "liberal" and very popular. Gladstone's fame in Parliament and throughout the country rested largely on the fact that his character and abilities nicely reflected the ideals of his countrymen: he was conscientious and religious, a shrewd politician and a successful man of affairs, an orator, with a "fine baritone voice," whose pompous sentences and Greek quotations were frequently vague but always impressive. Gladstone's "liberalism" did not imply democracy; it meant merely that the Government should respect as far as possible the liberties of the individual citizen, — liberty of speech, liberty of the press, etc., — and that the Government should interfere as little as possible in economic affairs. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer (Secretary of the Treasury), was instrumental in removing the last restrictions on commerce and industry and in perfecting the policy of free trade, a policy which perhaps was hurtful to the farmers but which certainly was helpful to the industrial middle classes and to the urban workingmen.



GLADSTONE

*Disraeli and the Conservative Party.* — Gladstone's chief political rival was the most influential member of the Conservative Party, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881), the grandson of a Venetian Jew who had settled in England, made a fortune in business, and turned country gentleman. Benjamin Disraeli's character was as complex and rare as Gladstone's

was simple and commonplace. A Jew by birth, Disraeli conformed to (Anglican) Christianity. With little schooling, he had an intense fondness for literature and wrote several famous novels. He shocked staid and conventional Englishmen with his queer behavior, his theatrical speeches, his colorful clothing, his laces and perfumery; but the brilliant qualities of his mind earned him in time the respect though never the complete sympathy of the nation. Entering the



DISRAELI

House of Commons at first with "radical" ideas, he became in time the Conservative champion of the "traditional" institutions of Great Britain — the Crown, the House of Lords, and the Established Church. At the same time his "conservatism" was not purely a defense of things as they were or a blind opposition to "progress." He desired

that the Conservative Party should take the lead in three directions: (1) it should give the lower classes some power in politics; (2) it should improve the economic condition of the lower classes; (3) it should promote national patriotism and make England feared and mighty in the councils of the world.

**Popular Demand for Political Democracy.** — *The Trade-Unionists.* — In all probability neither Disraeli nor Gladstone would have taken the lead in extending the suffrage to the lower classes, had not many persons in these classes, especially among the urban workingmen, zealously demanded the right to vote. The workingmen in the cities had advocated political democracy ever since the Reform Act of 1832, and in the 1840's their agitation had taken the form

of "Chartism."<sup>1</sup> After the failure of Chartism in 1848 they had turned their attention to the development of trade-unionism, which enabled them to conduct many successful "strikes" and to secure thereby higher wages, shorter hours of labor, and better working conditions. The trade-unions also gave the working class valuable experience in the democratic conduct of their own affairs and strengthened the desire of their members to participate in national legislation.

*John Bright and the "Radicals."*—Shortly before 1867 the trade-unionists found a friend and ally in John Bright, a prosperous manufacturer, who already had won fame and popularity by organizing the Anti-Corn-Law League and helping to establish free trade.<sup>2</sup> John Bright, true to the convictions of his class, did not believe that the Government should interfere in any way with private trade and industry or with private property in any form, but he did think that the trade-unions were useful in promoting thrift, and that their members should enjoy political rights. Outside of economic matters, Bright was a "radical": as a Quaker, he disliked the Established (Anglican) Church; as a middle-class manufacturer, he hated the landed nobility and distrusted the House of Lords; and during the American Civil War (1861-1865), when both Disraeli and Gladstone sided with the South, Bright sympathized with the North and came out strongly for thoroughgoing democracy in Great Britain.

Bright had a large personal following among the workingmen and a fairly large following of middle-class "Radicals." There was too wide a gulf between Bright and Disraeli to permit the "Radicals" to coöperate with the Conservatives. But with Gladstone and the Liberals, Bright could and did coöperate.

**The Reform Act of 1867: Enfranchisement of Urban Working Class.**—In 1866 Bright prevailed upon Gladstone to propose the extension of the suffrage to a few of the working class. Gladstone, however, could not obtain the support of the whole Liberal Party in the House of Commons, and his proposal was

<sup>1</sup> See p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 446-448.

defeated. Then, in 1867, Disraeli brought in a Bill, which, though far from democratic in its original form, was so amended by Bright's Radicals and Gladstone's Liberals that it finally proposed to enfranchise nearly all the working class in the towns. Disraeli surprised every one by accepting the amendments, and the Bill was passed and became the Reform Act of



"THE LEAP IN THE DARK"

An English cartoon drawn in 1867. The figure on horseback is Britannia (Great Britain). The face on the horse is Disraeli's. What is the meaning of the cartoon?

1867. Carlyle called it "shooting Niagara," and the prime minister described it as "a leap in the dark."

The Reform Act of 1867, by enfranchising a million urban workingmen, almost doubled the number of voters in Great Britain. It did not signify complete political democracy; there were still only two and a half million voters out of a total population of thirty-two millions, glaring inequalities still existed, and the House of Lords still retained its privileged

position. Yet the Reform Act of 1867 marked the end of government by the upper and middle classes exclusively, and it pointed Great Britain toward the political path of democracy.

**The Reform Act of 1884: Enfranchisement of Agricultural Laborers.**—The first effect of the Reform Act of 1867 was to strengthen the Liberal Party, for the new voters, under Bright's influence, preferred Gladstone to Disraeli. At the same time it gave Gladstone some faith in political democracy and caused him to champion further political reform. In 1872, under Gladstone's auspices, the ballot was made secret. In 1884, likewise under Gladstone's auspices, the franchise was extended to two million agricultural laborers. In 1885 the Conservatives insisted upon a reapportionment of representation in the House of Commons, so that each Commoner should represent approximately the same number of voters.

The Reform Acts of 1884-1885 served to strengthen the Conservative Party, for the newly enfranchised agricultural laborers were influenced more by the Conservative landed nobility than by Gladstone and the urban Liberals. The result was that from 1886 to 1906, with but a single brief interruption, the Conservative Party (or "Unionist" Party as it was now termed) was in power.

The Conservatives (or Unionists) during their long sway from 1886 to 1906 showed little interest in further political reform. Disraeli had died in 1881, and his successor in the leadership of the party was the Marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903), an aristocrat who did much to promote national patriotism, to enlarge the British Empire, and to prosecute a vigorous foreign policy, but who successfully resisted every attempt to perfect political democracy within Great Britain.

**Rise of the Labor Party.**—In the later years of Salisbury's régime, the workingmen grew profoundly discontented with his policies. Most of the trade-unionists felt that the Conservative Party was sacrificing the welfare of the masses to the special interests of the upper classes, and some of them became Socialists. In 1901 they organized a new political party—the



**Labor Party** — which demanded social reform and the completion of political democracy. They elected several members to Parliament and influenced the Liberal Party to endorse some of their demands.

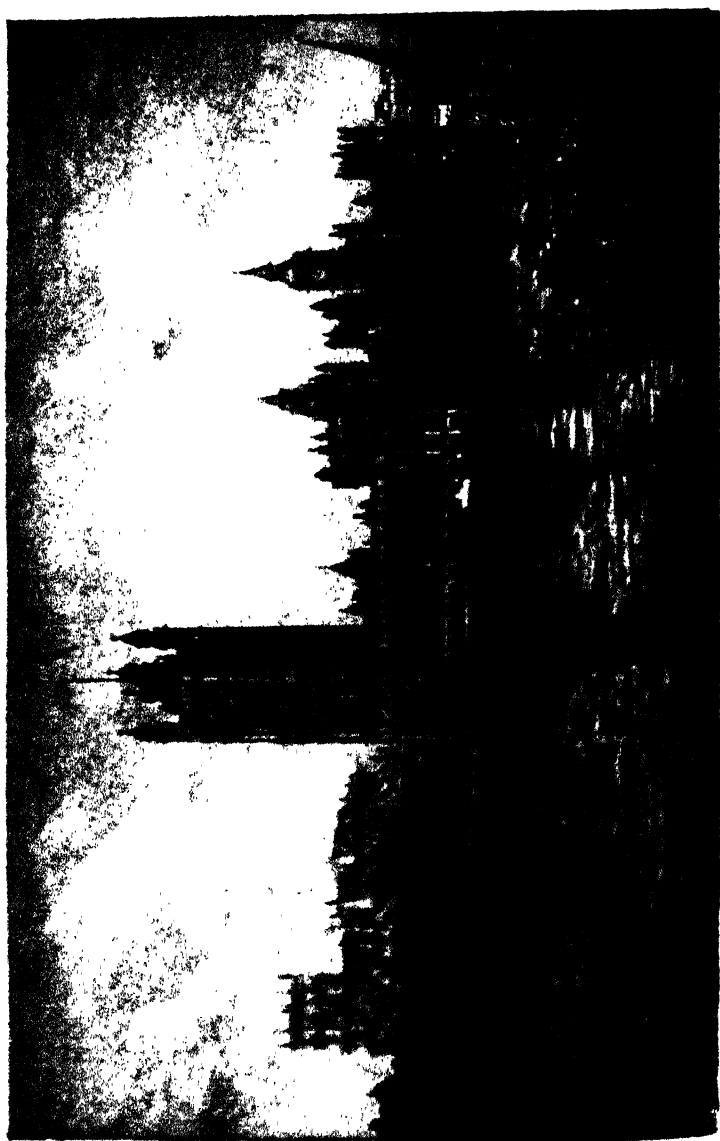
**Lloyd George and the Parliament Act of 1911.** — With the defeat of the Conservatives (Unionists) in 1906 and the return of the Liberals to power, the shaping of the public policies fell more and more to the lot of David Lloyd George (born 1863), a middle-class Welshman, who possessed an interesting combination of personal qualities: he was at once shrewd and enthusiastic, a born politician and an able administrator, a patriot and a reformer, a pacifist while he was out of office and a militarist when in office, and always an eloquent advocate of political democracy and social legislation. Lloyd George led the Liberal and Labor campaign against the Conservative and aristocratic House of Lords, which resulted in the "Parliament Act" of 1911. By this Act, general elections to the House of Commons had to occur at least every five years, and the House of Lords was deprived of jurisdiction over financial measures and of all control over general legislation except a two-year suspensive veto. The hereditary nobles and the bishops of the Established (Anglican) Church still retained privileges, but their direct political power was lessened.

**The Reform Act of 1918: Completion of Political Democracy.** — It was not until 1918, toward the close of the Great War, that England took a step which meant almost complete political democracy. At that time Lloyd George, with the aid of a coalition of Liberals and Unionists, enacted a "Representation of the People Act," whereby practically all the men and a large number of women were accorded the suffrage. Finally, in 1928, all women were enfranchised.

Thus, between 1867 and 1928, Great Britain abolished "class government" and substituted for it "mass government." The nobility, the clergy, and the middle class were gradually forced to share political activities with the lower classes. The House of Lords was subordinated to the House of Commons,

## **THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING AT WESTMINSTER**

The home of the most celebrated popular assembly in the world. The building, in which meet the House of Lords and the House of Commons, stands on the bank of the Thames in that part of London known as Westminster and only a little way from the famous Westminster Abbey and from a recently erected statue of Abraham Lincoln. The parliament building was designed by Sir Charles Barry, in the style of the Middle Ages, and was constructed between 1840 and 1867. When parliament is in session, a flag flies in the daytime and a light burns at the summit of the clock tower at night.



in the twentieth century, as the King had been subordinated in the seventeenth century. Political democracy, as well as parliamentary constitutional government, was finally achieved in Great Britain.

The new law brought about a peaceful revolution in British politics. The Labor Party, which had only 42 seats before 1918, won 150 more in elections from 1918 to 1923. As neither of the older parties had a majority, Ramsay Macdonald formed a Labor cabinet early in 1924, but he was unable to carry out Labor's economic program. Another election, late in 1924, inflicted on Labor a loss of about 40 seats and enabled Stanley Baldwin to form a Conservative cabinet. But Labor returned to power in 1929.

#### GREAT BRITAIN UNDERTAKES SOCIAL REFORM

In the preceding section we have seen how Great Britain achieved political democracy between 1867 and 1918. In the present section we must understand the nature of the chief social problems confronting Great Britain and what has been done to solve them since 1867. They were twofold, affecting (1) land, and (2) labor.

**The Land Problem.** — The land problem arose from the fact that no French Revolution occurred in England. In fact, at the very time when the large landed estates of the French nobility were being broken up into small farms and handed over to the peasants, the English nobles were buying out their tenants and enlarging their landed estates. The result was that, whereas modern France became a country of small peasant farmers, Great Britain remained a country of large estates owned by nobles and "gentlemen." It was estimated in 1875 that fewer than four thousand Englishmen owned four-sevenths of the total area of the kingdom, and that the nobility (consisting of about 2200 persons) owned almost one-half of the inclosed land in England and Wales and an even larger portion in Scotland and Ireland. At the same time, France had some five and a half million farm owners. In

France each peasant worked his own little farm. In Great Britain the nobles and "gentlemen" hired agricultural laborers to work their large estates. The French peasant was interested in his farm because he owned it. The British agricultural laborer was not interested in the estate which he did not own.

*Significance of Land-monopoly.* — Monopoly of British land by aristocrats was significant in four respects. (1) It tended to decrease the rural population. It deprived the agricultural laborers of any personal interest in the soil and caused many of them to migrate to the cities or to the colonies. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century approximately one-third of the agricultural laborers, with their families (possibly a million people in all), withdrew permanently from the land.

(2) It tended to debase the laborers who remained as hired men on the large estates. As a class, they were poverty-stricken and unprogressive, without ambition or energy. Their lot was generally worse than that of the urban working class.

(3) It tended to reduce agricultural production. The nobles and "gentlemen" possessed such enormous estates that they felt able to set aside large tracts as parks or hunting preserves, and accordingly the area of cultivation was greatly lessened. Then, too, many of the landlords lived in the cities and engaged actively in industry; they neglected their country estates or treated them as pleasure grounds rather than as sources of productive wealth. Besides, the landowners were so few that they could not successfully oppose the removal of protective tariffs and the inauguration of free trade, and the consequence was that English agriculture was injured by foreign competition. Before the close of the nineteenth century Great Britain was not producing enough to feed her own population; she was absolutely dependent for foodstuffs upon imports from the United States, Canada, Argentina, France, etc.

(4) Finally, it tended to increase the wealth and to preserve the social superiority of the British nobility. While Great Britain was becoming a *democracy in politics*, it remained *socially an aristocratic country*.

As we shall see in a later section of this chapter, the Irish peasants struggled manfully against the monopoly of their land by British aristocrats, and with such success that by the first decade of the twentieth century, Ireland became, through a series of laws, somewhat like France, a country mainly of small farms and peasant proprietors.

*Demands for Land Reform.* — In Great Britain itself — England, Scotland, and Wales — little progress was made between 1867 and 1914 toward a solution of the grave land problem. Certain individual "Radicals" urged that the nobles should be taxed so heavily that they would be obliged to sell their estates, or that the Government should buy up the land and "nationalize" it. To the latter proposal the Socialists and the Labor Party gave support. But the dominant political Parties did not concern themselves greatly with land-reform in Great Britain. The Conservatives were too much dominated by the landed nobility to advocate any reform which would interfere with the property or privileges of the aristocratic landowners; and the Liberals were too much interested in the welfare of the middle classes to pursue vigorously a comprehensive program of agricultural betterment.

In 1907 the Liberals, largely through the efforts of Lloyd



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DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

Conspicuous as a radical member of the Liberal Ministry from 1906 to 1914, as an energetic prosecutor of the war from 1914 to 1918, and as prime minister from 1916 to 1922.

George, passed a "Small Holdings and Allotments Act," under which a few English agricultural laborers were enabled to buy small farms of their own; and in 1913 Lloyd George proposed Governmental regulation of agricultural labor and further encouragement of small holdings. As a substitute, a faction of the Conservatives urged the abandonment of free trade and the imposition of a tariff on the importation of foreign food-stuffs. The Great War (1914-1919) brought Lloyd George and the Conservatives together and halted all governmental plans for land-reform. The Great War, however, did more than earlier direct legislation to break the land-monopoly in England, for the heavy taxes imposed after 1914 caused many nobles to divide their estates and sell their lands. By 1922 England could not be called thoroughly aristocratic in land-ownership, though it was still far from the predominant peasant proprietorship which existed in France and even in Ireland.

**The Labor Problem.** — Another grave social problem, even more important than the question of land-reform, was the problem of labor and capital. England, it must be remembered, was the original scene of the Industrial Revolution; and despite the subsequent industrial development of many other countries (Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Belgium, United States, etc.), Great Britain has retained her industrial preëminence to the present. Mines in Wales produce more good coal than any equal foreign area; more ships are built at Glasgow than at any other place in the world; more commerce is carried on at Liverpool; more linens are manufactured at Belfast; more cotton goods at Manchester; more steel at Sheffield. Great Britain is still, in a very real sense, the "workshop of the world."

This industrial preëminence has meant that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Great Britain has had exceptionally large classes of business men and working men. Throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century (certainly until 1867), it was the business men who dictated most

of the public policies of the country. In general, the business men (many of whom belonged to the Liberal Party and for whom Gladstone was the great spokesman) insisted that the Government should abandon mercantilism, remove all restrictions on commerce and industry, and guarantee to each citizen the right to carry on his business as he would. In other words, the business-men advocated *laissez-faire* in economic matters. Specifically, they demanded: (1) "*Freedom of contract*" — the right to hire workers on whatever terms they could, without interference from guilds, trade-unions, or the Government. This they obtained in the "Combination Acts" of 1799–1800, which forbade all combinations of workmen and obliged the workers to make individual contracts with their employers. (2) "*Freedom of trade*" — and this, as we have learned, they secured through the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts and through the removal of all tariffs.<sup>1</sup>

**Maintenance of Free Trade.** — Free trade, established between 1846 and 1860, remained a basic policy of Great Britain until the Great War. The Liberal Party supported it because the leading members of the Party were identified with manufactures or trade, and British traders realized that their business would be injured by tariffs, while most manufacturers felt that English industry, being in advance of the industry of other countries, did not need tariff protection. The workmen, too, supported free trade, because it meant cheaper food and lower costs of living. Even a majority of the Conservatives, though originally opposed to free trade, came to support it, since an influential number of them were traders and manufacturers.

**Unsuccessful Opposition to Free Trade.** — Early in the twentieth century, Joseph Chamberlain, a wealthy manufacturer of Birmingham who had seceded from the Liberals and become a Conservative (Unionist), pointed out that the industrial position of England had changed radically since the adoption of free trade, that now England was facing foreign

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 446–448.



competition, especially with Germany and the United States, and that the country needed tariff protection. Chamberlain, however, encountered strenuous opposition from the Labor and Liberal Parties; he was unable to carry the majority of his fellow-Unionists with him; and his campaign for "tariff reform" failed in 1906.

**Successful Opposition to Freedom of Contract.** — Freedom of contract (unlike freedom of trade) did not continue a basic policy of Great Britain. Under its operation in the first part of the nineteenth century, the numerous working people in the cities, as we have seen in an earlier chapter,<sup>1</sup> were forced down into the lowest depths of poverty and degradation. Against the misery and wretchedness of the workers, in the earlier stages of the Industrial Revolution, many voices were raised. Some persons protested on sentimental or humanitarian grounds. Others protested for reasons of public health. Writers like Dickens and Kingsley and Ruskin protested against the injustice and ugliness of the situation. Before 1867 Socialists like Robert Owen had joined hands with benevolent Conservatives like Shaftesbury and Disraeli to restrict the labor of women and children and to improve conditions in the factories and mines.

**Trade-Union Activities and Achievements.** — Gradually the workingmen themselves learned how to coöperate and to use their collective power to better their own lot and to wring social legislation from Parliament. By concerted action they secured the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824; and thereafter British trade-unions grew rapidly in membership and influence. It was the trade-unions that enabled the workingmen to conduct successful strikes, to increase their wages, to reduce their hours of labor, and to improve working conditions. It was the trade-unions that backed the extension of the suffrage, in 1867, to the urban working class. It was the trade-unions that gave valuable support to the cause of popular education and nerved Gladstone's Liberal Government to pass

the Education Act of 1870, the beginning of England's public school system.

In 1868 the first of the annual Trade-Union Congresses was held. Thenceforth the trade-unionists exerted influence in two ways: (1) directly, in economic matters, through collective bargaining and through strikes or threats of strikes; (2) indirectly, in political matters, either through pressure on the major political parties or through election of Parliamentary candidates of their own. In 1871 they induced Gladstone to sponsor a law which formally legalized trade-unions. In 1875 they prevailed upon Disraeli to sanction a measure which legalized strikes.

*Lloyd George and Social Legislation, 1906-1914* — As time went on, the Liberal and Conservative Parties alike sought working-class votes. Especially after the death of Gladstone (1898) and the organization of the separate Labor Party (1901), the Liberals, under the leadership of Lloyd George, became energetic champions of social legislation in behalf of the lower classes; they now perceived that a contented and physically fit working class would be an advantage, rather than a detriment, to a commercial and industrial nation. Between 1906 and 1914 much social legislation was enacted by the Liberal and Labor Parties (the Conservatives assenting to most of it). Employers were compelled to compensate their workmen for accidents. The State undertook the payment of old-age pensions. Workingmen were insured against illness and unemployment. Trade-union funds were protected. Free public labor-exchanges were established. Workers in sweated industries were guaranteed a minimum wage. Infant and child life was safeguarded. Housing conditions were improved. The chief burdens of taxation were shifted from the wage-earners to the more prosperous classes.

At the present time the English middle classes appear to have forgotten all about their earlier ideas of "freedom of contract." Great Britain has become democratic and is using political democracy to promote the social and economic wel-

fare not only of the upper classes but of the working class as well.

#### THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS ENLARGED AND STRENGTHENED

We have now become acquainted with three broad developments in English history since 1867: (1) the gradual extension of the suffrage, marking the transfer of political power from the upper classes to the masses, a peaceful evolution toward political democracy; (2) the maintenance of social aristocracy and land monopoly, attended by a decline of agriculture; and (3) the continued growth of commerce and industry, accompanied by the retention of free trade, the rise of trade-unions, and the increase of governmental interference in private business. To these three developments must now be added a fourth — a very important development — the heightening of national patriotism and the enlargement and strengthening of the British Empire.

**Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century: its Influence on England.** — The twelve years from 1859 to 1871 were marked in Europe, as we have seen, by a series of patriotic wars resulting in the creation of a new Kingdom of Italy and a new German Empire; and it was within the same period that the Civil War in America (1861-1865) assured national unity to the United States. Not only was the national patriotism of Germans, Italians, and Americans thereby aroused, but likewise the national patriotism of the French, the Russians, the Hungarians — and the British. The Liberals, who were in office in England during most of the period, were accused by their opponents of neglecting the colonial and foreign interests of Great Britain; and it was primarily on the patriotic and imperialistic issue that the Conservative Party won a significant election in 1874.

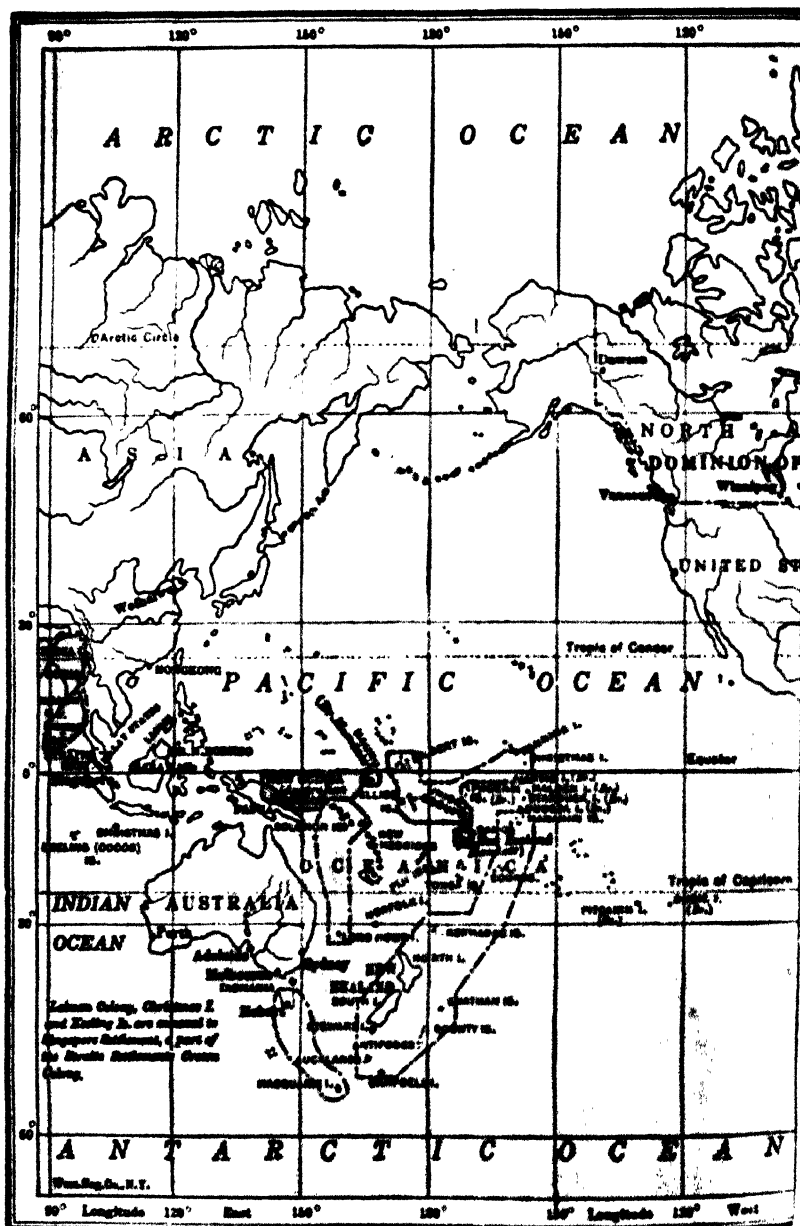
*Disraeli's Achievements.* — Disraeli, as the Conservative leader and prime minister from 1874 to 1880, set out to quicken popular interest in foreign and colonial affairs and to make England feared and respected abroad. He acquired for

Great Britain a controlling financial interest in the Suez Canal. He had Parliament confer upon Queen Victoria the new title of "Empress of India." He blocked the Russian plan to dismember the Ottoman Empire,<sup>1</sup> took an active part in the international Congress of Berlin (1878), and secured, as reward from the Turks, the island of Cyprus. Thenceforth the Conservative Party was devoted to imperialism, and among the Liberals were enough advocates of a "Greater Britain" to prevent Gladstone from undoing the work of Disraeli.

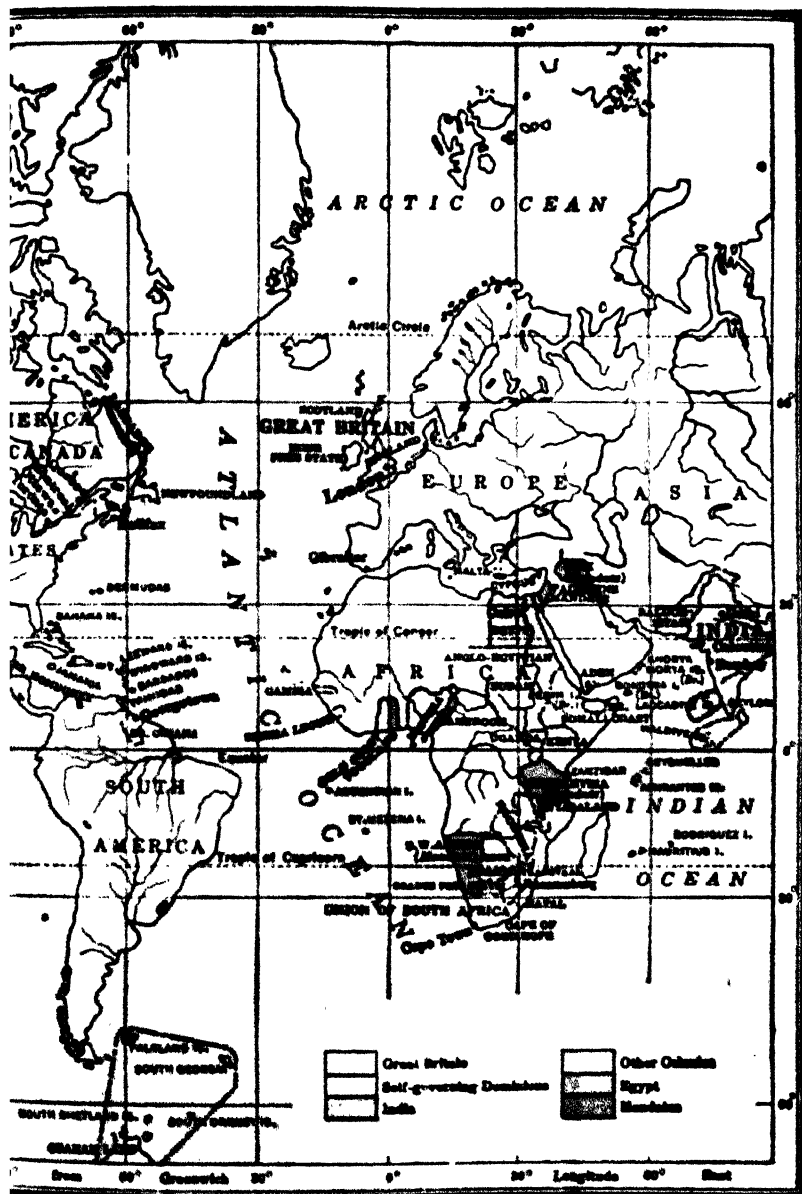
**Expansion of the British Empire, 1886 1906.** — Especially during the Conservative (Unionist) administrations of the Marquess of Salisbury between 1886 and 1902, great strides were taken in augmenting the British Empire. India was vastly enlarged at the expense of Burma, Siam, and Afghanistan. The port of Wei-hai-wei was obtained from China. Many islands in the Pacific Ocean were appropriated. In the partition of Africa, Great Britain secured the lion's share: in the north Egypt was occupied and the Egyptian Sudan conquered; huge tracts of territory were staked out in the east and south, and the two Dutch (Boer) Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were conquered in the Boer War (1899 1902). Between Cairo in northern Egypt and Cape Town in South Africa a "Cape to Cairo" Railway was projected; and the British conquest of German East Africa in 1918 finally made possible the construction of this five-thousand-mile railway entirely on British soil.

**The British Empire in 1914.** — Before 1874 the British colonies, as we have learned, were already numerous and important; with the additions made from 1874 to 1914 the British Empire at the latter date embraced approximately one-fourth of the earth's habitable area and a fourth of the world's population. Only a small part of the Empire's population, however, was of really British stock. For every one of the British colonists there were more than thirty dusky-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 554.



THE BRITISH



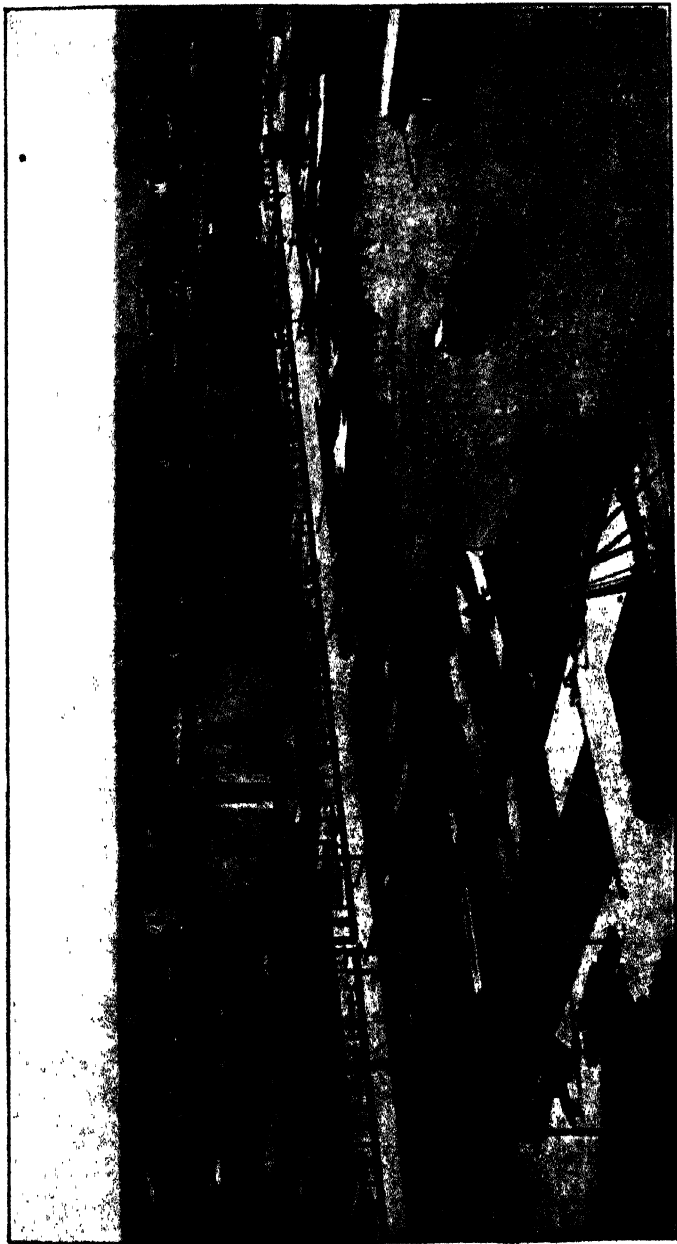
EMPIRE

skinned "natives" subject to British rule. Three hundred and fifteen million Asiatic Indians, forty million blacks, six million Arabs, six million Malays, a million Chinese, a million Polynesians, and a hundred thousand red (Canadian) Indians, overwhelmingly outnumbered the British in the Empire.

*Undemocratic Government of Many British Colonies.* — There was no uniform system of government throughout the whole British Empire. Some of the colonies were "protectorates," that is, administered by native princes under the direction of British resident officials. Others were "crown colonies," that is, ruled, with or without the assistance of local assemblies, by governors appointed by the Colonial Office in London. India and its dependencies constituted an "Empire" in itself, governed by a Viceroy sent out from the India office in London. Over all colonies inhabited mainly by peoples of non-European stock, democratic England ruled as an autocrat.

*The Democratic Self-governing Dominions.* — To colonies which possessed a fairly large European population, Great Britain granted almost complete self-government. Such were Canada (given self-government in 1847 and federated in 1867), Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia (federated in 1900), and South Africa (federated in 1909). These were the "Self-Governing Dominions" of the British Empire, each one practically a democratic nation by itself, attached to England only by a common allegiance to the monarch, by community of institutions and blood-relationships, and by occasional "Imperial Conferences" in London.

*English Pride in the Empire.* — The extent and resources of the British Empire appealed powerfully to the imagination of Englishmen. Merchants and investors extracted large fortunes from it; and the average Englishman who derived no direct personal profit, believed in a vague way that upon the Empire the nation's prosperity depended. At any rate, it seemed glorious to have an empire upon which the sun never went down, the greatest Empire in the whole world.



#### PART OF PORT SAID

Port Said is the town at the northern entrance to the Suez Canal, through which passes an endless stream of vessels bringing the products of Asia and Oceania to Europe, and returning with European manufactures. This canal might be called the gateway from Europe to Asia and the Pacific. It was opened in 1869, and is now one of the chief arteries of the British Empire.



**The British Navy.** — Prior to 1914 England did not follow the example of Germany and other Great Powers on the Continent of Europe in compelling all her able-bodied young men to serve in the army, but she did maintain a larger navy than any other two Great Powers combined. Her Empire lay in five separate continents with the trackless oceans between; she knew that if a Great Power at war with the British Empire could destroy the British navy, it would be a simple matter to starve out the British islands and to capture the separate colonies. For imperialism and self-defense, therefore, England willingly spent staggering sums of money on the building and upkeep of battleships.

**British Foreign Policy.** — Imperial interests dictated, too, much of England's foreign policy: her rivalries with Russia and France from 1874 to 1904; her alliance with Japan in 1902; her friendly understanding with France in 1904 and with Russia in 1907; and her acute rivalry with Germany, culminating in the Great War (1914-1919).

#### IRELAND OBTAINS SELF-DETERMINATION

**The Irish Nationality.** — The British Empire had many "sore spots," and close to the center of the Empire was a particularly sore spot — Ireland. The Irish were a nationality separate and distinct from the English. In the Middle Ages they had possessed national independence and a language and culture of their own. In modern times, though they had been conquered by the British and most of them had learned the English language, they still preserved their loyalty to the Catholic Church and kept alive their national traditions.

**British Oppression.** — The British Government did its utmost in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to stamp out Irish nationalism. It destroyed Irish commerce and most Irish industry. It deprived the Irish peasants of their farms and reduced them to the position of poverty-stricken laborers and tenants on great estates owned by British nobles. It

confiscated all the buildings and other property of the Catholic Church and handed them over to the "Church of Ireland," a Protestant organization modeled after the "Church of England." It penalized the Irish people for practicing the Catholic Faith (to which they adhered) and compelled them to pay taxes for the support of the Protestant "Church of Ireland" (which they abhorred). To cap the climax, the British Government in the seventeenth century settled large numbers of Englishmen and Scotsmen in Ireland, especially in the northeastern province of Ulster. These "Ulstermen" (or "Orangemen," as they are sometimes called) comprised about a fifth of the total population of Ireland; they were Protestant in religion and British in national feeling and patriotism. Moreover, they were a privileged class: they long monopolized the offices and controlled the wealth of the entire island.

**The "Union" of Great Britain and Ireland, 1800.** — Until 1800 Ireland had a parliament of its own, meeting in Dublin, but inasmuch as no Catholic was permitted to sit in it, it really represented not the Irish nation at large but only the relatively small minority of Protestants. Even this parliament was abolished by the Act of Union in 1800, which formally incorporated Ireland into the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," and henceforth all laws for Ireland were enacted by the British Parliament, meeting in Westminster (London).

**Irish Agitation in the Nineteenth Century.** — In the course of the nineteenth century the Irish people, by means of continual agitation, sometimes peaceful and sometimes violent, managed to wring concessions and reforms from the British Parliament:

(1) **O'Connell.** — The "Catholic Association," formed by Daniel O'Connell in the early part of the nineteenth century, after years of incessant constitutional agitation, succeeded in winning civil rights for Catholics and obtaining the right for Catholics to sit in the British Parliament (1829). In his last

years, O'Connell urged in vain the repeal of the Union of 1800 and the restoration of a separate Irish parliament.

(2) **"Young Ireland" and the Fenians.** — Groups of violent revolutionaries next came to the fore, demanding national independence and a republican form of government. The most important of these were the "Young Ireland" society, with its armed rebellion in 1848, and the "Fenians," with their insurrection in 1867. Violent revolution failed of its primary purpose, but it so alarmed the British that the Liberal Government of Gladstone in 1869 "disestablished" the "Church of Ireland," that is, relieved the Irish people of the necessity of supporting a Protestant State-Church and put Protestantism in Ireland on the same voluntary basis as Catholicism.

(3) **The Nationalist Movement: Parnell and Redmond.** — From 1874 to 1914 the "Nationalist" movement flourished in Ireland, first under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell and subsequently under that of John Redmond. It aimed to secure land-reform and "Home Rule." With the Irish peasants solidly united behind the movement, with financial assistance forthcoming from Irish emigrants in the United States and the British colonies, and with four-fifths of the Irish members of the British House of Commons constituting a separate "Nationalist Party," the leaders never missed an opportunity to keep Irish demands before the public. In Ireland, they "boycotted" British landlords; in the British Parliament, they obstructed the conduct of business. Repeatedly the British Government attempted to coerce the Irish Nationalists with police and soldiers. The Irish people remained resolute and gradually obliged the major political parties in England to interest themselves in Irish affairs.

*Failure of Home-Rule Proposals.* — Gladstone and his Liberal followers at length accepted the idea of Home Rule. Three times, in fact, the Liberal Party proposed definite schemes for repealing the Act of Union of 1800 and setting up at Dublin an Irish parliament which should manage the local government of Ireland, but each time the Liberal

proposal came to nought: (1) in 1886, it was defeated in the House of Commons; (2) in 1893, it was vetoed by the House of Lords; and (3) in 1912-1914, though passed by the British Parliament, it was not carried into effect because of the hostile attitude of the "Ulstermen" and the outbreak of the Great War.

*Opposition to Irish Nationalism: the Ulstermen and the British Unionists.* — The chief opponents of the Liberal proposals for "Home Rule" were the Ulstermen in Ireland and the Conservatives (Unionists) in Great Britain. The former feared that a separate parliament at Dublin, elected by the whole Irish nation, would put an end to the social and economic domination of Ireland by the Protestant minority, and the latter feared that it would weaken and possibly disrupt the British Empire. But while the Ulstermen threat-

ened to precipitate civil war rather than make any concessions to the Irish majority, the British Unionists sought to conciliate the Irish by granting reforms just short of Home Rule. It was the Unionist Party which established town and county self-government in Ireland, and it was the Unionist Party which, by a series of Land-Purchase Acts, facilitated the break-up of large estates into small farms owned outright by peasants.

*Development of the Irish Peasantry.* — Thus, during the period of Nationalist agitation (1874-1914), Ireland became



PARNELL

The Irish Nationalist leader.

to a considerable extent a country of small peasant proprietors (like France); and, thanks to the coöperative movement fostered by Sir Horace Plunkett, Irish agriculture improved and the Irish peasants grew prosperous. Politically, however, despite the life-labors of Parnell and Redmond, Ireland remained without even a moderate measure of national "Home Rule."

(4) **Sinn Fein.** — In the twentieth century a group of Irish scholars and patriots, headed by Arthur Griffith and Eamon



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ARTHUR GRIFFITH

The Founder of the Sinn Fein movement, which resulted in the establishment of the Irish Free State.

De Valera, inaugurated the "Sinn Fein" movement. The words "Sinn Fein" mean "We ourselves," and the movement was intended to inculcate self-reliance. The Irish people, the Sinn Fein leaders said, must rely for further reforms not on the British Parliament but on themselves alone; they must revive their national language and their national customs, render themselves economically independent of England, and pave the way for the eventual establishment of a free republican Ireland.

*The Rebellion of 1916, and the Conflict of Sinn Fein with the British Government.* — At first the Sinn Fein movement was intellectual and economic, but at length in 1914, when the Nationalists seemingly exhausted their last efforts to win "Home Rule" from the British Parliament, it became political as well. Taking advantage of England's participation in the Great War, certain Irish extremists in 1916 rose in rebellion

at Dublin and proclaimed the independence of Ireland and the establishment of a republic. The rebellion was suppressed without much difficulty, but the severity of the punishment meted out to the "rebels" and the stern enforcement of martial law by the British Government convinced the vast majority of the Irish people that Home Rule could never be gained by peaceful, constitutional means. Accordingly they deserted the Nationalist Party and joined the Sinn Fein. In the general elections to the British Parliament in 1918, three-fourths of the Irish members elected were Sinn Feiners; instead of taking their seats at Westminster, they organized a parliament of their own (the Dail Eireann) at Dublin, elected Eamon De Valera President, and defied the British government.

For three years (1918-1921) a desperate struggle was continued between the Irish Republicans, on one hand, and the British government and the Ulster Unionists, on the other. There were no battles on a large scale, because the Republicans had no way of equipping an army with heavy artillery, tanks, and the other necessary paraphernalia; but there were frequent skirmishes between Republican riflemen and British or Ulster troops. Matters went constantly from bad to worse. Premier Lloyd George attempted to solve the problem by rushing a Home Rule Act through Parliament in 1920, but to no avail. While the Ulstermen accepted the Act as fairly satisfactory, the Irish Republicans denounced it as a mockery of Ireland's aims, since it established two governments in Ireland, one for the north and one for the south, and also because it gave very little power to either of them. Finally, when no other solution seemed possible, Lloyd George invited the Republicans to send delegates to London for the purpose of making peace.

**Establishment of the Irish Free State.** — The result of the negotiations between the Irish Republicans and the British Government was the signature of a treaty, in 1921, which provided for the establishment of an "Irish Free State," with

the same amount of freedom as Canada enjoyed, that is to say, with complete control over its own domestic affairs. Ulster could be a part of the Free State, or stay out, as she chose. De Valera, the president of the Dail Eireann, considered this arrangement unsatisfactory, because the Free State would not be the same as an independent republic,



EAMON DE VALERA

*M. Ford*

and members of the new Irish parliament would be required to take an oath of allegiance to the British King. Nevertheless, as a majority of the Dail Eireann favored the treaty, De Valera resigned. He was succeeded by Arthur Griffith, one of the Irish delegates who had signed the treaty. The British government, for its part, proceeded to carry out the treaty by passing a law (1922) providing for the establishment of the Free State.

A provisional government, under the presidency of Michael Collins, took over the administration of Ireland. Nevertheless, storm clouds still continued to hang darkly over the green isle of Erin. The provisional government had difficult problems to face. In the first place, the northern part of Ireland insisted on being excluded from the Free State and maintained its own "Government of Northern Ireland," as provided for in the Home Rule Act of 1920. There was constant friction between this Northern Government and the rest of Ireland. In the second place, the new Free State Government was temporarily weakened in 1922 by the death of Griffith and the killing of Collins. In the third place, the Republican

followers of De Valera, though defeated in the Irish elections of June, 1922, continued to oppose the Free State and resorted to violence. Nevertheless the constitution of the Free State was put into effect; De Valera was arrested and civil war ended; and the Irish Free State was admitted to the League of Nations in 1923.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Was Queen Victoria an autocrat? Explain your answer.
2. Was the British Parliament democratic in Queen Victoria's time?
3. Contrast Gladstone and Disraeli as to character and ideas. If they were candidates for the presidency in the United States, for which of the two would you vote? Why?
4. How was the popular demand for political democracy expressed?
5. How was the government of Great Britain made more democratic by the Reform Act of 1867? By the Ballot Act of 1872? By the Reform Acts of 1884 and 1885? By the Parliament Act of 1911? By the Reform Act of 1918?
6. Discuss the two principal political parties in Great Britain, with special reference to the influence of Gladstone, Bright, and Lloyd George on the one, and the influence of Disraeli, Salisbury, and Chamberlain on the other.
7. Explain the rise and influence of the Labor Party.
8. Why has Great Britain a serious land problem? How, in this respect, does England differ from France? What are the chief effects of land-monopoly in Great Britain? What has been done to solve the problem?
9. Why has Great Britain a particularly serious labor problem?
10. How was free trade established in Great Britain? Has it been opposed? Why? Successfully?
11. What did English statesmen and capitalists mean by "freedom of contract"? What was done at the beginning of the nineteenth century to enforce it? What were the effects upon the working classes? Who opposed freedom of contract?
12. Trace the rise of trade-unionism and indicate its political and social influence.
13. With what social problems did the Government attempt to deal between 1906 and 1914?
14. Explain the influence of foreign nationalism upon British imperialism and British patriotism. What influence did Disraeli have on imperialism and patriotism?



15. Describe the extent of the British Empire in 1815 and state what additions were made to it from 1874 to 1918.

16. What parts of the British Empire are governed autocratically? What parts are governed democratically? What is meant by the phrase, "self-governing Dominions"?

17. Why was Great Britain so proud of her navy and so willing to pay for a large fleet?

18. In what respects were the Irish people an "oppressed nationality" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Who are the "Ulstermen"? What was the "Union" of 1800?

19. Trace the Irish agitations in the nineteenth century, indicating the causes, methods, and results of each important movement for the betterment of Ireland's condition.

20. What was the origin of Sinn Fein? Why did it become popular? What was its program?

21. Explain how the Irish Free State was established. What part of Ireland did it include? How much freedom did it have? What opposition was there to its establishment?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Gladstone's personal characteristics.** MORLEY, *Life of Gladstone*, I, Book II, ch. vi, and III, Book X, ch. x.

**Disraeli's foreign policy.** MARRIOTT, *England Since Waterloo*, 447-465; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Beaconsfield," III, 563-571; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XV, 101-117.

**John Bright.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, IV, 567-570; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement, I, 273-291; G. M. TREVELYAN, *Life of John Bright*.

**Salisbury.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXIV, 72-77; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 2d Supplement, "Cecil," I, 329-343; H. D. TRAILL, *Marquis of Salisbury*.

**Joseph Chamberlain.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, V, 813-819; A. MACKINTOSH, *Joseph Chamberlain*.

**Lloyd George.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XVI, 832-833; *Encyclopedia Americana*, XII, 476-478; E. T. RAYMOND *Lloyd George*.

**Parnell.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XX, 854-859; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIII, 322-342; HAYDEN AND MOONAN, *Short History of the Irish People*, 520-539.

**Reform Bill of 1867.** BEARD, *English Historians*, 566-581; MARRIOTT, *England since Waterloo*, 344-356; MORLEY, *Life of Gladstone*, II, Book V, chs. xiii-xiv.

**Curbing the Lords.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 287-292; OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 140-161.

**Reform Bill of 1918.** OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 126-133.

**English foreign policy before the war.** SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, chs. vi-vii.

**The land problem.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 317-319; OGG, *Economic Development*, 158-186; PROTHERO, *English Farming, Past and Present*, ch. xix.

**Social legislation.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 307-317; OGG, *Economic Development*, 601-622; HAYES, *British Social Politics*.

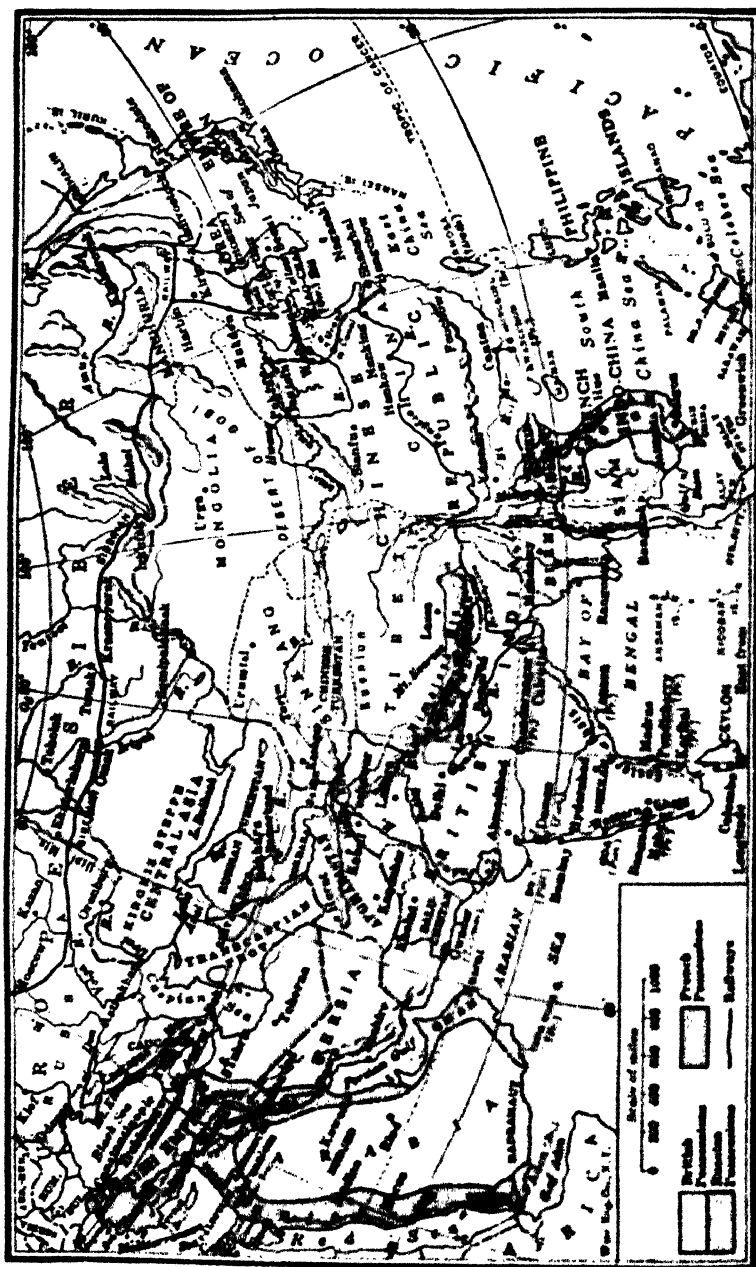
**Self-governing colonies.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 640-657; OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 336-346.

**Sinn Fein.** R. M. HENRY, *Evolution of Sinn Fein*; WELLS AND MARLOWE, *The Irish Convention and Sinn Fein*.

**Ireland today.** Look up articles in *Current History Magazine* (published by *New York Times*) since Jan., 1922. Also, look up "Ireland" in *Record of Political Events* (published by Academy of Political Science), using index.

#### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, chs. xxii, xxix (consult bibliography); CROSS, *History of England*, 966-1089; OMAN, *England in the 19th Century*; MARRIOTT, *England since Waterloo*; BIGHAM, *The Prime Ministers of Britain, 1721-1921*; HAYDEN AND MOONAN, *Short History of the Irish People*, 500-559; STRACHEY, *Queen Victoria*; G. M. TREVELYAN, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*.



ASIA IN 1914

**PART V**  
**'THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN**



## PART V

### THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

#### INTRODUCTION

From the time of the ancient Greeks and Romans down to the present day, the leading rôles in the drama of human history have been taken by the white men of Europe. It was in Europe, the smallest of all the five continents, that what we call modern civilization arose; that the common people first dared wrest the scepter of government from diademed autocrats; that nations learned patriotism; that inventors harnessed nature's forces to drive machines of iron and steel or to move man's ships and cars; that bullets and explosives were first made deadly weapons of warfare; that scientists explored the heavens with their telescopes or learned the secrets of chemistry, physics, biology, and medicine; that public schools and automatic printing presses opened to all the kingdom of knowledge.

But Europe has not kept these things to herself. From the fifteenth century to the twentieth, the Christian nations of Europe have been spreading their civilization, little by little, over every part of the world. As we have seen in earlier chapters of this book, they sent out explorers and missionaries and colonists to plant a "New Spain," a "New France," a "New England" — in short a New Europe — in America. Australia, too, and New Zealand became new homes for the European.

Still farther was the expansion of European civilization carried in the second half of the nineteenth and in the early years of the twentieth century. During this period, the European white man began to teach — and if need be to

compel — his yellow and brown and black brothers to adopt the ways of Europeans. A great poet, Rudyard Kipling, has called this task of Europeanizing the backward races "the white man's burden." Truly it is a burden, and a heavy one, to assume responsibility for leading hundreds of millions of non-Europeans into the paths of European civilization and progress. It is a burden that too often has been shouldered for selfish reasons, with little care for the welfare of the non-European races.

How, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the unprogressive yellow races of the Far East were roused from slumber to receive their first lessons in European civilization, and how the benighted black men of Africa were brought under European rule, will be the themes of our next two chapters.

## CHAPTER XXII

### ASIA IS AROUSED FROM SLUMBER

#### EUROPE KNOCKS AT CHINA'S DOOR

**Situation before 1840.** — Before the middle of the nineteenth century European civilization had made little headway in Asia. To be sure, the English East India Company, as we saw in Chapter IX, had acquired control of a large part of India, but the company was chiefly interested in commerce, rather than in Europeanizing India. Russia had annexed Siberia, and Russian colonists had begun to settle in that bleak and sparsely populated territory. Yet the Chinese Empire, Japan, Korea, Indo-China, Mongolia, Tibet, Persia, and Asiatic Turkey remained almost untouched and unexplored.

*China's Closed Door.* — Long before the nineteenth century, China had been visited by Catholic missionaries, who made a considerable number of converts, and also by European merchants, who were allowed to trade with the Chinese at Canton. However, the Chinese government was so proud of China's ancient traditions and so hostile to foreigners, that neither missionaries nor merchants were welcomed. Indeed, they were almost entirely excluded from the great "Celestial Empire." The Emperor and his haughty officials were determined to keep China's door tightly closed against the "barbarians," the "foreign devils" from Europe.

**The "Opium War," 1840 1842.** — Nevertheless, the Europeans were equally determined to enter. In 1840 Great Britain knocked on the door, and forced it partly open. It happened this way. A Chinese official at Canton attempted to stop the smuggling of opium from India into China by





A STREET IN CANTON, CHINA  
In the foreground are open-air markets.

British traders. The Chinese Government was perfectly justified in prohibiting the sale of this drug, because opium smoking is one of the most harmful of all vices. But the English traders had no desire to give up a profitable business, and they were angered by the high-handed measures which the Chinese official adopted. Great Britain therefore declared war. Thanks to their effective firearms, the British easily captured a number of cities on the coast. The Chinese then made peace, promising to pay a generous indemnity, to cede the island of Hongkong to England, and to open five ports, where Englishmen could live and trade without interference. Shortly afterwards, Americans, French, Belgians, Germans, Dutch, and other foreigners were given the same privilege of entering the five "treaty ports." Outside the treaty ports, however, foreigners were not permitted.

**The Second Chinese War, 1856-1860.** — The door was opened further by a second war. By an insult to the British flag and by the murder of a French missionary, the Chinese provoked both England and France to war. Again the "barbarians" were victorious. By the treaty of peace (1860), China was compelled to throw open six more ports, to allow Europeans to travel in the interior, to permit the opium trade, and to promise protection to Christian missionaries. Thus by two wars, China's door was opened to missionaries and merchants.

#### JAPAN LEARNS RAPIDLY

**Japan's Exclusiveness.** — Like China, the little island empire of Japan at the opening of the nineteenth century was attempting to shut herself off from the rest of the world. Only the Dutch had the privilege of trading with Japan, and they were permitted to send only one ship a year. Missionaries were absolutely barred out, and travelers were not allowed to set foot in the country. The Japanese felt that they had nothing to learn. Were not the Japanese warriors incomparably braver and more dexterous in wielding their

long curved swords than any foreign barbarians could possibly be? Were not the Japanese painters and pottery makers unrivaled in skill? Did not Japan possess an ancient religion<sup>1</sup> and a culture superior to all others?

**Japan Opened by Commodore Perry, 1854.** — In awakening Japan from this state of stagnant self-satisfaction, the United States took the lead. The reason for such action was that when American ships, cruising the northern Pacific for whales, were shipwrecked off the Japanese coast or forced to put in for supplies and repairs, the American sailors were often badly treated. Accordingly, Commodore Perry was sent with four American warships, in 1853, to demand better treatment for American mariners. When he appeared off the Japanese coast and presented his demands, the Japanese government was panic-stricken. Prayers were offered in the temples that the bold foreigners might be destroyed. But Japan's ancient gods were deaf to the plea. When Perry returned for his answer, the following year, with more warships, and with a terrifying display of cannon, the Japanese consented to sign a treaty opening two ports to American ships. A few years later, another American, Townsend Harris, persuaded Japan to open Nagasaki and Yokohama as ports where Americans could freely reside and trade. Other nations speedily obtained similar rights.

**Japanese Nobles Perceive Need of Reform.** — Still the Japanese, especially the feudal nobles, regarded the foreigners as "barbarians," who ought to be expelled from Japanese soil. Two of the chief nobles actually attacked the foreigners in the year 1863. When, in order to punish these

<sup>1</sup> The ancient Japanese religion is called Shintoism. It consisted in making offerings and paying worship to various gods and also to one's ancestors. Many centuries ago another religion, Buddhism, was brought to Japan from China, which in turn had learned it from India. Buddhism, with its idols and gorgeous temples, became blended with Shintoism. Only a small part of the Japanese people has ever been converted to Christianity.

hostile nobles, European and American warships bombarded Japanese towns, the vainglorious Japanese warriors found themselves completely at the mercy of the foreigners' superior artillery. Japan, they decided, had much to learn.

*Europeanization of Japan.* — Once they perceived the need, the Japanese became apt pupils, eager to learn what Europe had to teach. Beginning in the 1860's, they very rapidly reorganized their government, their laws, and their army, on European models. They built railways, factories, and steamships, as the Europeans did. Indeed, they soon began to export their manufactures and to win a place among the world's leading industrial and commercial nations. Though they retained many of their ancient social customs, their old religion, and their picturesque costumes (at least in the privacy of their homes), they were almost miraculously Europeanized in other respects.

**The Old Japanese Government.** — As regards political and military reforms, a few words of explanation are required. Up to the year 1867, Japan was a feudal state, with institutions resembling those that existed in Europe during the Middle Ages. There were lawless feudal nobles, gallant knights, and humble serfs in nineteenth-century Japan just as in medieval Europe. Her King or Emperor, however, was different. He was supposed to be a semi-divine person, a descendant of a goddess, and was therefore called by the Japanese the "son of heaven." By Europeans he was styled the Mikado. The Mikado, for many centuries past, had allowed all powers of local government to fall into the hands of the nobles, and had permitted the chief noble, or Shogun, to conduct the national government.

**Reforms Adopted after 1867.** — In his dealings with the Americans and Europeans, after 1853, the Shogun proved to be so weak that patriotic Japanese leaders urged him to resign. This he did, with a splendid spirit of self-sacrifice, in 1867, thus enabling the Mikado to take full charge of the government. The latter, it so happened, was a very young

man, Mutsuhito by name, full of energy, and anxious to modernize his country. He took a solemn oath to establish a parliament, unite all classes of people in the work of reform, break away from "uncivilized customs of former times," and seek throughout the world for knowledge to promote the empire's welfare. Unlike most rulers, he fulfilled his



MUTSUHITO

promises. In so doing, he had the assistance, fortunately, of a number of enthusiastic and level-headed young advisers. During the next few years reforms followed thick and fast. A law code based on French and German models was adopted, the schools were ordered to teach the English language, the European calendar was introduced, religious freedom was established, foreigners were received hospitably, and commissions were sent abroad to study western

institutions. Some of the Mikado's officials even took to wearing frock-coats and patent leather shoes, so eager were they to adopt European ways.

*Abolition of Feudalism, 1871.* — Most significant of all the reforms was the abolition of feudalism in 1871. This meant that the local government was transferred from the feudal nobles to the Mikado's officials. It meant also the end of serfdom for the common people. And in the third place it paved the way for military reform. In place of an hereditary caste of professional warrior knights, armed with two sharp swords apiece, there was established in 1873 a

national army, based on the Prussian system of universal conscription, and armed with modern guns.

*The Constitution of 1889.* — Another great reform was the promulgation of a Constitution (1889), which provided for a cabinet, a House of Lords, and a House of Representatives, more or less on the Prussian model. It was not democratic, because the cabinet was not made responsible to the parliament, and the poorer classes of people were not given votes. The monarchy was in reality an Oriental autocracy masquerading in the garments of European parliamentary government. Such Japan remained for a third of a century. Although some of her politicians wished to make the government more liberal, progress toward democracy was slow. To transform an autocracy into a genuine democracy usually takes time. Not until 1925 were the masses enfranchised.

#### THE POWERS PLAN TO DISMEMBER CHINA

**The Chino-Japanese War, 1894-1895.** — While Japan was thus Europeanizing herself, China had remained conservative and scornful of Western civilization. That Japan had chosen the wiser course was proved by the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. The war grew out of a quarrel over the neighboring kingdom of Korea, which the Japanese desired to modernize and open up for Japanese colonization, whereas the Chinese insisted on treating it as a vassal state and encouraged its king's anti-Japanese and anti-European policy. The war was a brilliant success for Japan. Every battle was a Japanese victory. When peace was signed in 1895, China not only promised to keep hands off Korea, but agreed to admit the Japanese to Chinese "treaty ports," to pay an indemnity, and to cede to Japan (1) the island of Formosa, and (2) the Liaotung Peninsula, in southern Manchuria, adjoining Korea.

**European Powers Oppose Japanese Annexations.** — The European Powers, however, had no intention of allowing Japan to obtain a foothold on the mainland of Asia. The

Russian Tsar had plans of his own for Manchuria. The German Emperor considered Japan a "yellow peril." Accordingly, Russia, Germany, and France (as Russia's faithful ally) promptly "advised" Japan to give the Liaotung Peninsula to China, and Japan accepted the "advice," rather than risk war with the three Powers.

**European Powers Take Ports and Prepare to Partition China.** — Immediately, the three European Powers proceeded to help themselves. Germany seized the Bay of Kiao-chao, on the coast of the rich Chinese province of Shantung, claiming that such action was necessary to avenge the murder of two German missionaries by Chinese. China was compelled in 1898 to lease the bay to Germany for ninety-nine years. This was an ingenious way of disguising what amounted practically to German annexation of the place. Immediately Russia demanded and obtained a similar lease of Port Arthur, on the Liaotung Peninsula, in addition to "concessions" (that is, charters) for the building of Russian railways in Manchuria. Since Russian troops were to be stationed along the railways, Manchuria would be under Russian control. France, not to be outdone, obtained the lease of a bay in southern China and exacted from China a promise that the Chinese provinces south of the Valley of the Yangtze River should never be ceded to any nation other than France. Great Britain, too, demanded a share. She obtained the leased port of Wei-hai-wei (near Kiao-chao) and selected the fertile Yangtze Valley as the portion of China on which she was to have first claim in case China should be divided up. Even Italy applied for a leased port, but by that time the Chinese Government had grown weary of giving away Chinese territory.

*"Spheres of Influence."* — The arrangements made in the year 1898 showed clearly that the European Powers were planning to dismember the weak Chinese Empire. Russia was to take Manchuria; Germany, Shantung; England, the Yangtze Valley; France, the region south of the Yangtze.

Each Power had marked out the region it would annex as soon as China should be dismembered. In the meantime, each Power regarded its region as a "sphere of influence," that is, an area in which its own capitalists were to have a monopoly of "concessions" for building railways, opening mines, and conducting other profitable business enterprises too ambitious for the natives to undertake. China appeared to the European capitalists as an inexhaustible treasure-house. Her soil was laden with coal, iron, and other minerals; her three hundred million inhabitants were frugal, industrious, and willing to work for small wages. The foreign capitalists who could employ Chinese laborers to dig mines, build railways, or work in factories, would obtain dazzling profits, so it appeared. This is the reason why each European Power was eager to have a share.

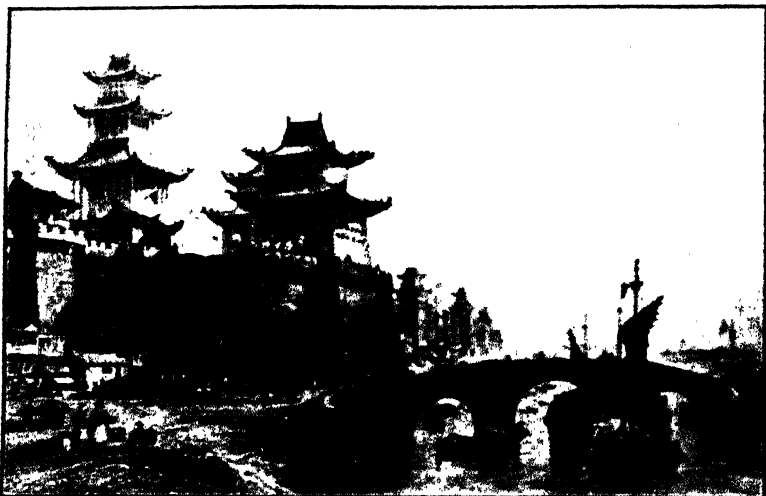
*The "Open Door" Policy of the United States.* — The United States, however, stepped forward as the friend of China, and instead of claiming a "sphere of influence," advocated the "open door policy," which meant that all parts of China should be open, on equal terms, to the citizens of all foreign countries for commerce and investment. To this unselfish policy, England gave some support, and other Powers agreed more or less hypocritically, since they had their "spheres of influence" already marked out.

#### CHINA AWAKENS -- WITH DIFFICULTY

**Kwang-su's Failure to Westernize China.** -- It was high time that China should bestir herself and follow Japan's example of adopting European civilization, before her independence was lost forever. So at least thought the twenty-five-year-old emperor, Kwang-su, who was then reigning. Kwang-su imagined that he could do for China what Peter the Great had done for Russia and what Mutsuhito had done for Japan. In 1898 he made the attempt. He ordered colleges to be established for the teaching of Western knowledge; he ordered the building of railways; he decreed that European



literary and scientific works should be translated into Chinese for his people to study; he began to reorganize the inefficient administration and the army. But many influential people still hated everything foreign, and many officials were afraid of losing their ill-earned salaries or their privileges. Putting herself at the head of these conservatives, Kwang-su's aunt — a very strong-minded lady — persuaded one of the army



ONE OF THE GATES OF PEKING

*From an old print*

Explain the reason for the wall around the city. How does Chinese architecture differ from European? Make a mental list of the things in this picture that show the difference between the old Chinese civilization and modern European or American civilization.

generals to help her make the young Emperor a prisoner. The aunt herself took charge of the government, repealed Kwang-su's reform edicts, and declared she would oppose the "tiger-like" greed of the foreign Powers.

✓ **The Boxer War, 1900.** — Opposition to European civilization soon grew still bolder. A secret society, the "Boxers," was formed with the aim of driving the Europeans out of China entirely. Missionaries and their converts were mas-

sacred, railways torn up, and the homes of foreigners destroyed by fire. In Peking the districts where ambassadors and other foreigners lived were besieged by Boxers. Then China received an unpleasant lesson. Japanese, Russian, British, American, French, and German troops came to the rescue of the foreigners in Peking, defeated the Boxers, looted the city, and captured the imperial palaces. China not only had to promise to respect the privileges of foreigners, but also had to grant additional privileges and pay an indemnity amounting to over \$320,000,000. Only one nation was generous enough to give up its share of the indemnity, and that nation was the United States. The American Government agreed that the sum due America should be used for the education of Chinese students in American colleges and universities.

**Effects of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905.** — A second unpleasant lesson followed, four years after the Boxer War. In 1904-1905, as we learned in Chapter XIX,<sup>1</sup> Russia and Japan fought a war to decide whether Korea and Manchuria should be Russian or Japanese spheres of influence. The war had important effects on the situation in Asia. (1) It gave Japan the upper hand in Korea and the southern part of Manchuria. Russia's lease of Port Arthur in southern Manchuria was transferred to Japan. Korea became a Japanese sphere of influence after 1905 and was formally annexed a few years later (in 1910). Thus Japan began a career of territorial expansion on the mainland, at China's expense. (2) Japan's success made England quite willing to conclude a close alliance with the victor, in 1905.<sup>2</sup> (3) For China, the war was a bitter lesson. Russia and Japan fought the war on Chinese soil — in Manchuria — and usurped the right to dispose of China's Manchurian provinces, utterly disregarding China's wishes in the matter. Moreover, the defeat of gigantic Russia by the small Europeanized nation

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 557-558.

<sup>2</sup> A ~~less~~ binding alliance had been formed in 1902.



YUAN SHIH-KAI

The first constitutional President of the Chinese Republic. He was President from 1912 to 1916. Yuan is the short man wearing a uniform and riding boots. The other members of the group are Chinese officials and foreign diplomats.

of Japan was proof enough that Europeanization was worth while.

**Chinese Reforms, 1905-1911.** — After the Russo-Japanese War, the Chinese Government zealously endeavored to make up for lost time. Candidates for the civil service were required to study European sciences, history, geography, economics, international law, and foreign languages. Thousands of students were sent to Japanese, European, and American universities, while many more thousands received a Europeanized education at the new universities which were founded in China. An imperial decree announced that opium-smoking must cease in ten years. Railway-building was encouraged and the government itself purchased two railways from foreign builders. Part of the army was reorganized on Western lines; princes and nobles were urged to give their sons military education; and plans were made for a strong navy. The administration of the government was made simpler and more efficient. A commission was sent abroad to study the governments of America, Europe, and Japan; on its return, a decree was issued promising the establishment of a parliament, and as preparatory steps toward this goal provincial assemblies and a national senate were created. China seemed at last to be following in Japan's footsteps.

**The Chinese Revolution of 1911.** — There were, however, a number of reformers who wished China to go even faster and farther. They desired a progressive republic rather than an enlightened autocracy. Moreover, as Chinese patriots, they hated the Manchu dynasty of emperors, for the Manchus were not real Chinese but an alien race who had conquered China in the seventeenth century. In the year 1911 the Chinese republicans began a revolution, established a provisional republican government at Nanking, the former capital of the empire, and elected a Christian physician, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, as provisional president.

**Yuan Shih-Kai and the Republic.** — The general whom the Manchu government sent to negotiate with the rebels

was a shrewd and ambitious man by the name of Yuan Shih kai. He disloyally agreed to the establishment of a republic, and had himself elected president, replacing Sun Yat-sen. Yuan loved power, rather than republicanism. As president, he dissolved the National Assembly, which had been elected to draw up a constitution. Soon he became practically a dictator. He even attempted to transform the republic into an empire, with himself as Emperor. Death, however, put an end to his schemes, in 1916.

**Weakness of the Republic.** --- Since the death of Yuan Shih-kai China has continued to be a republic, but has been troubled by almost incessant local rebellions and small civil wars. A nation of over three hundred million people cannot be converted to republicanism, democracy, and progress in a single day or even in a decade. The ignorance and conservatism of the masses, the selfish ambitions of would-be dictators, the differences of opinion among political leaders, and the meddlesome attitude of foreign Powers were pretty serious obstacles for democracy to overcome.

**Factors Promoting Progress.** --- Nevertheless, it is true that China had really awakened. No longer were the Chinese people content to go on dreaming of the achievements of their ancestors and closing their eyes to the progress of other nations. There were several factors which could be counted on to promote China's progress.

(1) *Education.* --- Every year thousands of young Chinese were graduating from foreign universities and returning home inspired with the hope of making their country the equal of any in civilization and patriotism. And the students at Chinese universities were equally patriotic and progressive.

(2) *Missions.* --- European and American missionaries were constantly at work, not only preaching Christianity, but also teaching the Chinese to understand Western ideals.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Most of the Chinese are Buddhists, Taoists, or Confucianists, in religion. Ancestor-worship is one of the most widespread religious practices. There are also several million Mohammedans and two or three million Christian converts.

(3) *Trade*. — China's foreign trade, which increased by six hundred per cent in the twenty-five years preceding the Great War, brought her people into closer contact with foreigners and stimulated the desire for an up-to-date government.

(4) *Industrial Revolution*. — Moreover, the Industrial Revolution had commenced in China. Beginning in 1895, scores of factories had been erected and equipped with modern machinery. The six thousand miles of railway constructed between 1875 and 1914 were almost certain to increase the unity of the people and their interest in national affairs, as well as to promote travel and trade. Mining and iron-founding had already been important industries. Thanks to her wealth of natural resources, especially of coal and iron, and thanks also to the almost unlimited supply of cheap labor, China was likely to become one of the world's greatest industrial nations of the future.

**Selfish Policy of Foreign Powers.** — The two greatest obstacles in China's path were the lack of harmony among her politicians and the selfish policy of foreign powers. The former has already been explained. The latter requires a few words of comment. Back in 1898, Russia, France, Germany, and England, had marked out "spheres of influence," in which their own capitalists were to be given preference, in preparation for the partition of China's territory. By the Russo-Japanese War, Japan had converted southern Manchuria from a Russian into a Japanese sphere of influence. The weakness of China during and after the Revolution of 1911 gave Russia an opportunity to compensate herself for this loss by making Mongolia (a vast but rather barren tributary state belonging to China) a Russian sphere of influence. At the same time, Great Britain added part of Tibet, another thinly-peopled tributary state, to her sphere. Japan, meanwhile, strengthened her grip on southern Manchuria.<sup>1</sup>

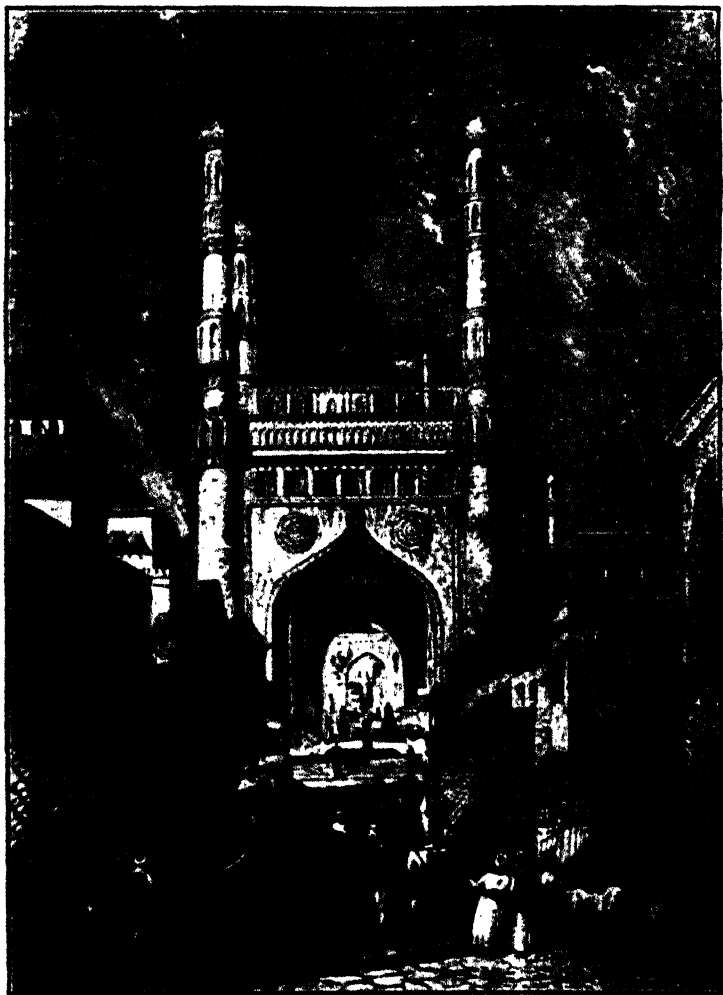
<sup>1</sup> During the Great War of 1914 Russia lost control of Manchuria and Mongolia. The Japanese henceforth regarded all Manchuria and, in addition, part of Mongolia, as their sphere of influence. The Japanese

**Chinese Patriotism Opposed to Foreign Domination.** — As their patriotism awakened, the Chinese began to resent more and more bitterly the partition of their empire into spheres of influence. They did not like the idea that any railway built in the Japanese sphere, for example, must be owned by Japanese capitalists, managed by Japanese, and guarded by Japanese police or soldiers. They did not relish the exploitation of Chinese mineral resources for foreigners' profit. They desired the right to modify China's customs tariff and other taxes in accordance with Chinese, rather than foreign, interests. The foreign Powers, however, and especially Japan, were equally determined to preserve and enlarge their spheres of influence. Between the selfish aims of the Powers and the awakening patriotism of China, trouble was sure to arise.

#### INDIA TAKES A FEW LESSONS FROM JOHN BULL

**Acquisition of India by the East India Company.** — The great empire of India, almost as populous as China but only half as large in area, received the first lessons in European civilization chiefly at the hands of England. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, trading stations were established in India by Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English. In the eighteenth century, as Chapter IX explained, the English defeated their chief rivals, the French, and the English East India Company acquired political control in addition to commercial rights in a large part of India. The native emperor became a mere figurehead. Before the middle of the nineteenth century, most of his lands were either conquered or compelled to recognize the English company's authority. Thus a commercial company won for itself an empire many times larger than England.

**The Sepoy Mutiny, 1857.** — In 1857, however, a mutiny or rebellion broke out among the "Sepoys," the native Indian soldiers employed by the East India Company. The insurrection also gained control of Shantung. See Chapter XXV, p. 731, and Chapter XXVI, pp. 773, 781.



*From an old Print.*

#### OLD HYDERABAD, INDIA

This shows something of the architecture and the people of India a century ago.

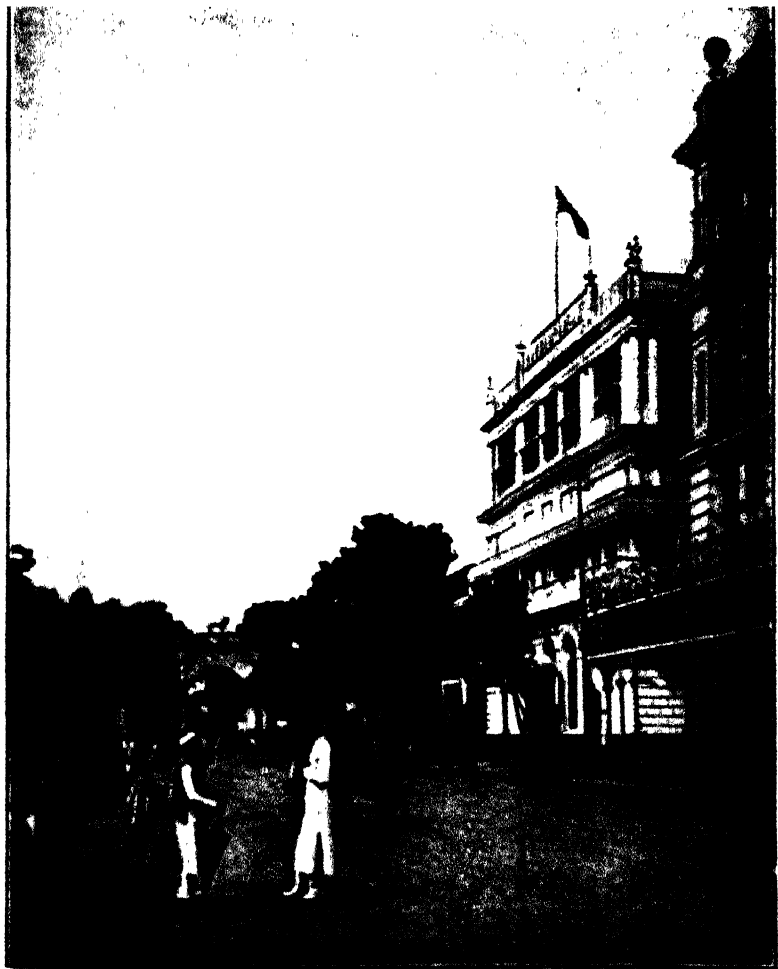


rection spread like wildfire, until it threatened to destroy English rule. Only by dint of severe fighting did British troops extinguish the flames. To prevent the repetition of such an outbreak, thousands of the captured rebels were shot down in cold blood, others were shot from the mouths of cannons, and the native Emperor was exiled. India had received one lesson — rebellion is dangerous.

**India under British Government.** — As a result of the Sepoy Mutiny, the British government decided to take India over from the Company's hands. After 1858 the greater part of India was governed by a British Viceroy sent out from London. In the other parts of the country, native princes (*maharajahs, rajahs, nizams, etc.*) were allowed to keep their thrones, but only on condition that they submit to British control. In order to impress the natives, the English Queen, Victoria, assumed the title of Empress of India (1877).

**Progress of India.** — Under British rule, the inhabitants of India made considerable progress in European civilization. Railways and highways were built, irrigation works constructed, cotton and jute mills erected. People of different races and religions were taught, or compelled, to live side by side in peace. The laws were codified and brought into harmony with English ideas of justice. The government forbade widows to practice the old custom of *suttee*, that is, of burning themselves to death as a sign of devotion to their deceased husbands. Furthermore, several universities and a large number of schools were established, although, of course, Great Britain's primary reason for ruling India was to promote British business, not Indian education.

**The Movement for Home Rule.** — One thing the upper classes in India learned more or less against the will of the British. The young men who studied in European and American universities learned to desire for India the liberties and the right of self-government which European nations prized so highly. Returning home, they founded newspapers and organized societies to work for India's freedom. These advo-



#### MODERN CALCUTTA, INDIA

Compare this thoroughly Europeanized section of Calcutta with the preceding picture of Hyderabad a century ago, and you will understand at least the superficial results of British rule in India.

cates of self-government, the so-called Indian "Nationalists," grew more and more insistent in demanding home rule for India. As a concession to their plea, Great Britain allowed the natives to elect some of the members of a council, which had no power except to offer advice to the viceroy; in most of the provinces, also, similar advisory councils were established, consisting partly of elected representatives and partly of persons appointed by the British administration. When this concession failed to satisfy the Nationalists, the British authorities censored the press, forbade "seditious" meetings, and severely punished all conspiracies or insurrections.

**British Objections to Indian Home Rule.** — By 1914 the Indian upper classes had learned more of national patriotism and of the desire for national self-determination than Great Britain approved. The British wished to keep India, for business reasons. Besides, self-government would be injurious, they said, because India was not yet ready for it. India was a big country, with 315,000,000 inhabitants lacking experience in self-government, and badly divided in religion, race, and language. In religion, about two-thirds were Hindus and one-fifth Mohammedans, while the others were divided among Buddhism, Christianity, primitive spirit-worship, and other religions. By race, most of the people were Aryans (that is, white men similar to the Europeans), but a large minority came of different stock. Of languages there were more than a hundred. Besides, even among Hindus speaking the same tongue and worshipping the same gods there were social divisions too serious to be bridged with ease; the social distinctions between the various "castes" or classes among the Hindus of India are celebrated all over the world for their extraordinary rigidity. A Hindu of high caste would consider it a sin to touch a low-caste person. Because of these religious, racial, linguistic, and caste divisions, India if left to herself would fall into chaos and anarchy, said the British. On the other hand the Indian Nationalists declared they could govern themselves better than England could govern them.

Such was the perplexing result of India's lessons in European civilization. She was willing to discharge her teacher.<sup>1</sup>

#### OTHER PARTS OF ASIA ARE OPENED UP

**France in Indo-China.** — Between India and China lies the large peninsula of Indo-China, a tropical region whose inhabitants represent a middle stage between the civilizations of India and China. In the second half of the nineteenth century the persecution of French Catholic missionaries by one of the native kings gave the Emperor Napoleon III of France an excuse for conquering several provinces, and bit by bit the French possessions were extended until "French Indo-China" included the entire eastern half of the peninsula. In this country French laws were introduced to a certain extent and a few French schools were established, but on the whole France seemed to care less about civilizing the natives than about selling French manufactures to them.

**Progress of Siam.** — In the center of the Indo-Chinese peninsula there was left an independent kingdom, Siam, squeezed in between French Indo-China on one side and British possessions (Burma, the Straits Settlements, and the Malay States) on the other side. Although some of its border provinces were taken by France and England, Siam remained independent. Under the rule of its own King, who voluntarily appointed American and European advisers, this little Asiatic nation of nine million olive-colored folk made rapid progress. Post offices and telegraphs were established. Young men were sent abroad to study agricultural science, forestry,

<sup>1</sup> After the Great War, England established a Legislative Assembly and a Council of State to make laws for India, subject to British approval, and with many restrictions. Nevertheless the Indian agitation for self-government grew more and more powerful, under the leadership of Mohandas Gandhi. Gandhi urged his followers to use peaceful methods: they should refuse to cooperate in any way with the British government, but they should not employ violence. Gandhi and a number of other leaders were imprisoned by the British authorities, but the agitation continued. See ch. xxix.



THE FRENCH GOVERNOR OF INDO-CHINA PLAYING A PHONOGRAPH FOR THE  
NATIVES

and mining. Schools were established. Siam to-day has a larger number of people able to read and write, and a larger number of children attending school, in proportion to her population, than India.

**Russian Colonization of Siberia.** — Turning now to the northern part of Asia, we find quite a different situation. Siberia is the only part of the continent that has been colonized by Europeans. This great expanse, which had been appropriated by Russian conquerors and pioneers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, received in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries millions of Russian colonists, and a large number of Russian convicts, until the native tribes were outnumbered four to one by Russians, and the total population reached ten millions. Most of the colonists settled in southern Siberia, where the soil is very fertile; in the north, large areas of bleak and barren land are still almost uninhabited. The great Trans-Siberian Railway, built by the Russian Government between 1892 and 1905, did much to promote the development of the colony.

*Russian Expansion Blocked by Japan and England.* — We have already seen how Russian attempts to add Manchuria and Korea to Siberia were foiled by Japan. Another enemy, Great Britain, blocked Russia's expansion southward from Siberia toward India and the Persian Gulf. As Russia gradually forced her way into Central Asia, between the Caspian Sea and China, Great Britain became alarmed for the safety of India. As a result, the British declared that Tibet and Afghanistan should be buffer states, which Russia must not attempt to conquer; indeed, England later made these two mountainous countries British spheres of influence.

**Persia.** — The clash of Russian and English ambitions was especially acute in Persia, an anciently glorious but now decayed Mohammedan kingdom. The English feared lest Russia should gain control of Persia and thus come uncomfortably close to India. Finally, in 1907, Great Britain and Russia came to an agreement by which northern Persia was to be a

Russian and southeastern Persia a British sphere of influence, while the middle section was to be a "neutral" or buffer zone. The bargain was a good thing in that it prevented war between Russia and England, but for the Persians it was a calamity. As in most other Asiatic countries, there had arisen in Persia a party of reformers who desired to adopt European institutions without sacrificing their country's independence. These reformers persuaded the Shah (King) to grant a constitution, create a parliament, and employ European and American advisers in the work of reorganizing the administration. The Russian Tsar, however, desired to keep Persia weak, for obvious reasons, and therefore not only interfered with reforms but even fomented civil war, so that he might have an excuse for sending his troops into the unhappy country. As a result, Persia remained in a disorderly and unprogressive condition, with her northern provinces under Russian control, the south under British control, and a considerable part of the middle zone in the hands of lawless bandits. Being a bone of contention between two Great Powers was even worse than being swallowed by one of them.

**Asiatic Turkey and the Bagdad Railway.** — Finally, a few words should be said about the Turkish Empire in Asia, which included Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, Mesopotamia, and the western borders of the Arabian Peninsula. At the close of the nineteenth century this region was being frightfully misgoverned by the Turks. With the exception of missionary work in Syria and Armenia, and a few short railways, European civilization was still unknown. Early in the twentieth century, however, a German company obtained a concession, or contract, to build a railway right across Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, connecting Constantinople with Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. The Germans hoped by this means to obtain a direct route from Germany to the markets of Persia and India. The railway would also be useful in case of a war against England. In addition, the Germans hoped that by means of irrigation a large supply of grain might be obtained



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AN ARAB AT PRAYER IN THE DESERT

All faithful Mohammedans must pray five times a day, with faces turned toward the holy city of Mecca.



from Mesopotamia, and they were sure that rich oilfields and mineral resources would be opened up for the profit of German capitalists.

*Opposition to the Bagdad Railway.* — This so-called Bagdad Railway scheme was opposed and hindered by Germany's rivals, albeit the Germans persevered in constructing the line. Russia disliked to have Germany gain control of Turkey. Great Britain feared that a German railway reaching to the Persian Gulf might endanger British control of India and of the valuable oil wells around the Persian Gulf. In fact, the hostility aroused by the Bagdad Railway was one of the indirect causes of the Great War of 1914.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What is meant by the "white man's burden"?
2. To what extent was Asia influenced by European civilization before 1840?
3. Discuss the Opium War and the Second Chinese War as stages in the opening up of China to European trade.
4. What important political and social reforms were accomplished in Japan between 1867 and 1889?
5. Explain the causes and immediate results of the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895.
6. Why did various European Powers appropriate Chinese seaports and stake out "spheres of influence" in China, in the last part of the nineteenth century? What did each of these Powers obtain? How did the attitude of the United States contrast with theirs?
7. Why was China "Europeanized" less rapidly than Japan?
8. What was the Boxer War? What effect did it have on China?
9. Why did Russia fight Japan? What were the effects of the war on Japan, Russia, and China?
10. Discuss the reforms that were adopted in China from 1905 to 1911, and show how they led to the Revolution of 1911.
11. What are the chief weaknesses in the Chinese Republic? What factors are promoting progress in China?
12. Who was Yuan Shih-kai? Dr. Sun Yat-sen? Contrast the two men.
13. What actions of other Powers, from 1905 to 1918, were unfavorable to China?
14. What did the Washington Conference do about China and other problems of the Pacific? (Consult Chapter XXVI.)

15. Discuss the progress of India under British rule. Why do many persons in India demand "self-determination"? Why do most Englishmen oppose it?

16. What part of Asia did France appropriate?

17. What parts of Asia did Russia obtain? What parts did the Russians colonize?

18. Why was the Bagdad Railway a bone of contention among the Great Powers of Europe?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Perry and the Europeanization of Japan.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 577-586; LATOURETTE, *Development of Japan*, ch. vii; HORNBECK, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*, ch. vii.

**The Japanese government.** HERSHEY, *Modern Japan*, 218-234; LATOURETTE, *Development of Japan*, 129-147; MCGOVERN, *Modern Japan*, 98-110; HORNBECK, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*, ch. viii.

**The Russo-Japanese War.** GIBBONS, *World Politics*, ch. xii; HORNBECK, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*, ch. xiv.

**United States and the Open Door.** HORNBECK, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*, ch. xiii; MILLARD, *Democracy and the Eastern Question*, ch. xi.

**The Boxer War.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 574-575; LATOURETTE, *Development of China*, 191-196; DOUGLAS, *Europe and the Far East*, ch. xvii.

**The Chinese Republic.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 575-576; CHENG, *Modern China*, 12-28; GIBBONS, *World Politics*, ch. xxvii.

**The Sepoy Mutiny.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 667-668; BEARD, *English Historians*, 638-644.

**The problem of India.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 662-672; HOLDERNESS, *Peoples and Problems of India*, esp. ch. x; LAJPAT RAI, *Political Future of India*, ch. xvii.

**The Bagdad Railway.** ROSE, *Origins of the War*, 82-90; SCHMITT, *England and Germany* (use index); JASTROW, *The War and the Bagdad Railway*; EARLE, *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway*.

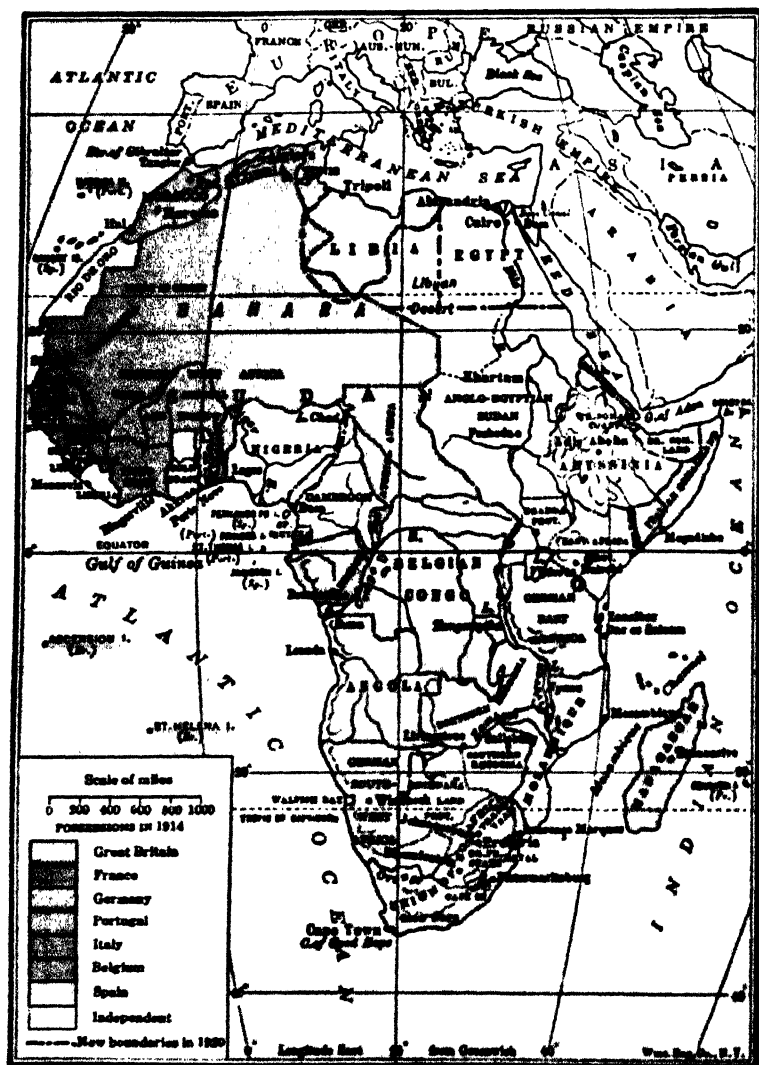
**Persia.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 589-590; GIBBONS, *World Politics*, ch. xiv.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, ch. xxvii; DOUGLAS, *Europe and the Far East*; LATOURETTE, *Development of Japan*, *Development of China*; HERSHEY, *Modern Japan*; GIBBONS, *New Map of Asia*; GILES, *Civilization of China*; TREAT, *Japan and the United States*.

### HISTORICAL FICTION

STEELE, *Through Three Campaigns*; KIPLING, *Plain Tales*, *Kim*; HENTY, *In Times of Peril*.



## AFRICA IN 1914

## CHAPTER XXIII

### AFRICA IS PARTITIONED

#### WHY AFRICA WAS PARTITIONED

**The "Dark" Continent.** — Until almost the close of the nineteenth century the second largest of the world's land-masses remained a "Dark Continent," in more senses than one. Its inhabitants, for the most part, were dark of skin. And they were even darker of mind, for the light of European civilization had not yet reached them. Most of Africa was an unexplored wilderness.

For this condition there were good reasons. (1) The temperate northern coastlands of Africa were inhabited by white peoples who were Mohammedan in religion and therefore hostile to European Christian civilization. At the beginning of the nineteenth century most of these lands belonged to the great Mohammedan Empire of Turkey. (2) Just south of the coastlands lay the great desert, the Sahara, which was hardly suitable for either colonization or civilization. (3) South of the Sahara, Africa seemed to be mainly a country of tropical jungles, elephants, gorillas, baboons, crocodiles, hippopotami, and deadly fevers — a land fit only for savage negro tribes. (4) Had they known it, Europeans might have found healthful plateaus to colonize in South Africa, but such regions were hid away in the interior.

**European Acquisitions before 1880.** — Only one real colony was planted in Africa before the nineteenth century, and that was Cape Colony, in South Africa, settled by the Dutch. There were also a number of small trading posts on the western coast, where Europeans bought slaves and ivory tusks,

but these posts were not important. Early in the nineteenth century Great Britain took Cape Colony from Holland (1814). A few years later France conquered Algeria, in the north (1830). Still, even as late as 1880, eleven-twelfths of the continent remained to be appropriated.

**Reasons for New Interest in Africa about 1880.** — Toward the close of the nineteenth century Europeans began to take



DAVID LIVINGSTONE

The great Scottish missionary and explorer who opened up the south-central part of Africa.

new interest in Africa. Four reasons may be given. (1) *Nationalism*. The patriotism of European nations had been roused to the fever point during the years 1848-1871, especially by the wars of German and Italian unification, and as a result the ardent patriots of France, England, Germany, and Italy were eager to extend their respective nations' possessions. (2) *Missions*. A remarkable outburst of missionary zeal, among Catholics and Protestants

alike, interested people in the work of abolishing the African slave trade and converting the heathen natives to Christianity. (3) *Industrial Revolution*. The Industrial Revolution, by increasing the production of manufactures, made European capitalists anxious to open up new markets for their goods. (4) *Explorations*. Led by scientific curiosity or by love of excitement, daring explorers traveled through the interior, mapping out the country and meeting with thrilling adventures amongst the cannibals and strange wild beasts of the forests. The story of how David Livingstone, the kind-

hearted Scotch missionary-explorer, was lost in the interior and was found by Henry M. Stanley, a reporter for the New York *Herald*, is too long to tell here, but it is well worth reading. On his return, Stanley declared that European cotton manufacturers could make fortunes by selling gay-colored clothing to the naked savages.

**The Partition of Africa Begins about 1880.** — Because of the four reasons just mentioned, European Powers rushed to obtain territories in Africa, beginning about 1880. For example, King Leopold of Belgium, with Stanley's aid, acquired a huge African kingdom, "Congo Free State," with an area eighty times that of Belgium and a population of fifteen million negroes. Simultaneously France took Tunis, on the northern coast of Africa, and staked out her claims in the northern part of the Congo Valley. Italy annexed a region on the shore of the Red Sea. England sent troops to bring Egypt under British control. Bismarck, too, took possession of four colonies for Germany. It was the beginning of a wild scramble for territory.

**Methods of Acquiring Territory.** — Carving out empires in Africa was an easy matter. For a few bottles of gin, some guns, and a few gaudy trinkets, an African chieftain could be bribed to sign a treaty (which he could not read) placing his lands under the protectorate of a European Power. Sometimes not even this formality was observed. Often two or three European diplomats would sit down in Paris or London, with a map spread out before them, and divide up millions of square miles amongst their respective nations simply by drawing lines on the map.

#### ENGLAND'S CAPE-TO-CAIRO SCHEME ENCOUNTERS OBSTACLES

**Cecil Rhodes and the Cape-to-Cairo Scheme.** — England, as we have seen, had taken Cape Colony from Holland in 1814 and had assumed control, though not absolute sovereignty, over Egypt in 1883. To connect the Cape with the Egyptian city of Cairo by a railway and a solid chain of

British territories, extending from one end of the continent to the other, was the grandiose ambition of Cecil Rhodes, one of Britain's greatest "empire-builders." Rhodes went



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CECIL RHODES, 1853-1902

The famous British empire-builder, who made a gigantic fortune as the owner of diamond and gold mines in South Africa, and who acquired for England the extensive territory of "Rhodesia." At his death, he left part of his fortune to found the "Rhodes Scholarships," the purpose of which is to provide an English university education at Oxford for a certain number of young men from the British Dominions and from the United States.

to South Africa as a young man to improve his health. The discovery of diamonds there gave him an opportunity to become a millionaire. Thanks to his wealth and his forceful personality, he won a leading position in the government of Cape Colony and was even able to influence the British cabinet at London. He used his political power for two purposes, to promote his own business interests and to extend Britain's empire by carrying out the Cape-to-Cairo scheme.

(1) **The Portuguese Obstacle.** — The first obstacle encountered was Portugal. This little country claimed a wide belt of territory extending from the east coast to the west coast, north of Cape Colony, blocking the route to Egypt. Rhodes, how-

ever, organized a company which took possession of the region now called Rhodesia, and Portugal was left with the coasts in her hands but without the connecting strip of inland territory.

(2) **The German Obstacle.** — The second obstacle was German East Africa, which German empire-builders were trying to extend so as to include Uganda and all the country between King Leopold's Congo Kingdom and the Indian Ocean. Rhodes saw that this would place a barrier between Rhodesia and Egypt, and he therefore urged the British Government to act promptly. This time his efforts were only half successful. Germany gave up Uganda, by an agreement signed in 1890, but on the other hand England allowed German East Africa to be extended inland as far as the Congo State, thus cutting right across the Cape-to-Cairo route.<sup>1</sup> And when, in later years, England endeavored to break through the barrier, by obtaining from King Leopold a narrow strip of Congo to connect British Rhodesia with British Uganda, Germany protested strongly enough to prevent the conclusion of the bargain. Germany's opposition to the Cape-to-Cairo scheme was not overcome until the Great War of 1914.

(3) **The French Obstacle.** — A third obstacle was the French dream of establishing a great French Empire of North Africa. During the 1880's and 1890's, the French had been pushing inland from various points along the western coast as well as from Tunis and Algeria on the north, and were rapidly gaining control not only of the Sahara but of the Sudan (the fairly fertile band of territory south of the Sahara). If they could win Abyssinia and the upper valley of the Nile, their empire would extend from Cape Verde on the west to the Gulf of Aden on the east, from coast to coast. But there could not be both a French east-to-west empire and a British north-to-south empire. One of the two must give way.

*Anglo-French Dispute over the Sudan.* — The key to the situation was the eastern part of the Sudan, the part in-

<sup>1</sup> By this same agreement, Great Britain also ceded to Germany the little island of Heligoland, near the coast of Germany. Heligoland was later made an important German naval base.



cluding the southern section of the Nile River. Here the two empire plans conflicted. This region was called the Egyptian Sudan, because it had formerly been owned by Egypt. Egypt, however, had lost it in the 1880's, as the result of native insurrection. England, as the Power controlling Egypt, regarded the Egyptian Sudan as her "sphere of influence"—a region to be appropriated by her in course of time. France, on the other hand, thought that the Egyptian Sudan should belong to whichever Power could seize it first.

*The Fashoda Incident, 1898.*—Accordingly, the French sent several expeditions to take possession, and one of the expeditions succeeded in reaching the town of Fashoda on the Nile, in the Egyptian Sudan, in 1898. There the French flag was proudly hoisted. Immediately a British general hurried to Fashoda, with a larger military force, raised the British and Egyptian flags over a nearby fort, and ordered the Frenchmen to vacate. For a time it seemed almost certain that France and England would go to war over the matter. After angry discussions, however, France withdrew her expedition, yielded the Egyptian Sudan to England, and abandoned her dream of a transcontinental empire.

(4) **The Boer Obstacle.**—Meanwhile, the British had found another obstacle to their imperial ambitions. In South Africa, between the British possessions of Cape Colony and Rhodesia, two small republics had been established by Dutch colonists—usually called "Boers"<sup>1</sup>—who had emigrated from Cape Colony in order to escape British rule. For a number of years the Boer republics were allowed to remain independent or practically so. But the discovery of the world's richest gold mines in one of the republics, Transvaal, altered the situation. A flood of British fortune-hunters poured into the Transvaal, until they outnumbered the Dutch farmers. The British government mobilized troops on the frontier and demanded that these newcomers be given

<sup>1</sup> The word means "farmers."

votes in the Boer government. The Boers, however, believed this would mean the loss of their own independence, because the British miners would be able to vote the Boer government out of power.

*The Boer War, 1899-1902.*—Rather than yield, the Boers took up arms. The conflict that followed is known as the Boer War. For more than two full years the two little Boer republics fought against the great British Empire. Such an unequal struggle could have only one result. Overwhelmed by sheer numbers, the Boers finally accepted peace on England's terms and the two conquered republics were annexed by Great Britain. It should be added, however, that Great Britain shortly afterwards granted the conquered provinces the right to have representative assemblies.

Before many years had passed, the defeated Boer leaders, by means of skillful politics, gained control of the government of the whole of British South Africa. Thus, oddly enough, a military defeat resulted in a political victory for the Boers. Consequently, the most influential Boers were reconciled to their inclusion in the British Empire and it was with their help that England finally carried out the Cape-to-Cairo scheme in 1919.



PAUL KRUGER, PRESIDENT OF THE  
TRANSVAAL

## ENGLAND AND FRANCE AGREE TO WORK TOGETHER

**Reconciliation of France and England.** — During the Boer War England was without allies and practically without friends. Soon afterwards, however, she found a friend in France. The two Powers had long been rivals and often enemies; indeed they had come almost to blows, as we have seen, as late as 1898, during the "Fashoda Incident." Nevertheless, by yielding so obligingly in the Fashoda affair, the French Government had paved the way for a reconciliation of the two nations. And in 1904 such a reconciliation was achieved, by means of an Anglo-French agreement, or "Entente."

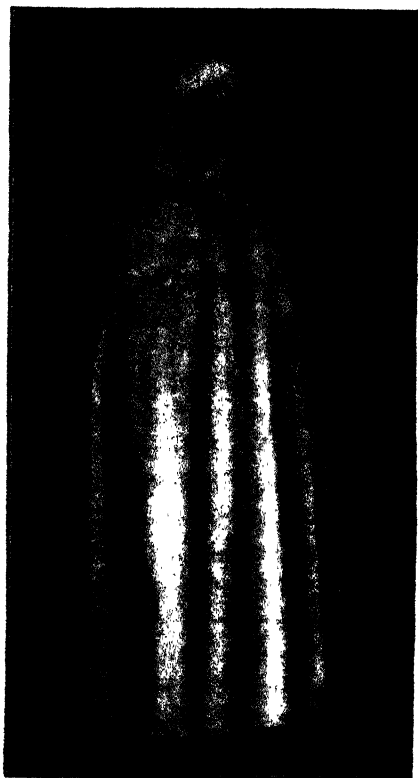
*The Agreement of 1904.* — By the Agreement of 1904 England and France publicly announced that they would no longer oppose each other in Africa. Secretly France consented in advance to England's retaining control of Egypt and even to England's strengthening her grip on Egypt, if England should so desire. In return, England secretly agreed to allow France to acquire control over Morocco, an independent semi-barbarous Mohammedan country in the north-west corner of Africa, just opposite Gibraltar. Furthermore, the two Powers promised to give each other diplomatic support in carrying out these aims. This agreement established what was known as the "Entente Cordiale" (a French phrase, meaning cordial understanding) between France and England.

**The First Morocco Crisis, 1905.** — France promptly took advantage of the agreement of 1904. Assured of England's support, she began to interfere in Moroccan affairs and to tell the Sultan of Morocco what he should do. Germany however, was angered by having been disregarded by France and England. Consequently the German Emperor William II in 1905 visited Morocco and declared that he considered Morocco an independent State. With German encouragement, the Moroccan Sultan refused to obey French

"advice," and asked all the Powers to hold a conference about Moroccan affairs. The French knew that opposition to this request would mean trouble with Germany, and France was not ready for trouble, since her ally, Russia, had just been defeated in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Therefore France consented to have the Moroccan situation dealt with by an international conference, which met at Algeciras (in Spain), in 1906.

*The Algeciras Conference, 1906.* — At the Algeciras Conference it was arranged that French and Spanish officers should train the Moroccan military police force, but Morocco was explicitly recognized as an independent sovereign state. The treaty drawn up at Algeciras in 1906 would make it impossible for France to dominate Morocco.

**Agadir Incident, or Second Moroccan Crisis, 1911.** — Five years later, however, France saw an opportunity to tear up the Treaty of Algeciras. It happened that some of the native tribes rebelled against the Sultan. Claiming that the lives of foreigners in Morocco were in danger, France sent an army into the country, and kept it there. Again Germany interfered. A German gunboat, the *Panther*, was sent to the port



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THE SULTAN OF MOROCCO

of Agadir on the Moroccan coast, ostensibly to protect German citizens, but really to show France that Germany must not be left out of account. War between France and Germany seemed inevitable. But England announced her intention of supporting France, and Russia could also be counted on to aid her. After long and angry discussions, a compromise was made. France was permitted to establish a protectorate over Morocco, which she did the next year, and thus Morocco became practically a French colony (excepting a small strip on the northern coast, given to Spain, and the town of Tangier, which was made international). On the other hand, France had to cede about 100,000 square miles, of French Congo to Germany, in order to obtain the latter's consent to the tearing-up of the Treaty of Algeciras.

**Italy's Bargain with France and England.** — It ought to be added that Italy, although supposed to be an ally of Germany, became a sort of side-partner of France and England. Italy had been very indignant in 1881 when France took Tunis, which lies so close to Sicily. But early in the twentieth century, the Italian Government secretly agreed not to oppose the conquests of England and France in northern Africa if, in return, France and England would allow her to seize from Turkey the large provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, situated between Tunis and Egypt. Italy finally saw her opportunity, in 1911, when France was appropriating Morocco. Italy then attacked Turkey, conquered the two provinces and renamed them Italian Libya. Libya was a very barren country, mostly desert, inhabited by Mohammedan tribes which fought tooth and nail against Italian rule. In fact, Italy paid a large price in blood and gold for an almost worthless colony. But it pleased Italian patriots to possess so large an area.

**Summary.** — The Italian conquest of Libya and the simultaneous French conquest of Morocco practically completed the partition of Africa. France had obtained four and one-fourth million square miles (an area a third bigger than the United States), England had three and one-half million. Ger-

many one, Italy one, Belgium and Portugal almost one apiece, and Spain a very small share.<sup>1</sup> Only two African States had not come under European rule. One was the kingdom of Abyssinia, whose warlike inhabitants had defeated an Italian attempt to conquer them. The other was the little negro republic of Liberia, which had been set up by a small number of former negro slaves from America, and which was more or less under the protection of the United States.

#### WHAT MODERN IMPERIALISM MEANS

**Imperialism Important in the Nineteenth Century.** — The desire on the part of civilized nations to rule over weaker or "backward" peoples, like the negroes of Africa or the races of India, is called imperialism. As the histories of Asia and Africa show, imperialism was a very important factor in the history of the century preceding the Great War, especially the last few decades of that century.

**Possessions of Imperialistic Powers.** — All of the Great Powers of Europe and several of the small powers caught the fever. Great Britain and Russia extended their already large empires, until the former included one-fourth and the latter one-seventh of the world's land-surface. France carved out a new colonial empire for herself in Africa and Indo-China larger than the one she had lost to England in the eighteenth century. Germany obtained a million square miles of Africa, some islands in the Pacific, a sphere of influence in China, and was attempting to acquire control of the whole Turkish Empire by a process of "peaceful penetration." Italy, Portugal, Belgium, and Spain all obtained shares of Africa. Holland already had a rich empire in the East Indies. Japan, learning imperialism from Europe, annexed Formosa and Korea, won a sphere of influence in Manchuria, and began like Alexander to sigh for new worlds to conquer. Thus by the year 1914 most of the backward peoples of Africa, Asia

<sup>1</sup>See Chapter XXVI, pp. 770-771.

and the East Indies had been either annexed or marked out for annexation by imperialistic nations.

**Latin-America Protected from European Imperialism.** — Latin America would doubtless have met the same fate, had it not been for the United States. The weak young republics of South and Central America, with their rich, undeveloped natural resources, would have been coveted prizes for imperialistic Powers. But the United States, with more or less support from England, refused to allow the conquest of any territory in the New World by the Powers of the Old World.<sup>1</sup> As a result, the Latin-American Republics were left pretty free to develop in their own way, and several of them (notably Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) made splendid progress.

**Imperialism of the United States.** — However, the United States Government itself became somewhat imperialistic. As a result of a war with Mexico (1846-1848), the United States annexed the territory which now includes California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. In 1867 the United States purchased Alaska from Russia. In 1898 it wrested the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, and Cuba from Spain, annexing the first two of these colonies and making the latter practically a protectorate. In 1898-1899 it obtained Hawaii and part of Samoa. In 1903 it acquired the Panama Canal Zone. And since then it has obtained control (not possession) of Nicaragua, Haiti, and Santo Domingo, and has purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark. In fact the whole region around the Caribbean Sea has become what Europeans would call a "sphere of influence" for the United States, a region where the United States exercises general control.

**Reasons for Modern Imperialism.** — The reasons for Imperialism on the part of Great Britain or of Germany or of Japan or of any imperialistic Power were quite similar. In almost every case, imperialism was caused by the following motives: (1) The desire of patriots to have their nation

<sup>1</sup> This policy was called the Monroe Doctrine. See Chapter XV, p. 440.

possess additional territory. (2) The desire of business-men to invest their money in mines, oil wells, and other profitable business enterprises in backward countries, and to receive protection from their own government for such investments. For example British capitalists who owned gold mines in the Boer republic of Transvaal were eager to have Great Britain conquer that republic. The economic motive is perhaps the



BAPTISM OF A NEGRO CHIEFTAIN BY A FRENCH MISSIONARY  
IN CONGO

strongest reason for imperialism. (3) The idea that possession of a certain region is necessary for purposes of national defense. Thus Japan claimed that her national safety required her to annex Korea. (4) The humanitarian desire to civilize or Christianize backward races.

Unfortunately this last motive has often been an excuse for selfish greed. For example, King Leopold of Belgium claimed that he wished to bring the blessings of Christian civilization to the benighted negroes of Central Africa, but in reality he brought them misery. They were compelled to labor practi-



cally as slaves, gathering rubber in the Congo forests for the profit of the King and of European rubber companies. Native women were tortured in order to make their husbands work. Lazy or rebellious natives were sometimes punished with death, and sometimes only with the amputation of a hand. Not all colonies were treated so badly, but in very few cases was much done by the European governments for the education or Christianization of the natives. As a general rule, the welfare of the natives was sacrificed to the business interests of the rulers. One of the shining exceptions to this rule was the administration of the Philippine Islands by the United States. In this case, a great deal was done to promote education, to stimulate industry, and to improve the condition of the natives in other ways.

**Modern Imperialism a Cause of War.** — Imperialism caused many wars. The war of Great Britain against the Boers in 1899–1902, that of Russia against Japan in 1904–1905, that of Italy against Turkey in 1911–1912, were the most important, but there were dozens of smaller conflicts. Moreover, as the next chapter will explain, imperialism was one of the chief underlying causes of the Great War of 1914.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why was Africa formerly called the "Dark Continent"?
2. What parts of Africa were appropriated by European Powers prior to 1880?
3. Why was European interest in Africa stimulated about 1880? What parts of Africa were appropriated during the 1880's? By what methods?
4. Who was Cecil Rhodes? What was his Cape-to-Cairo project? What obstacles did it encounter? How were the obstacles overcome?
5. How did French interests in Africa clash with British interests? Explain the Fashoda Incident. How, when, and by what agreement were French and British interests reconciled?
6. Discuss the causes and results of the Boer War.
7. Outline the steps by which France acquired Morocco.
8. What nations obtained the largest shares of Africa? Look at the map and try to fix in your mind the parts of Africa that were acquired.

before 1914, by Great Britain. By Belgium. By Portugal. By Spain. By Italy. By Germany. By France. Were there any independent States left in Africa?

9. What is meant by the term "imperialism"? What countries might be called "imperialistic"? What are the chief fields of European imperialism?

10. To what extent, if any, may the United States be termed "imperialistic"? Has the United States sought to protect any countries from European imperialism?

11. What are the chief motives for imperialism?

12. In what ways has imperialism, in practice, tended to cause wars? Can you mention any wars that were caused by imperialism?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Stanley's adventures.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXV, 779-781; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 2d Supplement, III, 384-393; STANLEY, *Autobiography*.

**Livingstone, the missionary-explorer.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XVI, 813-816; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXIII, 383-396.

**Congo and the Berlin Conference.** HARRIS, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, 20-33; ROSE, *European Nations*, II, 269-278.

**The Fashoda incident.** SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, 117-122; HARRIS, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, 119-123.

**The Boer War.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 651-653; HARRIS, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, ch. viii.

**Moroccan crises.** HARRIS, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, ch. xi; SCHMITT, *England and Germany*, ch. xi; STUART, *French Foreign Policy*, chs. vi-vi; MORILL, *Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy*.

**Madagascar.** JOHNSTON, *Colonization of Africa*, ch. xvii; GIBBONS, *New Map of Africa*, 38-42.

**Cecil Rhodes.** *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 254-257; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 2d Supplement, III, 181-192.

**Tripolitan War.** HARRIS, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, ch. xii; GIBBONS, *New Map of Africa*, 120-129.

**Egypt under England.** HARRIS, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, ch. xiii; GIBBONS, *New Map of Africa*, chs. xx-xxi.

**Algeria.** HARRIS, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, ch. ix; GIBBONS, *New Map of Africa*, 130-141.

**Latin America and the Monroe Doctrine.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 600-614; SHEPHERD, *Latin America*, esp. 101-106; A. B. HART, *The Monroe Doctrine*.

## ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

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## HISTORICAL FICTION

H. M. STANLEY's books are "stranger than fiction"; most boys will enjoy them.

**PART VI**  
**THE WORLD IN FERMENT**



## PART VI

### THE WORLD IN FERMENT

#### INTRODUCTION

A famous Frenchman once said, "Lucky are the young men; they will see great things." He made this remark much more than a century ago, and yet, if he were living, he would probably repeat it to-day. Never since the age of the French Revolution has the world moved at such a dizzy pace as in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Toward what sort of future are we moving? With an intelligent knowledge of history we ought to be able to see at least a few steps ahead. But only those who are young to-day will have the privilege of actually treading far on the path of the future and of seeing to what heights (or depths) that path may lead.

At present mankind is still toiling on an uphill road, clambering painfully out of the dark valley through which it wandered in the years 1914-1918. Those were the years of the most devastating war in the history of the world. Why that war occurred, Chapter XXIV will explain. How it was fought and won by the Allies, the following chapter will tell. Some of its effects will be shown in Chapters XXVI and XXVII. And finally the two concluding chapters will take a survey of the chief landmarks by which we can tell in what direction mankind is now bending its steps.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY LEADS TO A GREAT WAR

#### WHY MODERN NATIONS FIGHT

**Failure of Modern Civilization to Substitute Right for Might.** — In most matters modern history tells a story of progress. The peoples of Europe were marvelously successful in inventing machines, achieving democracy, and extending their control over other continents. But in one thing they failed. The greatest tragedy in modern history was the failure of Europe to substitute right for might in international relations. Like the savage cannibals of central Africa, the civilized nations of Europe still continued to settle their disputes by killing each other.

**Warfare Made more Terrible.** -- The advance of civilization in Europe, instead of doing away with wars, simply made warfare more terrible. Scientists and inventors devised deadlier weapons of destruction. The improvement of industrial methods made it possible to equip armies and navies with bigger guns. Democracy substituted large armies of citizens for the old small armies of hired mercenaries. As a result, there was a far greater loss of life in European wars, in modern times, than in the wars of more "backward" continents or in the wars of ancient and medieval states. About 4,500,000 men were killed in battle between the years 1790 and 1913.

**Reasons for Modern War: (1) International Anarchy.** — There are several reasons why the European nations have continued to resort to war. The most important of these reasons is international anarchy. Anarchy means the condition of affairs where there is no government to enforce law and keep

order. For example, if there were no government in this country, and no police, and if each person were free to do as he pleased, and if everyone had to carry a gun as the only means of protecting himself — that would be anarchy. Now that was exactly the state of affairs as regards nations. Every nation could do what it pleased, or what it dared, because there was no international government to make laws for the nations and to compel all nations to respect such laws. There was no one to restrain a strong nation from attacking its weak neighbor. The nations were like lawless men, armed to the teeth, and not obedient to any law or any authority. This is what we mean by international anarchy.

*Unsuccessful Attempts to Get Rid of International Anarchy.* — Before the Great War of 1914 there were various attempts to substitute law and peace for international anarchy, but none of the attempts was wholly successful. For example, back in the Middle Ages the Catholic Church had endeavored to put a check on war, and the Pope had sometimes acted as an arbitrator, to settle disputes between monarchs; but the Catholic Church was not strong enough to prevent conflicts, especially in modern times. Then again, in 1815, Tsar Alexander had formed a "Holy Alliance" to maintain peace, and Metternich had organized a league of the Great Powers for the same purpose, but all in vain.<sup>1</sup>

After Metternich's downfall (1848), the Great Powers still continued to hold conferences from time to time, for the discussion of international disputes.

*International Conferences.* — Several such conferences (at Paris in 1856, at Berlin in 1878, at London in 1913) were held to settle problems regarding Turkey and the Balkan States. There was a conference at Berlin in 1884-1885 to make general rules for the acquisition of colonies in Africa. The Great Powers also coöperated to suppress the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 in China.<sup>2</sup> This kind of coöperation

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XV, pp. 434-435.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XXII, pp. 662-663.





#### THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878

This was one of the greatest diplomatic conferences of the later nineteenth century. Can you identify Bismarck? Disraeli, with a cane in his hand, stands in the group at the left. The Turkish delegates wear the "fez" (a tasseled cap). The unwise treaty drawn up by this conference was one of the remote causes of the Great War in 1914.

doubtless prevented a number of wars, but it was not sufficient to stop wars altogether.

*The Hague Conferences.* — One of the most interesting attempts to end international anarchy was made by the Tsar Nicholas II of Russia just at the close of the nineteenth century. He invited all the independent States of Europe, Asia, and North America to send delegates to a Peace Conference at The Hague for the discussion of plans to reduce military and naval armaments. The Conference met in 1899. It could do nothing to reduce the size of armies and navies, because some nations, including Germany, objected. However, it did establish an international court of justice at The Hague, by which international disputes might be judged if the disputing nations were willing. In addition, the Conference drew up a code of laws to prevent unnecessary cruelty in warfare. Unfortunately, there was no provision for enforcing such laws. A second Peace Conference was held at The Hague in 1907, but was no more successful than the first. International anarchy still prevailed. A war between Italy and Turkey in 1911-1912 and two wars between the Balkan nations and Turkey in 1912-1913 showed how little the Hague Conferences had accomplished.

(2) Territorial Disputes. — As we said, international anarchy was one reason for wars. A second reason was the existence of territorial disputes among the nations. As Chapter XV explained, the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815 disregarded the sentiment of national self-determination and drew boundaries which were almost certain to cause trouble. Consequently, Germany, Italy, and Belgium had to win their freedom by force of arms, during the nineteenth century. And even after the liberation of these three nations, many "sore spots" or disputed territories remained to endanger peace. For example, Italy still desired certain provinces of Austria-Hungary (particularly Trent and Trieste) which were inhabited by Italian-speaking people. France longed to reconquer the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

which Germany had taken from her in 1871. In eastern Europe there were many "oppressed nationalities," such as the Poles and Czechoslovaks, who hoped to win their independence. In the Balkan Peninsula the claims of the various States to each other's territories caused two wars in 1912-1913 and seemed likely to cause many more.

*Failure to Utilize National Self-determination.* — Territorial disputes might possibly have been less dangerous if all nations had been willing to recognize the principle of self-determination by allowing the people in any disputed province to decide to what nation they wished to belong. Such a popular vote is called a plebiscite. Plebiscites were employed on several occasions in the middle of the nineteenth century, but after 1871 they were no longer used. No nation would run the risk of losing a province. For instance, Germany would not dream of allowing a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine or in Prussian Poland. Each nation believed in self-determination in cases where the nation might gain territory thereby, and each opposed self-determination in cases where there was a risk of losing something.

(3) **Neo-Mercantilism.** — Another cause of wars was the nineteenth-century revival of the old mercantilist idea that the government of a nation ought to protect and promote the economic interests of its own citizens in dealing with foreign countries. This new mercantilism has been called "neo-mercantilism." It is the reason for protective tariffs. It is one of the reasons also for imperialism, and imperialism has been the cause of many wars, as Chapter XXIII explained. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that all modern wars are fought with some hope of profit on the part of individual business-men. In fact, some wars, such as the Chinese Opium War, were waged mainly for business reasons.

(4) **"National Honor."** — The modern idea of "national honor" made the preservation of peace difficult. During the nineteenth century the theory became more and more popu-

lar that each National State should be absolutely "sovereign" and independent. It was considered a dishonor for an independent state to submit to any form of outside control. An insult or injury to the government or to a single citizen was regarded as an injury to the entire nation.<sup>1</sup> The newspapers preached the idea that it was every patriot's noblest duty to fight in defense of his country's "national honor," regardless of whether his country was right. "My country, right or wrong," was the motto of extreme patriots.

(5) **"Scientific" Justification of War.** — The warlike spirit of modern nations was also strengthened by the idea that war was a good thing, because it meant the victory of strong and progressive nations over weak and backward states. This belief was based on a misunderstanding of a scientific theory about the evolution of plants and animals (the Darwinian theory of the "survival of the fittest," explained in Chapter XXVIII). Though the application of this theory to war was really an error, a great many people believed in it.

(6) **Militarism.** — "Militarism," that is to say, the maintenance of large military forces, was one of the most important reasons for war. Militarism grew very rapidly. Louis XIV, Frederick the Great, and the other warlike despots of the eighteenth century had armies which would be regarded as comparatively small, measured by nineteenth-century standards. Larger armies were made possible by the adoption of conscription or compulsory military service during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The final step was taken by Prussia in 1862, when she made military service compulsory for all able-bodied men.

As we know, Prussia promptly used her enlarged army against Austria in 1866 and against France in 1870. Prus-

<sup>1</sup> Psychologists assert that this strong feeling of national unity for the defense of national honor is an expression of the "herd instinct." The members of a herd of animals act as a group, and are easily roused to fury if the herd is attacked. Human beings in a nation behave in a similar manner.

sia's success led Austria, France, Japan, Russia, and Italy to adopt similar systems of universal military training. Each country believed that its own army was simply for defense and that the armies of neighboring states were for attack. Consequently, no nation felt safe unless it had a larger army than its rivals possessed. Each nation regarded its neighbors with fear and suspicion.

(7) **Navalism.** — "Navalism" was a twin-brother of militarism. When one Great Power enlarged its navy, the others were alarmed, and increased theirs too. When Germany, during the years 1898-1914, began to build a powerful fleet, English statesmen commenced to regard Germany as a possible enemy, a menace to England's naval supremacy. England, however, still had a navy as large as any two others combined.

✓ (8) **Secret Diplomacy.** — Finally, secret diplomacy was an additional cause of war. The foreign ministers and ambassadors of the various nations usually conducted international negotiations secretly and refused to publish the terms of alliances and similar agreements. The common people never knew when or why they might be called on to shoulder arms. At any moment they might be plunged into war to aid an ally to whom they were bound by a secret alliance. Thus in 1914 a dispute between Austria and Russia brought about a war between Germany and France, the allies of Austria and Russia respectively. The chances of war were doubled by the fact that a nation had to fight not only in its own quarrels but also in those of its allies. How secret diplomacy and secret alliances brought Europe to the threshold of the greatest war in all history, the next section will explain in detail.

#### HOW SECRET DIPLOMACY LED UP TO THE GREAT WAR

**Bismarck's Diplomacy, 1871-1890.** — In order to understand the situation clearly, it is necessary to go back to the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. When Bismarck wrested Alsace-Lorraine from France at the close of that war, he made

France the irreconcilable enemy of Germany. However, so long as Bismarck was Chancellor of the German Empire (from 1871 to 1890), there was little danger that France would dare to seek revenge. The German army was the strongest in the world.

*The Triple Alliance, 1882.* --- Besides, Germany had powerful allies and friends, whereas France stood alone. In 1882 Bismarck formed a defensive alliance with Austria-Hungary and Italy. This famous Triple Alliance lasted until the Great War. Russia also was persuaded by Bismarck to sign a secret defensive alliance with Germany. England signed no alliance, but was friendly. Consequently, Bismarck was sure France could find no ally to join in a war against Germany. From 1871 to 1890 Germany was the dominant Power in Europe.

**The Franco-Russian Alliance, 1892.** After Bismarck's dismissal in 1890, Germany's position grew steadily weaker, and

France built up a rival system of alliances. When the young German Emperor William II failed to renew Bismarck's treaty with the Tsar, Russia became the ally of France (1892). If France should be attacked by Germany, Russia would help France, and similarly, if Russia should be attacked, France would go to her aid. This alliance was cemented by large loans from France to Russia.



THÉOPHILE DELCASSÉ

The French statesman who helped to create the Triple Entente and to undo some of Bismarck's work.

**The Anglo-French Entente, 1904.** — France next sought the friendship of England. In 1898 these two Great Powers almost came to blows because both were attempting to conquer the Egyptian Sudan.<sup>1</sup> By giving up her claim to this territory, France paved the way for a reconciliation. A few years later, in 1904, a secret treaty was signed by which France agreed to allow England to control Egypt while England promised not to oppose French claims in Morocco. This secret agreement was the beginning of the "Entente Cordiale" or cordial understanding between France and England. It was not a formal alliance, but it was almost as strong. One of the chief reasons why England entered into this pact was her alarm at Germany's rapidly growing navy and trade.

**The Anglo-Russian Entente, 1907.** — Three years afterwards, England concluded a similar Entente with Russia, the ally of France. England and Russia had hitherto been jealous rivals in Asia, especially in Persia. But by the agreement of 1907<sup>2</sup> Russia took northern Persia as her sphere of influence, Great Britain took the southeastern corner, and other disputes between the two Powers were amicably settled.

**The Triple Entente.** — Thus England was bound to France and Russia by Ententes, almost equivalent to alliances, and France and Russia were held together by a firm alliance. This group of three Great Powers was usually called the Triple Entente.

**Japan's Position.** — The Triple Entente could count on additional help from Japan. England and Japan had formed a defensive alliance in 1902. After the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, this alliance was strengthened (1905), and agreements were concluded by Japan with Russia and France. Japan was virtually a member of the Entente.

**Italy's Position.** — Italy also was in secret agreement with the Triple Entente. Although she still remained a member of Germany's Triple Alliance, Italy in 1902 signed a secret

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXIII, pp. 685-696.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XXII, pp. 675-676.

treaty with France, by which the former was permitted to conquer Tripoli and the latter to take Morocco. In case of a war between Germany and France, Italy would remain neutral.

**The "Balance of Power."** — Between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance, there seemed to be a pretty even "Balance of Power." Neither group was quite certain of its ability to vanquish the other. To be sure, Germany's Triple Alliance was really only a Dual Alliance after Italy made her secret bargain with France. But Germany's military strength was very great. On the other hand, France and Russia could not be absolutely sure that in case of war they would be aided by England, the third member of the Triple Entente, or by Japan, England's ally. Consequently, on both sides there was much nervousness and suspicion. Whenever a member of one coalition increased its army or launched a new battleship, the members of the opposing league felt that their safety would be threatened unless they increased their armament even more. Between 1904 and 1914 armies and navies grew at a prodigious rate, until the nations were staggering under the burden.

**International Crises.** — The worst feature of the Balance of Power was its insecurity. Every year or so, a "crisis" arose and the two leagues seemed to be on the point of war.

*The Crisis of 1905.* — For example, in 1905, just after the formation of the Anglo-French Entente, the German Emperor opposed the French plans for a protectorate over Morocco.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he wished to test the strength of the Entente. If so, he was disappointed. England loyally supported France and even offered to join in a war against Germany, so it is said. Nevertheless, France was unwilling to risk a war, since her ally, Russia, was very weak at that moment.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the French government yielded to Germany's demands, namely, that the Moroccan question should be submitted to

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXIII, pp. 688-689.

<sup>2</sup> It was in the midst of the Russo-Japanese War. See Chapter XIX, pp. 557-558.



an international conference, and that the rather pugnacious French foreign minister, M. Delcassé, should be dismissed.<sup>1</sup>

*The Crisis of 1908-1909.* — Another "crisis" occurred in 1908, when Austria-Hungary annexed the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, thereby violating the Treaty of Berlin.<sup>2</sup> Because these provinces were inhabited by Yugoslavs, the little Yugoslav kingdom of Serbia protested indignantly against Austria's action. Russia, as the champion of all Slavs, showed sympathy with Serbia and mobilized her army as if for war. For a time it seemed possible, in 1909, that Serbia and Russia would resist Austria and drag all the Great Powers into a bloody conflict. Germany, however, announced that she would aid Austria. The threat was enough. Russia and Serbia recognized the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Serbian Government even promised not to allow Serbian citizens to conduct anti-Austrian propaganda in the future. Thus a second time Germany showed her skill in the game of bluff.

*The Crisis of 1911.* — Two years later, in 1911, peace was imperiled by a second Moroccan crisis, and again a great war seemed inevitable. The incident has been fully described in Chapter XXIII.<sup>3</sup> It is mentioned here only to show how frequently war clouds darkened the sky, and how successful Germany was in gaining diplomatic successes by means of warlike threats.

*The Crisis of 1912-1913.* — Still closer to war was Europe brought by the Balkan crisis of 1912-1913. The trouble began when the little Balkan States of Serbia, Montenegro,

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the conference, see p. 689. Delcassé was a very able diplomat and had been the chief agent in bringing about the French agreements with England and Italy as well as in pushing forward the scheme for a French protectorate over Morocco. It is not definitely known whether Germany officially demanded his resignation, but it is generally supposed that the German government at least dropped a hint that he ought to be dismissed.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XX, pp. 610-611.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 689-690.



EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT WAR, 1914

Bulgaria, and Greece attacked and defeated Turkey.<sup>1</sup> How the victors should divide the territory conquered from Turkey, was the question. Austria-Hungary was unwilling to permit



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#### SIR EDWARD GREY

The British Foreign Minister who helped to preserve peace among the Great Powers during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, but failed in his efforts in 1914 to prevent the outbreak of the Great War. He later received the title, Viscount Grey of Fallodon.

the Yugoslav States of Montenegro and Serbia to annex as much as they intended. Russia, on the other hand, backed Montenegro and Serbia very strongly. Russia and Austria began to mobilize their armies. War was in the air. Fortunately, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, was able to arrange a series of conferences of the ambassadors of the Great Powers, and by timely compromises a great war was averted. But Germany and Austria were very much dissatisfied with the outcome of the whole affair. In the first place, Turkey was practically an ally of Germany, and Turkey had been terribly weakened by defeat and by the loss of much territory.

Secondly, the Yugoslav kingdom of Serbia — the thorn in Austria's side — had almost doubled her territory. In the summer of 1913 Austria secretly proposed to her allies that something be done to curb Serbia's ambition. However, Germany and Italy refused their consent.

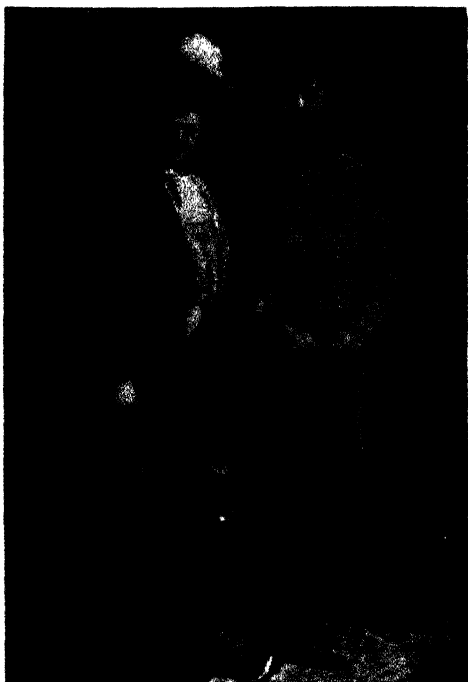
<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XX, pp. 600-601.

**"Preparedness."** — Peace was maintained, but no one knew when the next crisis would arise, and no one could foretell whether the next crisis would lead to a bloody test of strength between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Meanwhile, all the Great Powers of the Continent feverishly strengthened their armies.

#### HOW THE GREAT WAR BEGAN

If the story we have just told means anything, it means that between 1905 and 1913 there was constant danger of a great war between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. The peace of Europe hung on a very slender thread.

**Assassination of the Austrian Archduke, June 28, 1914.** — The thread was broken in the summer of 1914. On June 28, two young Yugoslavs murdered



ARCHDUKE FRANCIS FERDINAND AND  
HIS WIFE

The assassination of these two persons was the spark that caused the great explosion — the War of 1914.

Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife while they were riding through the streets of Seraievo, a town in the Austro-Hungarian province of Bosnia. As the murdered Archduke was the nephew and nearest heir of Francis Joseph,<sup>1</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XVIII, pp. 526-527, and Chapter XX, p. 603.

Austrian Emperor, the crime provoked a tremendous outburst of indignation in Austria. The Austrians believed that the unfriendly Yugoslav kingdom of Serbia was back of the plot to kill the Archduke, and therefore they felt that the punishment of Serbia was necessary to vindicate Austria's "national honor."

**Austria Determined to Crush Serbia.** — As a matter of fact the assassins were Austro-Hungarian subjects. An agent of the Austro-Hungarian government secretly investigated the matter and reported that he could find no evidence that the Serbian Government had organized the conspiracy. The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, quietly put this report in his pocket and allowed the people to believe that Serbia was guilty. He thought the Serajevo outrage would give Austria a good excuse for "punishing" Serbia. He wanted such an excuse. Serbia was a center of propaganda for Yugoslav self-determination, and self-determination for the Yugoslavs would mean the break-up of Austria-Hungary, because there were a number of Yugoslav provinces in Austria and Hungary. Berchtold decided that the time was ripe "to make Serbia harmless once for all through the use of force."

**Austrian Ultimatum to Serbia.** — On July 23, 1914, Count Berchtold sent an Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia, accusing the Serbian Government of failure to suppress anti-Austrian conspiracies. The ultimatum demanded that Serbia should abolish all anti-Austrian publications and societies, exclude anti-Austrian teachers and textbooks from Serbian schools, and allow Austrian agents to aid in the work of checking anti-Austrian propaganda. Serbia must answer within forty-eight hours.

**Inability of Serbia to Comply with Austrian Ultimatum, and Outbreak of War, July 28, 1914.** — Count Berchtold deliberately made the ultimatum so harsh that Serbia would not agree to it. As he expected, Serbia rejected some of his demands on the ground that they would destroy her "national honor" and independence. Although Serbia offered to sub-

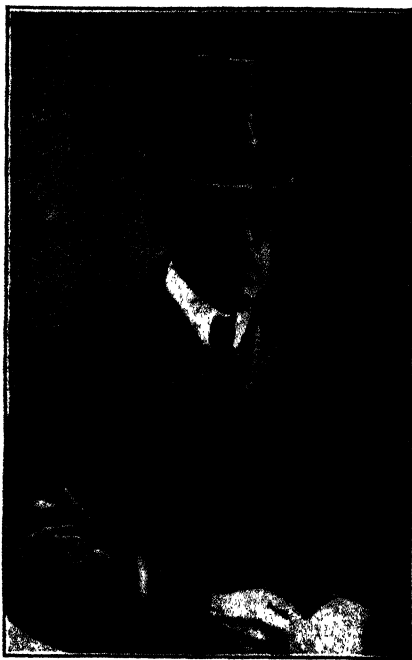
mit these points to arbitration, and although Russia and England urged that time be given for discussion and negotiation, Berchtold boldly proceeded with his plan. On July 28 Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia.

**Russia Stands by Serbia.** — Just as she had done in the crisis of 1908-1909, Russia now played the rôle of Serbia's "big brother" and warned Austria not to attack the little Slav kingdom. Russia seemed ready to take up arms, if necessary, in Serbia's defense. The Tsar ordered the mobilization of his entire army as if for war.

**Germany Stands by Austria.** — Then Germany stepped forward as Austria's ally and demanded that Russia stop mobilization. Perhaps the German Government expected that Russia would be frightened by a threat and would "back down"

as she had done in 1909. But this time Russia was in earnest. She refused to demobilize. Germany therefore declared war on Russia, August 1, 1914.

**France Involved.** — As France was Russia's ally, Germany asked the French Government whether it intended to help Russia or not. When France refused to promise neutrality, Germany declared war, August 3, 1914.



COUNT BERCHTOLD

The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister in 1914, who insisted that Austria must "punish" Serbia for the Serajevo murders. He must bear a good deal of responsibility for the Great War.

**Belgium Involved.** — The General Staff of the German army had prepared a plan of campaign for just such a war as this. The plan was to rush an army through Belgium and Luxemburg and deal a death-blow to France before the slow-moving Russian armies could get under way. This scheme would make it necessary to violate the international treaty by which Prussia had solemnly promised to respect Belgium's neutrality. The German Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, felt that such a breach of faith was wrong and unwise, but he did **not** have the moral courage to say "no" to the German military leaders. Consequently, on August 2, 1914, the German ambassador presented an ultimatum to Belgium requesting permission to send German troops through Belgium to invade France. If Belgium consented, Germany would guarantee her independence and pay her an indemnity. But Belgium refused. Nevertheless, German troops invaded the country, August 4.

**England Involved.** — Up to this time, it had been uncertain what England would do. The English Government had given a secret promise to France that if the German navy attempted to attack the French coasts, English warships would bar the way. Perhaps England would have entered the war anyway, rather than permit her friends, France and Russia, to be crushed. But when German troops invaded Belgium, there was no longer any question about England's attitude. On August 4, England demanded that Germany promise to respect the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. When Germany refused,<sup>1</sup> England declared war, August 4, 1914.

**Japan Involved.** — Soon afterwards, Japan followed England's example and declared war on Germany, August 23.

<sup>1</sup> On this occasion the German Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, made his famous remark that "just for a word, 'neutrality,' a word which in war time had so often been disregarded" — "just for a scrap of paper" (that is, the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality) Great Britain was going to make war on "a kindred nation which desired nothing better than to be friends with her."

Montenegro also joined the fray, on the side of Serbia. Germany and Austria-Hungary faced a coalition of four Great Powers (Russia, France, Great Britain, and Japan) and three smaller nations (Serbia, Montenegro, and Belgium).

**Italy at first Neutral.** — Italy was the only Great Power in Europe that assumed a neutral attitude. Her situation was rather embarrassing, since she was an ally of Germany and Austria-Hungary and at the same time had a secret alliance with France. The Italian government solved the problem by proclaiming neutrality.<sup>1</sup> Italy justified this policy by declaring that Germany and Austria-Hungary had started the war, and according to the terms of the Triple Alliance Italy was not pledged to aid her allies in an aggressive war.

**Responsibility for the Great War.** — Because the diplomatic negotiations leading to the war had been conducted in secrecy, no one at the beginning knew for certain who were really the guilty nations. The Germans and Austrians blamed Russia and England. The Allies blamed the German Emperor. As a rule, the common people in each country were willing to believe that their own Government was innocent and their enemies guilty. Later on, many of the facts were revealed and the evidence showed that the Austrian Government, with German consent, deliberately planned to crush Serbia; but it still remained doubtful whether they desired to start a war among the Great Powers. It was also shown that some of the Russian military leaders did their best to bring about the war. The whole truth is not yet known and probably will not be known for many years to come.

**Fundamental Causes.** — It seems fairly clear that Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia were chiefly responsible for starting the Great War. But if one wishes to understand the real causes of the war, one must go back farther than the negotiations of June and July, 1914. The fundamental causes were: (1) international anarchy; (2) the existence of nation-

<sup>1</sup>Italy subsequently (in 1915) entered the war on the side of the Entente Powers.



alistic disputes over territory; (3) neo-mercantilism; (4) a false conception of "national honor"; (5) a mistaken idea that war means the "survival of the fittest"; (6) militarism; (7) navalism; (8) secret diplomacy and secret alliances. These conditions were like dynamite, ready to explode at the slightest shock. The Serajevo assassination and the Austrian ultimatum merely provided the spark that exploded the dynamite, letting loose the pent-up forces of destruction and war.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Does modern history tell a story of "progress"? In what respects? What progress has been made as regards warfare in modern times?
2. What is meant by "international anarchy"?
3. What was accomplished in the direction of international peace by the Catholic Church? By the Holy Alliance? By Metternich? By international conferences in the nineteenth century? By the Hague Conferences?
4. What territorial disputes in Europe were particularly dangerous to peace in the nineteenth century? What imperialistic policies outside of Europe were especially dangerous for peace among European nations?
5. In what sense can the cause of modern wars be traced back to "nationalism"? To "science"? To "militarism" and "navalism"? To "secret diplomacy"?
6. What Powers belonged to the Triple Alliance? To the Triple Entente? Explain how each of these international combinations was formed.
7. What was the position of Italy, in 1913, as regards these combinations? What was the position of Japan?
8. What was the effect of the Balance of Power between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente? Was the Balance of Power a good method of preventing wars?
9. Explain the causes and results of the international crises of 1905, 1908-1909, 1911, 1912-1913, and 1914.
10. What were the relations between Austria and Serbia in 1908-1909? In 1914? Why was Austria fearful of Serbia? Why did Serbia fear Austria? (Consult Chapter XX as well as Chapter XXIV.)
11. Who was Francis Ferdinand? Who was Count Berchtold?
12. What was the ultimatum of July 23, 1914? What was Serbia's reply?
13. Why was Russia interested in the dispute between Austria and Serbia? Why was Germany interested? France? Great Britain?

14. What attempts were made to prevent the outbreak of war in 1914? Why did they fail?

15. When and between what Powers did the Great War break out in the summer of 1914? What was Japan's attitude? Italy's? What position did the United States take?

16. What were the fundamental or remote causes of the Great War? What were the immediate or direct causes?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**The Bosnian crisis.** SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, 176-182; WICKHAM STEED, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, 243-263; HOLT AND CHILTON, *History of Europe*, 444-455.

**Militarism.** KREHBIEL, *Nationalism, War, and Society*, chs. vi, xi; HAYES, *Modern Europe* (use index); HAYES, *Brief History of the Great War*, 7-13.

**Anglo-German naval rivalry.** SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, 76-80; SCHMITT, *England and Germany*, ch. viii.

**Hague conferences.** HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, 686-687; KREHBIEL, *Nationalism, War, and Society*, 193-204; J. B. SCOTT, *The Hague Peace Conferences*.

**Arbitration.** KREHBIEL, *Nationalism, War, and Society*, 177-192.

**Alsace-Lorraine.** ROSE, *Origins of the War*, 91-114; LOREBURN, *How the War Came*, ch. iii; HAZEN, *Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule*.

**Bismarck and the Triple Alliance.** SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, ch. ii; MUNROE SMITH, *Bismarck*, 76-80.

**The Entente.** SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, ch. vii; STUART, *French Foreign Policy*, 107-132; LOREBURN, *How the War Came*, ch. iv; SCHMITT, *England and Germany*, ch. ix.

**The Anglo-German agreement of 1914.** SCHMITT, *England and Germany*, 368-377.

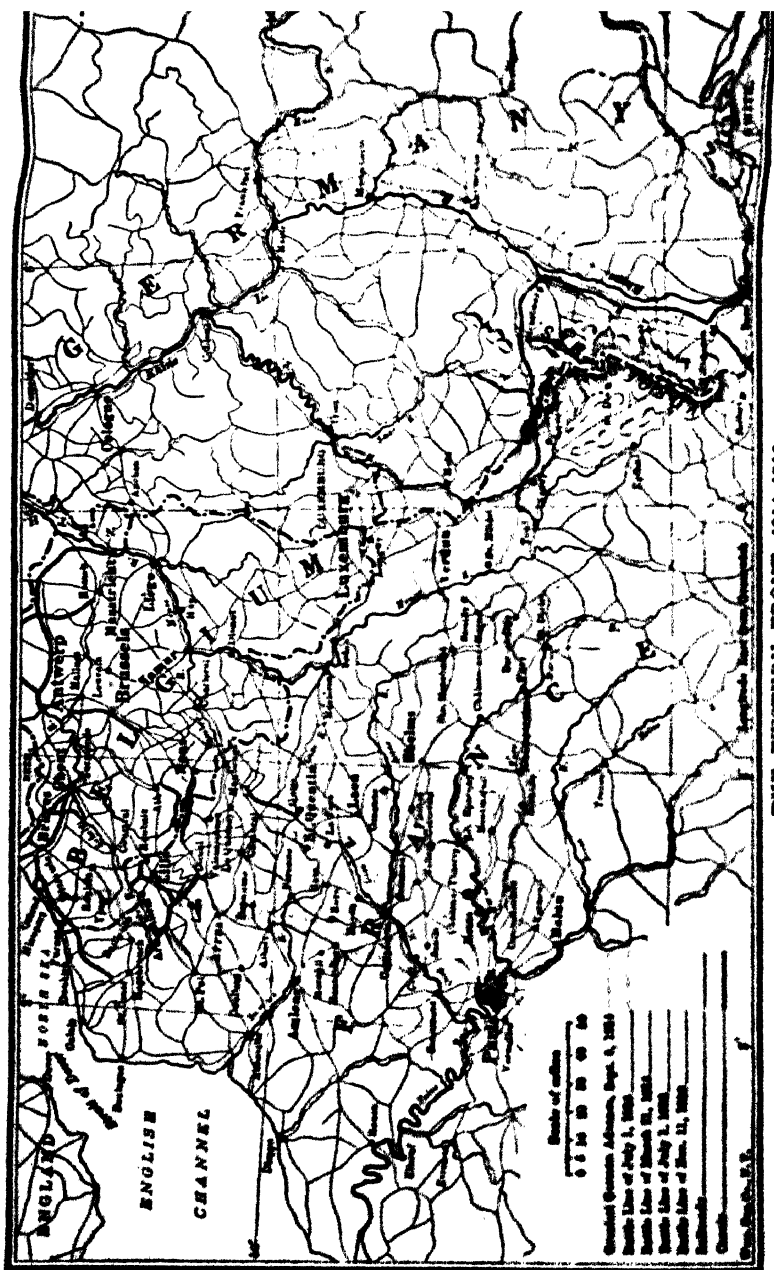
**Why Austria fought Serbia.** HAYES, *Great War*, 13-18; SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, 237-265; LOREBURN, *How the War Came*, 139-152.

**Germany's declaration of war.** HAYES, *Great War*, 17-19; SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, 266-272; LOREBURN, *How the War Came*, 152-178.

**Belgian neutrality.** SEYMOUR, *Diplomatic Background*, 273-287; LOREBURN, *How the War Came*, ch. ix; SCHMITT, *England and Germany*, ch. xv.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Modern Europe*, II, ch. xxx (use bibliography); J. BAKELESS, *Economic Causes of Modern War*; H. N. BRAILSFORD, *The War of Steel and Gold*; W. LIPPMANN, *Stakes of Diplomacy*; W. S. DAVIS, *Roots of the War*; W. M. FULLERTON, *Problems of Power* (revised edition).



## CHAPTER XXV

### THE GREAT WAR IS FOUGHT

#### GERMANY WINS INITIAL SUCCESSES ON LAND

**German Preparedness.** — Germany began the Great War with high hopes and popular enthusiasm. Her army was the largest, the most perfectly organized, and the best equipped of any in the world, and it had behind it the experience of swift decisive victory in the wars of 1866 and 1870-1871.<sup>1</sup> Her wealth and resources were enormous. Her people were superbly patriotic. The political parties which for many years had demanded changes in the government of the Empire — Socialists, Catholics, and Democrats — now rallied to the support of the Emperor William II and his ministers, because they believed that the preservation of the Fatherland required national unity and military success. What little opposition to the war existed in Germany, was speedily silenced by press-censorship or by imprisonment. The Reichstag unanimously voted the necessary sums of money, while the soldiers joined their regiments and went to the front with alacrity and zeal.

**German Plans.** — The German military authorities knew that fighting would have to be done on the Western Front, against France, and on the Eastern Front, against Russia. They knew, however, that thanks to years of preparedness their own army could be mobilized and put in the field more quickly and more efficiently than either the French or the Russian, and that Russian mobilization would be especially slow and difficult because of the size of Russia and its comparatively poor railway system. Accordingly, the Germans planned to strike France immediately with overwhelming force,

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XVIII, pp. 532-535.

before the French could complete their preparations and before the English could come to their assistance: then, with the coöperation of Austria, victorious Germany could turn against Russia and terminate the Great War in the East.

**German Invasion of Belgium and Luxemburg.** -- Against France, the Germans drove quick and hard. They thought it would delay them too much if they stopped to capture the powerful, up-to-date fortresses which the French had constructed along the Franco-German frontier from Verdun to Belfort. An easier and quicker way into France lay across the small neutral States of Belgium and Luxemburg, and thither the Germans, early in August, 1914, moved huge armies and enormous stores of munitions and supplies.

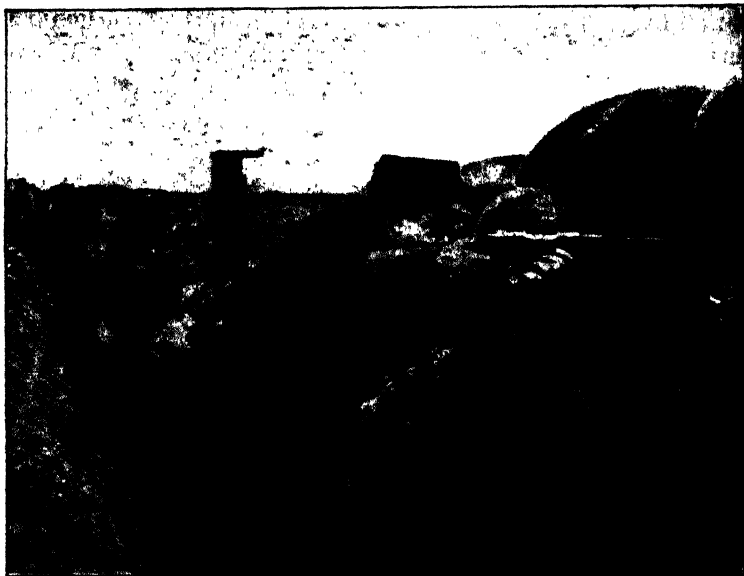
No difficulty was encountered in crossing the tiny Duchy of Luxemburg, but in Belgium there was much trouble and some delay. Belgium protested vehemently against the violation of her neutrality; and her little army, led by the plucky King Albert and encouraged by the saintly Cardinal Mercier, manfully opposed the invasion of the country. The Belgians, of course, were no match for the Germans, and gradually they were borne down by sheer weight of numbers. Liège fell on August 7, 1914, and two weeks later most of Belgium was subjugated and Germany was ready to strike directly at France. Nevertheless, the resistance of the Belgians had several significant results: (1) it gave the French time to complete their preparations for defense; (2) it gave the English time to transport a small "expeditionary force" to France; (3) it delayed the Germans and exasperated them against the Belgians. The Germans installed a military governor at Brussels and treated Belgium as a conquered province. They burned many public buildings, including the priceless library of Louvain University, and compelled the civil population to submit to financial exactions and personal indignities. Naturally the Belgians remained intensely hostile to the Germans; and King Albert, adding the remnants of his little army to the forces of the Allies, continued the struggle.

**German Invasion of France.** — For two weeks after they had hacked their way through Belgium, the Germans carried everything before them. Armies poured down through Belgium and Luxemburg into France. At the same time, other armies advanced from Alsace-Lorraine against the line of French border fortresses from Belfort to Verdun. Farther and farther the Germans penetrated into France; they captured Lille, Sedan, and Rheims; to the west, they reached the neighborhood of Paris; in the center, they crossed the Marne River. Farther and farther they drove back the French and English armies, until it seemed as though the Allies would be separated and Paris surrounded.

*The First Battle of the Marne, September, 1914.* — At this point, however, General Joffre, the commander-in-chief of the French armies, ordered resistance to the death. The resulting Battle of the Marne (September 6-12, 1914) comprised a whole series of desperate contests that were waged almost simultaneously along the entire Front from Paris to Verdun and from Verdun to Belfort. A French army struck out from Paris; the small English "expeditionary force" gave some assistance; French armies held back the Germans from the fortresses at the eastern end of the long battle line; and at the critical center of the line from Paris to Verdun, a French army under General Ferdinand Foch won a decisive victory. Against the solid wall of French resistance, German attacks failed everywhere. Everywhere the French advanced; they recrossed the Marne; they retook Rheims; they reached the Aisne River; they relieved the pressure on the eastern border-fortresses. Such was the immediate result of the Battle of the Marne, in which more than two million men were engaged.

*Fighting in Flanders.* — Thwarted in their attempts to surround either Paris or Verdun, the Germans next sought the conquest of Flanders (in northwestern France and southwestern Belgium) and the French ports on the English channel. Here, too, despite savage and protracted assaults, they were repulsed by the Allies.

*The Western Front, 1914-1915.* — The battle line on the Western Front, after the German reverses on the Marne and in Flanders, extended from Nieuport and Ypres (in southwestern Belgium) southward to the Aisne River, thence eastward to Verdun, and thence southward to Belfort — a total distance of some six hundred miles. Behind it, the Germans,



TRENCH WARFARE ON THE WESTERN FRONT

strongly entrenched, held most of Belgium and the chief industrial and mining regions of France. In front of it, the large French armies and the much smaller forces of British and Belgians, also strongly entrenched, barred further German advance. The Germans had made rich conquests in Belgium and northern France, but they had not overwhelmed the Western Allies or put France out of the war.

**German Defense against Russia: Battle of Tannenberg, August, 1914.** — Meanwhile, in the East, the Germans, with the aid of Austria, had to contend with Russia. Germany, in

directing her first mighty attacks against Belgium and France, could leave only relatively small forces to defend her Eastern frontier. These forces were too few to prevent the mobilization of huge Russian armies; but, though they were inferior to the Russians in numbers, they were superior in discipline, equipment, and means of communication. Under the brilliant leadership of General Paul von Hindenburg, they decisively repulsed the invading Russians in the Battle of Tannenberg (August 26-31, 1914).

**Russian Invasion of Galicia.** — Austria was unable to give the aid against Russia which Germany expected of her. Her armies, like her dominions, were composed of diverse elements — Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, etc., of whom only the first two were thoroughly loyal and enthusiastic, while the others, as "subject nationalities," frequently mutinied or deserted. The Hungarians and Germans in the Austrian armies fought bravely, but they were outnumbered and outgeneraled by the Russians. Not only did their invasion of Russian Poland fail, but they lost all eastern Galicia, including Lemberg (September 3, 1914), and were driven back into the Carpathian Mountains.

**Austrian Campaign against Serbia Checked.** — While she was struggling in vain to stem the tide of Russian invasion in Galicia, Austria could make no headway against Serbia to the south. Twice in 1914 she attempted to put Serbia out of the war, and twice she failed. All she could do was to protect her own southern borders against counter-attacks of the Serbians and Montenegrins.

*The Eastern Front, 1914-1915.* — Gradually, as the open fighting slackened on the Western Front and the opposing armies dug themselves into the ground in parallel trenches, the Germans found they could hold their gains in Belgium and France with fewer men and could therefore transfer fairly large forces to the Russian frontier. With these reinforcements, Germany clinched her hold on East Prussia, stifled Austrian defense in the Carpathians and in Western



Galicia, and, with Austrian support, carried the war into the western part of Russian Poland. In the spring of 1915 the Eastern Front extended from East Prussia through western Russian Poland and Galicia to the Carpathian Mountains — a total distance of some nine hundred miles; like the Western Front, it was entrenched and fortified.



TRENCH WARFARE ON THE EASTERN FRONT

**The New Warfare.** — Already it appeared that the Great War was to be long and terribly expensive and quite different in character and methods from any preceding war. The wars of the nineteenth century had been fought mainly by professional armies in the open field, and quick decisive battles had almost always been followed by prompt treaties of peace.

**Numbers.** — In the Great War of the twentieth century whole nations were in arms. Now there were millions of soldiers where formerly there had been thousands. The millions could not be gathered together on a single open battlefield.

They could be used to advantage only in long rows of trenches such as those which extended six hundred miles on the Western Front and nine hundred miles on the Eastern Front.

*Trenches.* — Trench warfare on a large scale was a characteristic feature of the Great War. Each of the opposing armies constructed its system of trenches, running two or three deep in zigzag parallels, connected with one another



AIRPLANES IN GROUP-FORMATION

by laterals, and connected also with underground rooms in which the soldiers rested and in which war supplies were kept. Between the opposing trench systems was "no man's land," a space obstructed with mounds of dirt and tangles of barbed wire, through which troops must advance if they would capture the enemy's trenches.

*Artillery.* — The trenches were supplemented by mechanical devices of the latest scientific perfection. Cavalry could be employed very little, but artillery reached a development

hitherto undreamed of. Machine guns were used in prodigious numbers, and big cannon were installed all along the trenches to mow down the obstructions in "no man's land," to destroy the enemy's positions, and to screen the charge of infantry. To shell and shot were added explosive bombs and exploding mines; and later in the war the Germans employed *poisonous gases* with deadly effect, while the Allies built "*tanks*," encased in iron and driven by gasoline engines, which crawled over hills and gulleys on caterpillar treads and spat out smoke and bullets. *Gasoline engines*<sup>1</sup> were, in fact, an indispensable weapon in the Great War. They were used not only in "*tanks*," but in the multitude of motor cars which supplied the troops at the front with ammunition and food and conveyed prisoners and the wounded to the rear, and also in the host of *airplanes* which darted above the trenches, spying out the movements of the enemy, fighting off hostile airplanes, and dropping explosive bombs on strategic points behind the opposing trenches.

With these new methods of warfare, the winning of decisive battles proved to be terribly expensive. To carry trenches by artillery fire required an enormous expenditure of shot and shell.

**Relative Strength of Opposing Coalitions.** — In population the Allies considerably outnumbered the Teutonic Powers (Germany and Austria), but the latter for a long time enjoyed a superiority in artillery. On both sides, the financial burden of the war was staggering; heavy taxes were imposed and huge sums were borrowed. There was a possibility that the Great War might lead to European bankruptcy if not to the destruction of European civilization.

*Allied Hopes: The Pact of London.* — By the spring of 1915 both sides recognized that the Great War would be expensive and probably protracted. The Allies were encouraged, however, by the fact that they had defeated the Germans at the Marne and in Flanders and had conquered most of Austrian

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXVIII, pp. 820-831.

Galicia, and they believed that in a long contest their superior numbers and resources would count heavily against the Teutonic Powers. In 1914, by the Pact of London, the Allies agreed to hold together until they should win the war and not to make peace separately. In 1915, by a series of secret treaties, they agreed that in the future peace-settlement Russia should appropriate Constantinople and all of Poland, France should extend her territory to the Rhine River, and England should take the bulk of the German colonies.

*Teutonic Hopes.* — At the same time the Germans prided themselves on the fact that they had conquered most of Belgium and the richest region of France and had repulsed the Russians. With the Austrians, they were confident of ultimate victory and of their ability to force a "German peace" on the Allies.

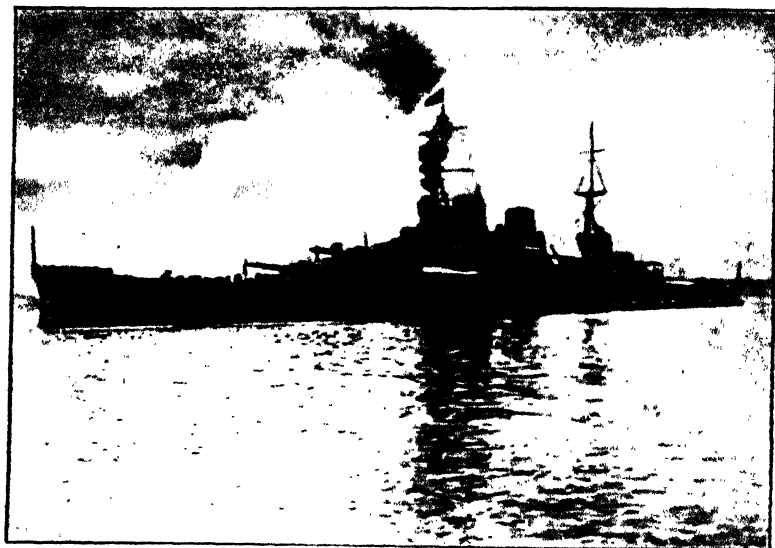
#### GREAT BRITAIN EMPLOYS HER SEA-POWER

*Use of English Sea-Power.* — England was the most confident opponent of Germany, for she possessed what Germany lacked — supreme sea-power. Her navy was twice as large and strong as Germany's, and she put it to good use.

*Blockade of Germany.* — In the first place, the superior British navy blockaded the inferior German navy in German ports. This deprived Germany of the means of transporting an army to England and saved Great Britain from such horrors of invasion as befell Belgium, France, and Poland.

*Active Assistance to France.* — Secondly, the British, through their naval superiority, were able to give timely assistance to the French. This assistance was threefold: (1) *Men.* Volunteer armies were recruited not only in Great Britain but also throughout the British Empire — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, etc. — and were then carried in safety to France and lined up side by side with the French and Belgians. Though at first few in numbers, the British "expeditionary forces" gradually grew until, through the imposition of conscription by the British Parliament in January,

1916, they equaled the armies of the French. (2) *Munitions*. England, freed from the menace of German invasion, was able to utilize all her natural resources and mechanical skill for the manufacture of munitions and other equipment necessary for the Allied armies, and at the same time to transport food-stuffs and supplies from the British colonies and from the



THE PRINCE OF WALES

One of the most powerful British battleships.

United States. (3) *Money*. England made large financial loans not only to France but to the other Allies as well.

*Destruction of German Commerce.* - Thirdly, the British navy cut off most of Germany's foreign trade. In every quarter of the globe British warships, in conjunction with the fleets of France and Russia, spread their net and caught virtually the whole ocean-commerce of Germany. Some German merchant vessels escaped and took refuge in ports still neutral, especially in those of the United States, but few got back to Germany. With her sea-trade gone, Germany

was deprived of profitable foreign markets for her goods and likewise of needful foreign imports. Her industry suffered from the sudden slump in her commerce. For the same reason, both the trade and the industry of Great Britain flourished. The British navy assured the economic stability of England while it undermined that of Germany.

*Conquest of German Colonies.* — Finally, the British did in the Great War what they had done during the Napoleonic and earlier wars. They helped to keep the war going on the Continent of Europe by contributing financial subsidies and "expeditionary forces," while they themselves proceeded overseas to acquire colonies and to enlarge the British Empire.

In 1914, England, with the aid of Japan as well as of Australia and New Zealand, seized all the German islands in the Pacific Ocean, and Japan herself captured the German port of Kiao-chao in China. In Africa, the British, with the assistance of French colonial forces, subjugated Togoland in 1914 and Kamerun in 1916. British troops from South Africa, after suppressing an insurrection of the Boers in 1914, overran German Southwest Africa in 1915 and completed the conquest of German East Africa in 1918.

**Germany Joined by Turkey, 1914.** — Meanwhile, in October, 1914, Germany had wheedled Turkey into making common cause with her and Austria against the Allies. The juncture of Turkey with the Teutonic Powers provided further scope for British imperialism. England at once detached Egypt<sup>1</sup> from the Ottoman Empire and brought it under her direct control as a protectorate. At the same time she incited the Arabs of Hedjaz (the strip of territory east of the Red Sea) to rebel against the Turkish Sultan.

*British Failure at the Dardanelles and on Gallipoli.* — England likewise planned the conquest of Constantinople, but here her efforts were less successful. A powerful Franco-British fleet attempted to force its way through the Dardanelles — the narrow straits leading from the Aegean Sea into

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXIII, p. 683.

the Sea of Marmora. But against the Turkish land-batteries commanding the straits, British sea-power was unavailing; several warships were lost, and the attempt was abandoned. A British army composed partly of troops from Australia, New Zealand, and India was then landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula close to the Dardanelles. Throughout the spring of 1915 this army struggled desperately and with terrible losses to overcome Turkish resistance, but to no avail. Nevertheless, thanks to the British navy, the Allies were able to maintain for many months a force at Gallipoli as a menace to Turkey and to occupy (in October, 1915) the Greek port of Salonica as a base for future operations in the Balkans.

**The Allies Joined by Italy, 1915.** — It was British sea-power, more than anything else, which gave Italy sufficient confidence to throw in her lot with the Allies. Italy, at the beginning of the Great War, was a member of the Triple Alliance (with Germany and Austria), but even if she had been eager to assist the latter Powers she would have been deterred by the thought of what the powerful British navy might do to her extensive and unprotected seacoast. As a matter of fact, however, Italy was not loyal to the Triple Alliance. While remaining neutral in the war, the Italian Government secretly bargained with both sides. From Austria, Italy obtained a fairly generous offer of territory as an inducement to remain neutral. But from England, France, and Russia, she obtained a written promise (in the form of a secret treaty), that if she would attack her former allies she would be allowed to annex not only all of "Italia Irredenta" (that is, Trent, Trieste, and other Italian-speaking parts of Austria-Hungary) but also several important slices of territory inhabited by Germans and Yugoslavs. So anxious were the Allies to secure Italy's aid that they were willing to purchase it by violating the principle of national self-determination. The bargain was made, and accordingly Italy declared war against Austria in May, 1915. Against Germany, however, Italy hesitated to declare war until August, 1916.

The participation of Italy in the Great War was of slight immediate advantage to the Allies. The frontier between Italy and Austria was of such a character that the Austrians, in possession of the highest mountains and most strategic points, could defend it with minimum effort. The Italian armies fought bravely, but their advance into Austria was painfully slow.

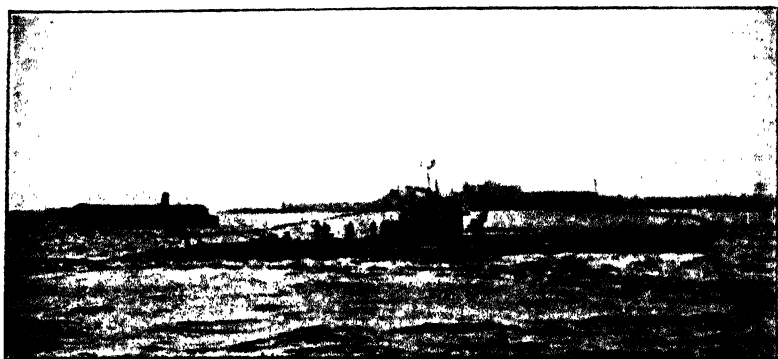
**German Difficulty in Counteracting British Sea-Power.** — British sea-power loomed ever greater and more threatening to the Teutonic Powers and to Turkey. In vain German war-ships occasionally gave battle to the British. The German Far-East Fleet defeated a British squadron off the coast of Chile near Coronel (November 1, 1914) only to be destroyed by another and more powerful squadron off the Falkland Islands (December 8, 1914). And later the German battle-fleet, emerging into the North Sea, inflicted considerable damage on the British Grand Fleet in the Battle of Jutland (May 31, 1916), but was compelled to return to refuge in home waters. In vain German cruisers from time to time made stealthy trips across the North Sea and bombarded English coast-towns; they had to retire swiftly, and several were lost. In vain German raiders preyed here and there upon Allied commerce; their careers were always brief and ended usually either in destruction or in internment in neutral ports.

**Submarine Warfare.** — One weapon remained to the Germans in contending with the sea-power of England, and that was the submarine, or "U-boat." Submarines were small craft which could travel a considerable distance under water and frequently could elude enemy war vessels. Early in the Great War the Germans began to use them not only to attack hostile battleships but to sink enemy merchant vessels. The Germans reposed great faith in submarines: large numbers of them were built and their field of operations was extended completely around the British Islands and even into the Mediterranean; they were counted upon in course of time to interrupt British trade and perhaps to starve out England.



The ultimate success of the German submarine campaign depended upon the wholesale destruction of merchant vessels bound to or from England. Yet neutral Powers would certainly protest (and might conceivably join the Allies) if their vessels were sunk or their citizens lost their lives on Allied vessels. Obviously the unrestricted use of submarines was fraught with danger for the Germans as well as for the British.

*Sinking of the Lusitania: American Hostility to Germany.* — The sinking of the large British steamship *Lusitania* (May 7,



A GERMAN U BOAT

This was one of the captured German submarines exhibited in New York harbor at the close of the war.

1915) by a German submarine off the Irish coast resulted in the death of some twelve hundred civilians (including over a hundred Americans), and served to arouse bitter resentment in the United States against Germany. Angry protests were made by the American Government. For a year diplomatic notes were exchanged between Germany and the United States, interrupted now and then with new submarine outrages and with new crises, until in May, 1916, Germany promised that henceforth no merchant vessel would be sunk without warning and without due provision for the security of passengers' lives except when the merchant vessel attempted flight or resistance.

For fear of American hostility, Germany held back for a time the one weapon which might seriously challenge England's sea-power. In the meantime Great Britain clinched her hold on the commerce and colonies of Germany.

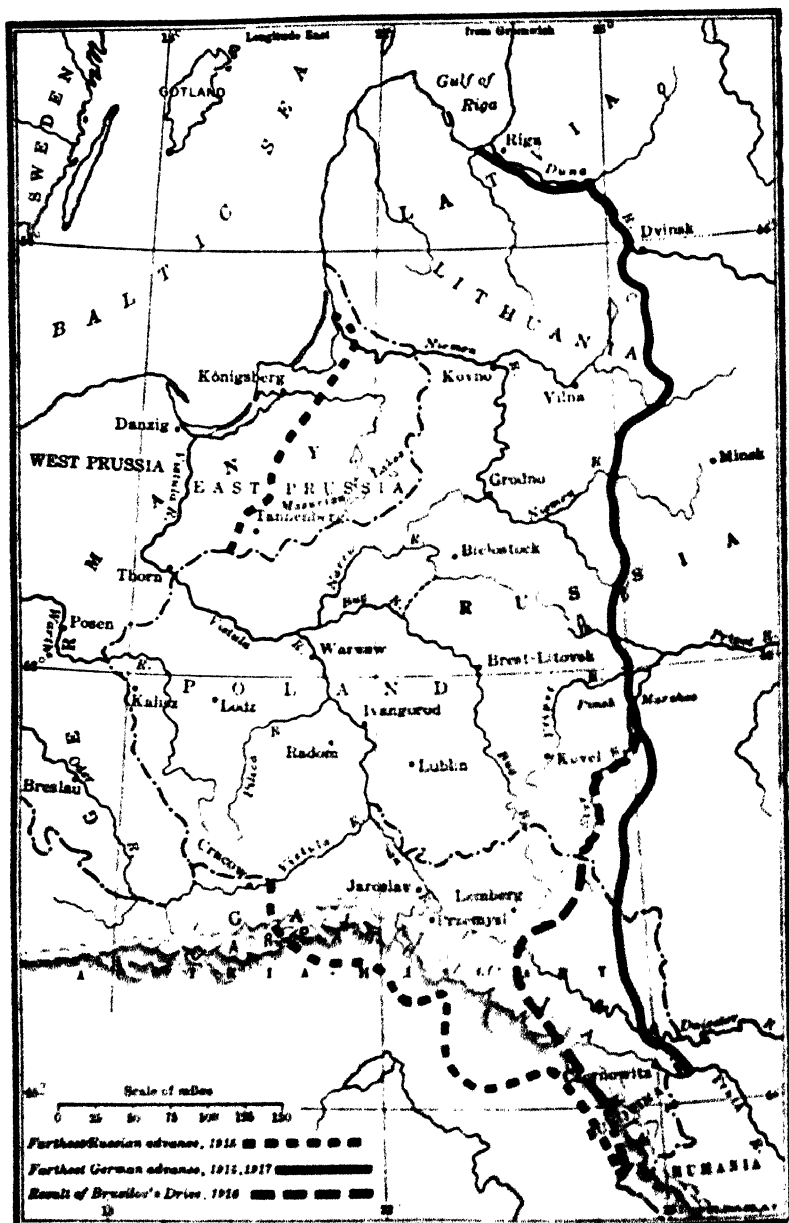
#### THE HOSTILE COALITIONS CHECK EACH OTHER

While the British were mastering the seas, the Germans were winning spectacular triumphs on land. For three years military fortune on the whole favored the Teutonic Powers.

**German Plans against Russia.** — After the first year of warfare (1914-1915), during which the Germans had conquered most of Belgium and the northern districts of France and had repelled the Russians from East Prussia and carried the struggle into Poland, it became obvious to the Teutonic Powers that Russia was the most vulnerable of the Great Powers in arms against them. Her defeat would establish Teutonic supremacy in Eastern Europe.

For an offensive against Russia, Germany had distinct advantages. She possessed unlimited stores of artillery and ammunition, excellent means of communication, efficient administration, and disciplined soldiers who were literate and who knew what they were doing.

*Weakness of Russia.* — Russia had more men at her disposal, but most of them were peasants who could neither read nor write and who understood little of the stakes of the war. Besides, Russia was woefully short of munitions and supplies; her own factories and railways were vastly inferior to Germany's, and the bulk of her imports from England and France had been cut off since Turkey entered the war as an ally of the Teutonic Powers. Finally the Russian autocracy was infinitely worse than the German in character and effect. The Tsar Nicholas II was pitifully weak and easily duped by his ministers, many of whom were thoroughly incompetent, and some of whom were downright dishonest and corrupt. The Russian generals were hopelessly handicapped by intolerable conditions which had been created by Russian autocracy.



THE EASTERN FRONT, 1914-1917

**Teutonic Drives against Russia.** — Under the circumstances the Teutonic Powers planned a decisive campaign against Russia. German troops were withdrawn from France except just enough to defend the trenches there against Franco-British assaults, while Austria reduced her forces on the Italian and Serbian Fronts to the smallest number necessary for defense. With the soldiers thus relieved and with a host of reserves, the Teutons in the summer of 1915 won a series of brilliant victories over Russia.

*Mackensen's Drive.* — First, General von Mackensen, with combined Austrian and German armies, drove the Russians out of the Carpathian Mountains, defeated them in the great Battle of the San (May 15-17, 1915), and compelled them to evacuate Lemberg (June 22). Mackensen's Drive reconquered nearly all of Galicia for Austria.

*Hindenburg's Drive.* — Next, General von Hindenburg, with large German armies, struck hard against the Russians in Poland. Warsaw fell in August and Vilna in September. By October, 1915, all Poland, together with most of Latvia and a strip of Lithuania, had been conquered by the Teutonic Powers.

*Russian Losses.* — Russian losses in 1915 were not confined to territory. Half a million soldiers were killed, a million wounded, and another million captured. The remaining Russian armies were demoralized by defeat and retreat. The Tsar and his autocratic Government were discredited. Russia remained in the war, though in a badly battered condition.

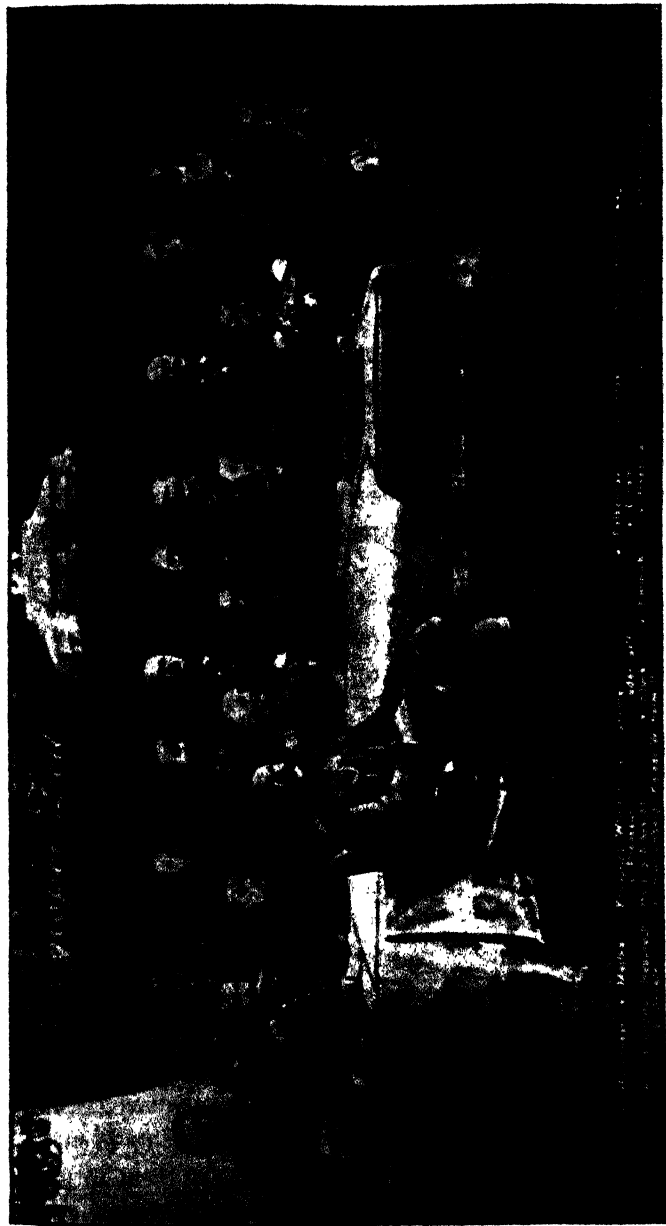
**Bulgaria Joins Germany in Conquering Serbia, 1915.** — Having crippled Russia, the German General Staff was free to turn its attention to the southeast. Its aim now was to annihilate Serbia, because Serbia stood in the way between Germany and Austria, on one hand, and, on the other hand, their ally Turkey and their new ally Bulgaria. In October, 1915, therefore, an Austro-German army under Mackensen was hurled against Serbia from the north. Simultaneously Serbia was assailed from the east by Bulgaria, for Bulgaria

now decided<sup>1</sup> to join the victorious Germans. Between the Austro-German and Bulgarian armies, Serbia was speedily crushed. In two months, almost all of Serbia was conquered. The neighboring countries of Montenegro and Albania met the same fate. As a result, by the spring of 1916 the Germans were masters of the Balkan Peninsula; Turkey and Bulgaria were their allies; and Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania were conquered provinces.

**Rumania Joins the Allies, and is Conquered, 1916.** — Two of the Balkan nations, however, still remained neutral, namely, Greece and Rumania. Greece was kept neutral by her King, Constantine, a brother-in-law of the German Emperor. Rumania remained neutral for a time, until finally the Allies won her over to their side by promising her a large part of Hungary. Consequently the Rumanians entered the war in August, 1916, and rashly began to invade Hungary. But the Teutonic campaign against Rumania was almost as speedy and decisive as that against Serbia. While the Bulgarians, under Mackensen, attacked from the south, the Austro-Germans under General Falkenhayn drove from the west and north. Bucharest was captured on December 6, 1916; and by the end of the year all Rumania, except a small section in the northeast, was a Teutonic conquest.

**The German Confederacy of Middle Europe.** — As a result of German successes in diplomacy and on the battlefield, a Middle-European Confederacy (*Mittel-Europa*) had been constructed of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey — the so-called "Central Empires." Of this Confederacy, Germany was both head and right arm. Largely through her planning and prowess, the territory dominated by the Central Empires was extended by conquest so that, at the beginning of 1917, it embraced not only these four States but Belgium, northern France, Poland, parts of Lithuania and Latvia,

<sup>1</sup> The chief reason why Bulgaria joined the Teutonic Powers was because she had been defeated by Serbia in the Second Balkan War of 1913. See Chapter XX, pp. 600-601.



#### THE GERMAN WAR LORDS

This group includes the most prominent German leaders responsible for Germany's conduct in the Great War. Note particularly the Emperor (sitting in front), Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, Field Marshals von Hindenburg and Ludendorff, Count von Tirpitz (in charge of the navy), and the Crown Prince (Kronprinz Wilhelm).

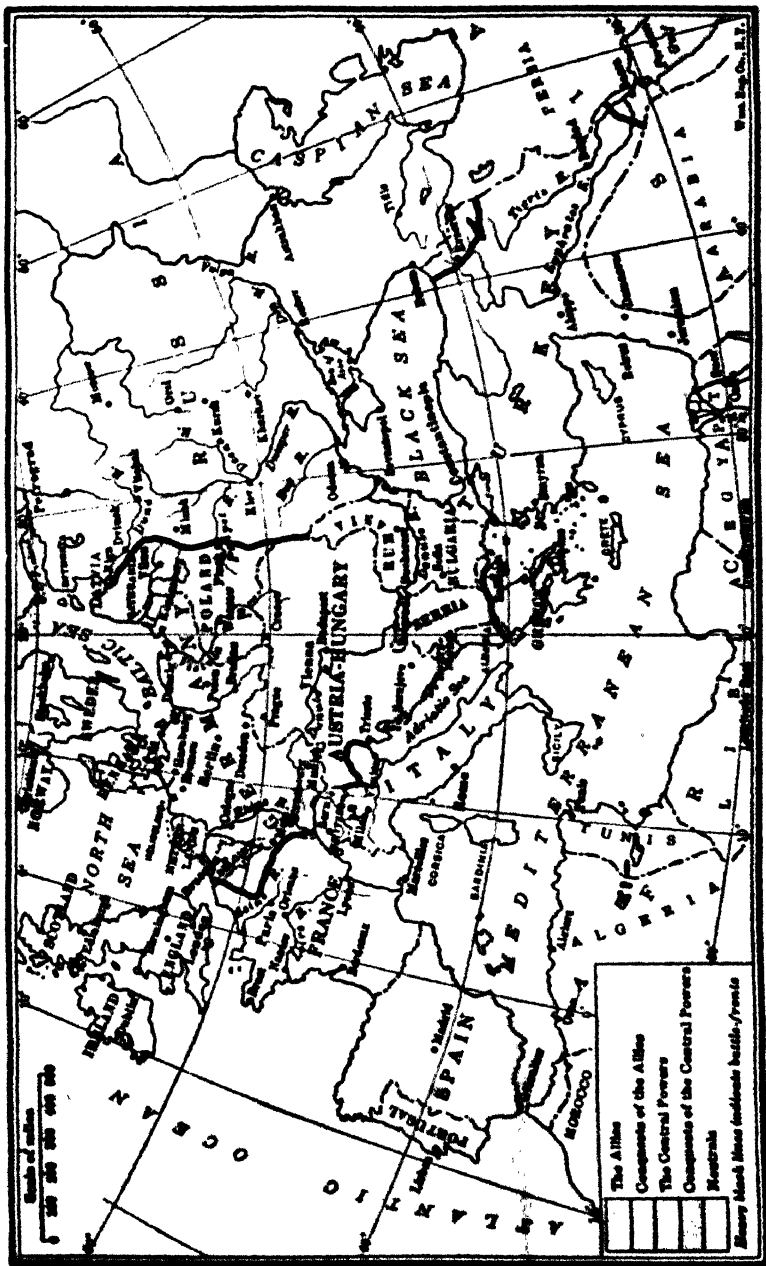
Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro, and a portion of Albania. The new Confederacy, with its conquests, stretched from the North and Baltic Seas to the Persian Gulf and from Vilna to Rheims. It was the greatest achievement in empire-building on the Continent of Europe since the days of Napoleon Bonaparte, a century before.

Throughout the conquered territory Germany conscripted money and men for the prosecution of the war. In Poland she set up a dependent government in November, 1916, and over other regions she placed military governors. All the Confederacy's armies — their plans and equipment — were subordinated to the German General Staff, of which in 1916 General (now Field Marshal) von Hindenburg became nominal chief and General Erich von Ludendorff "quartermaster-general" and actual chief. The Teutons had a unity of command and a singleness of purpose which their opponents long lacked.

In spite of her triumphs in central and eastern Europe, Germany had not won the Great War. She still had to cope with the Anglo-French army in France, with a hostile force in Italy, and with the British navy on the high seas.

**The Western Front, 1915-1916.** — During the two years in which Germany was defeating Russia and conquering Serbia and Rumania, the Western Front remained almost stationary as it had been fixed after the Battles of the Marne and Flanders in 1914. In 1915 the French and English were too deficient in artillery and ammunition to break through the strongly defended enemy trenches and force the Germans back; and the Germans were too short of men to conduct a sustained offensive against the Allies.

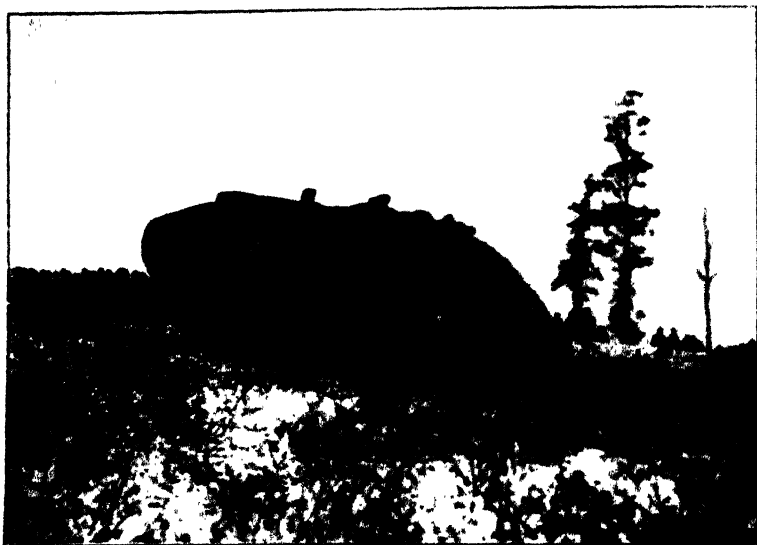
*The Germans Repulsed at Verdun, 1916.* — In 1916, when Russia had met disaster at the hands of Mackensen and Hindenburg, Germany was able to release large numbers of men from service on the Eastern Front and transfer them to the West. She then resolved to strike France a terrible blow and cripple her beyond recovery. Against the strategic fortress of



THE WAR MAP IN JANUARY, 1916



Verdun, the Germans, under the Crown Prince Frederick William, centered their attack with massed armies and prodigious quantities of munitions. But by this time the French themselves were well equipped with artillery and ammunition, and under the leadership of General Pétain they fought with fury and determination. "They shall not pass" became the watchword of the brave French defenders of Verdun. From



A "TANK"

February to July, 1916, the Germans attacked again and again, desperately and savagely. They gained about 130 square miles of battle-scarred territory north and east of the city, including two demolished forts and the desolate ruins of two-score villages; they sacrificed at least 300,000 soldiers; but they failed to achieve their purpose. Verdun remained in French hands, and the Western Front was unbroken. Pétain's defensive Battle at Verdun in 1916 ranked with Joffre's defensive Battle at the Marne in 1914, as a decisive conflict of the Great War.

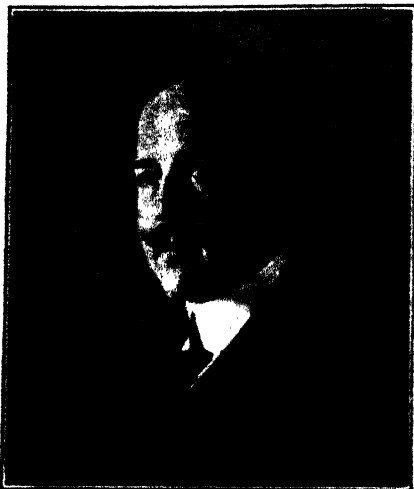
*The Battle of the Somme, 1916.* — While the Germans were still hammering at Verdun, the French and British directed an offensive of their own against the German trenches, in front of Péronne and Bapaume, on either side of the Somme River. The Battle of the Somme, which lasted with lulls from July to November, 1916, was extremely sanguinary and netted the Allies an immediate gain of only some 120 square miles. Nevertheless, it so dented the enemy's lines that the Germans dug a new system of trenches (called the "Hindenburg Line") several miles in the rear, and thither they retreated in March, 1917. Not only was Germany failing to overcome Anglo-French resistance, but she was losing some of her initial conquests in France. Nor was this all.

**Italian and Russian Successes, 1916.** — The Italians and the Russians, taking advantage of Germany's preoccupation at Verdun and on the Somme, undertook simultaneous offensives against Austria. The Italians advanced to the Isonzo River and captured Gorizia in August, 1916. The Russians at the same time recovered part of eastern Galicia. These successes were not decisive, but they strengthened the morale of the Allies and proved that the Central Empires were not invincible on land.

**Other Allied Successes.** — On the sea British naval-power was still supreme. The naval blockade of Germany was tightened; German attempts to stir up revolts in Ireland and in the British Empire were frustrated; and, thanks to British control of the seas, the Allies were free (as the Germans were not) to flood neutral Powers with literature and propaganda favorable to their cause. In March, 1916, *Portugal* was persuaded to seize German merchant vessels in her harbors and to enter the Great War as one of the Allies. In March, 1917, a British expeditionary force, which had been transported from India to *Mesopotamia*, captured from the Turks the important city of Bagdad. In June, 1917, the French and English, supported by warships, interfered in the domestic affairs

of *Greece*, deposed the pro-German King Constantine, and compelled the Greeks to accept the government of the pro-Ally minister Venizelos and to aid the Anglo-French expeditionary force at Salonica.<sup>1</sup>

**The Balance of Power.** — By 1917 the Great War seemed to be a draw. Germany had won spectacular triumphs in



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#### KING CONSTANTINE

Constantine became King of Greece in 1913. During the Great War he refused to join the Allies in fighting against his brother-in-law, the German Emperor. He was deposed by the Allies in 1917, restored to the throne in 1920 by a plebiscite, and compelled to abdicate again in 1922.

eastern Europe, but in western Europe her armies had been checked and repulsed; and England had secured a strangle-hold on the seas. The only hope of ultimate victory for the Germans appeared to lie in the smashing of British sea-power; if this could be accomplished, Germany might then crush Italy and France as she had crushed Serbia and Rumania.

#### German Renewal of Submarine Warfare, 1917.

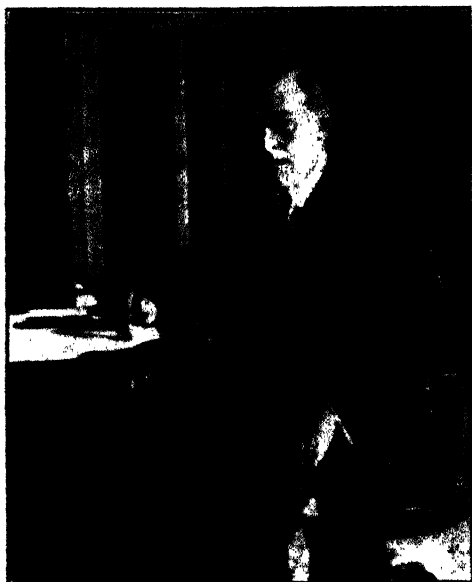
— To smash British sea-power, Germany resorted to her submarines. Gradually she intensified her submarine warfare, until on the last day of January, 1917, she with-

drew the promises she had previously given the United States, and declared that thenceforth all sea traffic within certain zones adjoining the British Islands, France, and Italy, would, "without further notice, be prevented by all weapons." This

<sup>1</sup> Venizelos had previously organized a rebellion against King Constantine and joined the Allies in the war.

meant that within the specified areas German submarines would sink at sight all vessels, whether belligerent or neutral, without precaution against the loss of innocent passengers.

**The Allies Joined by the United States, April 6, 1917.** — The brusque and barbarous German declaration of January 31, 1917, aroused American hostility, because it violated every right to the freedom of the seas for which the United States had ever contended. And when it became known that Germany had planned an attack upon the United States by Mexico and Japan American indignation reached fever-heat. On April 6, 1917, the United States declared war against Germany, and on December 7 against Austria. The intervention of the United States was a godsend to the Allies.



WOODROW WILSON

America could now put at their disposal her useful metals, her plentiful foodstuffs, her numerous shipyards, her powerful fleet, her vast man-power, and, most significant of all, her fresh enthusiasm and her unselfish idealism.

The United States was the only Great Power that fought in the war without demanding or even desiring territorial gains for herself. Whatever the motives of other nations may have been, the people of the United States took up arms for the purpose of preserving the freedom of the seas, upholding justice and international law, destroying the men-

ace of autocratic militarism, and defending the rights of small nations. These altruistic aims were not entirely achieved, perhaps, and undoubtedly they were mingled in the minds of a few people with baser motives; but it would be unfair and incorrect not to give America credit for a loftiness of purpose and an unselfishness that can hardly be matched in all history.

**The Russian Revolution, 1917.** — Almost simultaneously with the intervention of the United States, a popular revolution in Russia overthrew autocracy, dethroned the Tsar Nicholas II, and set up a republican form of government.<sup>1</sup> Thus it happened that the five Great Powers most actively arrayed in arms against autocratic Germany in the spring of 1917 were political democracies — Russia, France, England, Italy, and the United States. This fact gave point to President Wilson's words that the Great War was being fought "to make the world safe for democracy."

**The Outcome in Doubt.** — In 1917, however, the outcome of the struggle was still in doubt. Germany was holding her own on the entrenched battle-fronts of Continental Europe and was pressing the submarine warfare against the Allies. The Allies were holding their own on the battle-fronts and were calling loudly to the United States to hasten her preparations and come speedily to their assistance before the submarine warfare had done its work.

**The Pope's Plea for Peace.** — Such was the situation when Pope Benedict XV issued a special plea for peace in August, 1917. He called upon the warring Powers to end the terrible conflict by making a "just and lasting peace" based on "the moral force of right" rather than on the force of might. He urged them to renounce indemnities and conquests, with certain exceptions required by justice, and for the future to settle their disputes by peaceful arbitration. Freedom of the seas should be guaranteed. Armies and navies should be reduced. President Wilson replied that while he sympathized

<sup>1</sup> The Russian Revolution is discussed in Chapter XXVII.

with Pope Benedict's aspirations for a just peace, he considered it impossible to make peace because of the German Government's attitude. The war must continue.

#### THE CENTRAL EMPIRES WIN THEIR LAST SUCCESSES

**Reasons for German Optimism, 1917.** — Three events in 1917 seemed to portend ultimate victory for Germany and her Confederates: (1) the progress of the submarine warfare; (2) the development, especially among the Allies, of a pacifist movement, called "defeatism"; and (3) the withdrawal of Russia from the Great War.

(1) *Progress of Submarine Warfare.* — The German campaign of sea-ruthlessness started off with spirit and dash. From January to June, 1917, German submarines sank nearly four million tons of Allied shipping. It was recognized that if this amount could be doubled in the second half of 1917, Germany would starve out England and would also prevent the transportation of American troops to Europe. The United States did everything in her power, after declaring war against Germany (in April, 1917), to hasten preparations for lending her utmost aid to the Allies: she raised huge sums of money through taxation and "liberty loans," much of which she advanced to the Allies; she speeded up her production of munitions; she conscripted four million young men, trained and equipped them, and prepared them for active service in France; she built up great relief organizations, such as the Red Cross,<sup>1</sup> the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, etc.; she joined her naval forces to those of Great Britain, and utilized her merchant vessels for transporting soldiers and supplies to Europe. But all these things took time. It was estimated that a year must elapse before the full weight of America's participation in the Great War could be felt; and in the

<sup>1</sup> The Red Cross was an international relief organization established in 1864. Reference is here made to its American branch.

meantime the German submarine warfare threatened to nullify it completely.

(2) *Development of "Defeatism."* — So intense was the strain of the Great War from 1914 to 1917 and so heavy were the losses in money and men, that many people in each of the warring countries naturally grew weary of the struggle and longed for peace. In May, 1917, Socialists proposed a general peace on the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities." The Emperor Charles of Austria, who had recently (1916) succeeded the aged Francis Joseph, perceiving an alarming growth of unrest among the "subject nationalities" in his dominions — Czechoslovaks, Poles, and Yugoslavs — engaged in secret intrigues with France, with a view to ending the war. In Germany itself, the majority in the Reichstag — Socialists, Catholics, and Democrats — demanded the abolition of autocracy and a peace "without annexations or indemnities." But pacifism, or "defeatism," reached most dangerous proportions in three Allied countries: Russia, Italy, and France. In France, agitators headed by a certain Caillaux, a banker and ex-premier, plotted with German agents and caused mutinies in the French army. The breakdown of a French offensive against German trenches north of the Aisne River, in April, 1917, was traceable in no small degree to "defeatism." The movement went even farther in Italy, in 1917, so that the morale of several regiments was undermined. In Russia "defeatism" triumphed.

(3) *Withdrawal of Russia.* — For three years Russia had suffered greater losses and reverses than any other Power. Her people were sick and tired not only of the blundering autocracy, which they blamed for their disaster, but also of the whole war. The overthrow of the Tsar<sup>1</sup> in March, 1917, was the signal for pacifist intrigues on the part of German agents and for pacifist demands on the part of Russian Socialists. In vain Kerensky, the provisional head of the Russian

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XXVII gives the story of the Russian Revolution in detail.

Republic, implored the Allies to consent to a general peace "without annexations or indemnities." In vain he sought to restore the discipline of the faltering and weakening Russian armies. In vain he launched a despairing offensive against the Austrians and Germans on the Eastern Front (July, 1917). Russian troops mutinied; the offensive broke down; the Austrians recovered all of Galicia; the Germans captured Riga (September) and penetrated into Esthonia. Russia was in chaos, and in November, 1917, Kerensky was overthrown by a Socialist (Bolshevist) coup d'état.

**Peace of Brest-Litovsk, March, 1918.** — The first important act of the Bolshevist Government was to agree to a truce with the Central Empires; and in March, 1918, peace was formally concluded by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between Russia, on one side, and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, on the other. Russia recognized the independence of Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Ukrania, and ceded Russian Armenia to the Turks.

**Expansion of Middle-Europe.** — With the collapse and surrender of Russia, Germany's Mid-European Confederacy expanded enormously in eastern Europe. The States detached from Russia were made dependencies of the Teutonic Powers, which were thereby relieved of the necessity of maintaining a strong Eastern battle-front and assured of reinforcements of men and supplies for final campaigns against the Italians and against the French and English. Under these circumstances, "defeatism" quite disappeared in Austria and in Germany; the Teutonic peoples forgot the slogan "no annexations and no indemnities" and rallied behind the Emperor William II and Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff to win "peace through victory."

**Italian Disaster at Caporetto.** — In October, 1917, the Austrians, taking advantage of the breakdown of Russia and the development of "defeatism" among the Allies, endeavored by one terrific blow to put Italy out of the war. They overwhelmed a demoralized Italian army at Caporetto and com-



pelled the rapid retirement of all the Italian forces from Austrian soil back into Italy as far as the Piave River, only a few miles from Venice. They took nearly two hundred thousand prisoners and two thousand pieces of artillery. At the Piave however, they were stopped by Italian armies, which had been reorganized and reënforced by French and English detachments. The Austrians had staggered Italy but not prostrated her.

**Supreme German Effort on Western Front.** — Throughout the winter of 1917-1918 General Ludendorff made gigantic preparations for a supreme German effort against the Allies in France. Vast armies were concentrated on the Western Front. Huge supplies of guns and ammunition were brought hither. Monster cannon (the so-called "Big Berthas") were put in place to shell Paris from a distance of sixty miles. All was made ready for a series of assaults with the strongest and stoutest armies that the world had ever known.

*Ludendorff's Drives in France, March-May, 1918.* — In March, 1918, the Germans struck the British in the valley of the Somme River, near St. Quentin, and plowed a path through to the vicinity of Amiens. In April, they hit the British west of Lille and managed to advance some fifteen miles. In May, they assailed the French along the Aisne River and fought their way southward across the intervening hills to the Marne River at Château-Thierry, only about forty miles from Paris. These furious "drives" and sledge-hammer blows netted Germany considerable territory and much booty and served to restore the Western Front approximately as it had been in 1914 on the eve of the Battle of the Marne. Nevertheless they were supremely expensive, for they were attended by dreadful destruction of property and by frightful loss of life not only for the French and British but for the Germans as well. The Allies offered obstinate resistance, while Germany was gradually exhausting her munitions and man-power.

**Austrian Reverses on the Piave, June, 1918.** — In June, 1918, the Austrians made a desperate attempt to overcome

the Italians along the Piave River. They crossed the river at several points and at one place advanced five miles, but the Italians rallied and dislodged them with heavy losses. This final failure of the Austrians on the Piave marked the turn of the tide. Teutonic successes ceased, and Allied triumphs began.

#### THE ALLIES TRIUMPH

Despite the collapse of Russia and the forced retirement of the Italians to the Piave and of the French to the Marne, Germany was not winning the Great War. Allied resistance was stiffening in Italy, in France, and on the high seas. For this, the failure of the German submarine campaign was mainly responsible.

**Failure of German Submarine Warfare.** — German submarines in the first half of 1917 sank four million tons of Allied shipping, but thenceforth, thanks to the unceasing vigilance of the British and American navies, they wrought less and less havoc. In the second half of 1917 they sank two and a quarter million tons, and in the first half of 1918 barely two millions. Meanwhile, shipbuilding steadily increased in the United States and in Great Britain, so that in 1918 the merchant vessels launched far exceeded in tonnage those destroyed.

*Salvation of England.* — England, therefore, was not starved out by Germany, nor were her ocean communications interrupted. She was free to tighten the economic blockade against Germany and to coöperate with the United States in sending a constant stream of men and munitions to France and to the other battle-fronts.

**The Allies Joined by Many Powers.** — Because of the submarine warfare and the waxing prestige of England and the United States, several countries joined the Allies in 1917–1918. Cuba and Panama quickly followed the United States into the Great War in the spring of 1917. Later in the same year Greece, Siam, Liberia, China, and Brazil declared war against Germany. In 1918 Guatemala, Costa

Rica, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Honduras followed suit. Altogether, in 1918, approximately half the sovereign States of



GENERAL PERSHING

Commander of the American army in the Great War.

the world (including some of the richest and most populous) were banded together in a league against the Mid-European Confederacy of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

**Success of American Transportation.** — In addition to the failure of the German submarine campaign, two developments in 1917-1918 were highly favorable to the Allies. One was the speed with which American troops were trained and transported across the Atlantic. By July, 1918, more than a million American soldiers were in France, ready to join in an offensive against the Germans.

**Strengthening of Allied War-governments.** — The other development was the strengthening of the war-governments of the

Allied Great Powers and the unification of their military efforts. In the earlier years of the Great War there was much bungling on the part of inefficient ministers in Allied countries and there was notorious lack of coöperation on the part of Allied generals. In December, 1916, David Lloyd George

became Prime Minister of Great Britain, and, with the aid of a coalition cabinet of Conservatives, Liberals, and Laborites, infused new energy and new determination into his country. In November, 1917, Georges Clemenceau became Prime Minister of France, and Vittorio Orlando Prime Minister of Italy. Both were able administrators and zealous patriots. They suppressed "defeatism" and prosecuted the war with vigor. And in Woodrow Wilson the United States had a distinguished and eloquent President who voiced the idealism of the Allies and cooperated loyally and enthusiastically with Orlando, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George.

**Unification of Allied Military Command.** — In November, 1917, a Supreme Allied War Council was organized to co-ordinate the military efforts of France, England, Italy, and the United States; and in March, 1918, in the midst of the final German "drives" on the Western Front, the Allied Great Powers at last agreed to entrust all their forces to the supreme command of one man.

**Marshal Foch.** — For this responsible post, Marshal Ferdinand Foch, a short, grizzled, deep-eyed Frenchman of sixty-five, the foremost military genius of the time, was selected. To Foch were subordinated the French armies under Marshal Pétain, the British under



MARSHAL FOCH  
The Allied Commander-in-Chief.

Field Marshal Haig, the Italians under General Diaz, and the Americans under General John J. Pershing. It was thus in

the fourth year of the Great War that the Allies at last achieved singleness of purpose and unity of command.

**The Second Battle of the Marne, July, 1918.** — With consummate skill, Marshal Foch allowed the German armies during the spring of 1918 to exhaust themselves in their successive "drives" on the Western Front without gaining a decisive victory. Then in July, when the Germans attempted to cross the Marne River between Château-Thierry and Épernay, Foch called fresh American troops to the assistance of his French and British veterans and gave battle. This Second Battle of the Marne (July, 1918) was an Allied triumph. Not only was the German advance stopped, but Franco-American armies captured Château-Thierry and drove the enemy back northward across the Aisne River.

To the Germans the Second Battle of the Marne, in 1918, was far more disastrous than the First Battle of the Marne in 1914. In 1914, the Germans, with superior artillery and greater stores of ammunition, could entrench themselves on the heights of the Aisne and hold their lines intact in France and Belgium. In 1918, however, they shot their last bolt. They suffered terrible losses and had no more reinforcements to bring on from Russia or any other place. They were at last helplessly inferior to the Allies in numbers and in equipment.

**Continued Allied Successes on Western Front.** — The Allies, flushed with victory, did not rest when they had driven the Germans back to the Aisne. Relentlessly they hammered at the German lines everywhere. While Franco-British armies captured St. Quentin, Cambrai, and Lille, Franco-American troops drove the Germans from St. Mihiel (south of Verdun) and cleared the ground northward along the Meuse River. Early in November, 1918, the Germans were crowded almost completely out of France and deprived of a large part of Belgium.

**In Palestine and Mesopotamia.** — Allied triumphs were not confined to the Western Front. Already in December,

1917, a British expeditionary force, which under General Allenby had advanced from Egypt and had been joined by an Arab army from Hedjaz, defeated the Turks in Palestine and captured Jerusalem. In 1918 the Arabs and British troops made steady progress northward, taking Damascus and Aleppo, while a British force in Mesopotamia fought its way up the Tigris River from Bagdad. By October, 1918, the Turks had lost all of Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, and Syria.

**In Macedonia.** --- In September, 1918, the Allied army at Salonica, reinforced by Serbians, Greeks, and Italians, as well as by French and British, overwhelmed the Bulgarians and reoccupied Serbia, Albania, and Montenegro.

**Collapse of Austria-Hungary.** - - Simultaneously Austria-Hungary collapsed. Czechoslovaks, Poles, and Yugoslavs rose in revolt and proclaimed their independence. Allied forces invaded Hungary from the south through Serbia. The Rumanians reentered the war and threatened Austria-Hungary from the east. The Italians drove the Austrians from the Piave River and did not stop their pursuit until they occupied Trent and Trieste early in November, 1918.

**Crumbling of the Mid-European Confederacy.** --- The Teutonic Mid-European Confederacy was crumbling. Its armies were defeated and demoralized. Its generals were discredited. Its monarchs and statesmen were panic-stricken. Its people were clamoring for peace.

Bulgaria, the last Power to join the Teutonic Confederacy, was the first to quit it. She surrendered unconditionally to the Allies on September 30, 1918. A month later both Turkey and Austria-Hungary followed suit.

**The Armistice.** - On November 11, 1918, an armistice was signed between Germany and the Allies. The Allies occupied all the territory on the left bank of the Rhine, the French taking Alsace-Lorraine and administering Mainz, the Americans establishing themselves in Coblenz, and the British in Cologne. To the Allies Germany surrendered al-

her warships and submarines and great numbers of locomotives, motor lorries, and railway cars. The Teutonic Confederacy was crushed and dissolved. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey were disarmed and lay prostrate at the feet of the triumphant Allies.

**President Wilson's Fourteen Points.** — Germany signed the armistice on November 11, 1918, with the understanding that the final peace settlement would be made in accordance with the "Fourteen Points" which President Wilson had set forth in January, 1918, as the Allied war-aims: (1) no secret diplomacy; (2) freedom of the seas;<sup>1</sup> (3) removal of economic barriers; (4) reduction of national armaments; (5) impartial adjustment of all colonial claims; (6) evacuation of Russia; (7) restoration of Belgium; (8) return of Alsace-Lorraine to France; (9) completion of Italy's national unification; application of the right of self-determination to the peoples of (10) Austria-Hungary, (11) the Balkans, and (12) Turkey; (13) independence of Poland; and (14) establishment of a League of Nations.

**The Congress of Paris, 1918-1919.** — On the basis of these famous "Fourteen Points," a peace congress was convened at Paris on January 18, 1919, the forty-eighth anniversary of the German Empire. In 1871, the Hohenzollern King of Prussia, in the midst of a successful war against France and surrounded by his victorious generals and statesmen, had stood in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles and been proclaimed German Emperor.<sup>2</sup> Now, in 1919, at the close of a decisive war against Germany, Allied statesmen and Allied generals convened at Paris to undo the work of Bismarck and the Hohenzollerns.

<sup>1</sup> The Allies endorsed President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" subject to reservations on the "freedom of the seas" and to an explicit understanding that "compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany, by land, by sea, or from the air."

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XVIII, p. 535.

The Congress of Paris was a brilliant assemblage of the foremost men of the countries which had banded together to resist Teutonic aggression. There was Clemenceau, the "Tiger" of France; there was Marshal Foch, the organizer and winner of victory; there was President Wilson, who had played a major rôle in the last two years of the war and who,



THE "BIG FOUR" AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

From left to right: Premier Lloyd George of England, Premier Orlando of Italy, Premier Clemenceau of France, and President Wilson.

in coming to Europe, had established a wholly new precedent for American presidents; there was Lloyd George, the clever Prime Minister of Great Britain; Orlando, the wily Italian Premier; Venizelos, the greatest statesman of modern Greece; and many others. Altogether there were seventy official delegates, representing thirty-two nations, besides a host of unofficial "experts" — professors, geographers, financiers, and secretaries. The Congress was dominated and controlled by



four men (Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, and Orlando), representing respectively the four Allied Great Powers of France, England, the United States, and Italy. It took several months for these leaders to agree among themselves upon the terms of the settlement with Germany and her confederates; and when peace was finally signed, it was not entirely in accord with the "Fourteen Points" of President Wilson.

*Final Treaties of Peace.* — The treaty of peace between the Allies and Germany was signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on June 28, 1919. Subsequently treaties were concluded by the Allies with Austria at St. Germain (September 10, 1919), with Bulgaria at Neuilly (November 27, 1919), with Hungary at the Trianon (June 4, 1920), and with Turkey at Sèvres (August 10, 1920). These treaties, together with others simultaneously concluded among the Allies, constituted the *Peace of Paris* of 1919-1920.

The Peace of Paris registered the end of the Great War. It also remade the map of Europe, partitioned the colonial empire of Germany, created a novel world-organization, and ushered in a new era of history. Its main provisions will require our attention in the next chapter.

#### THE GREAT WAR LEAVES EUROPE EXHAUSTED

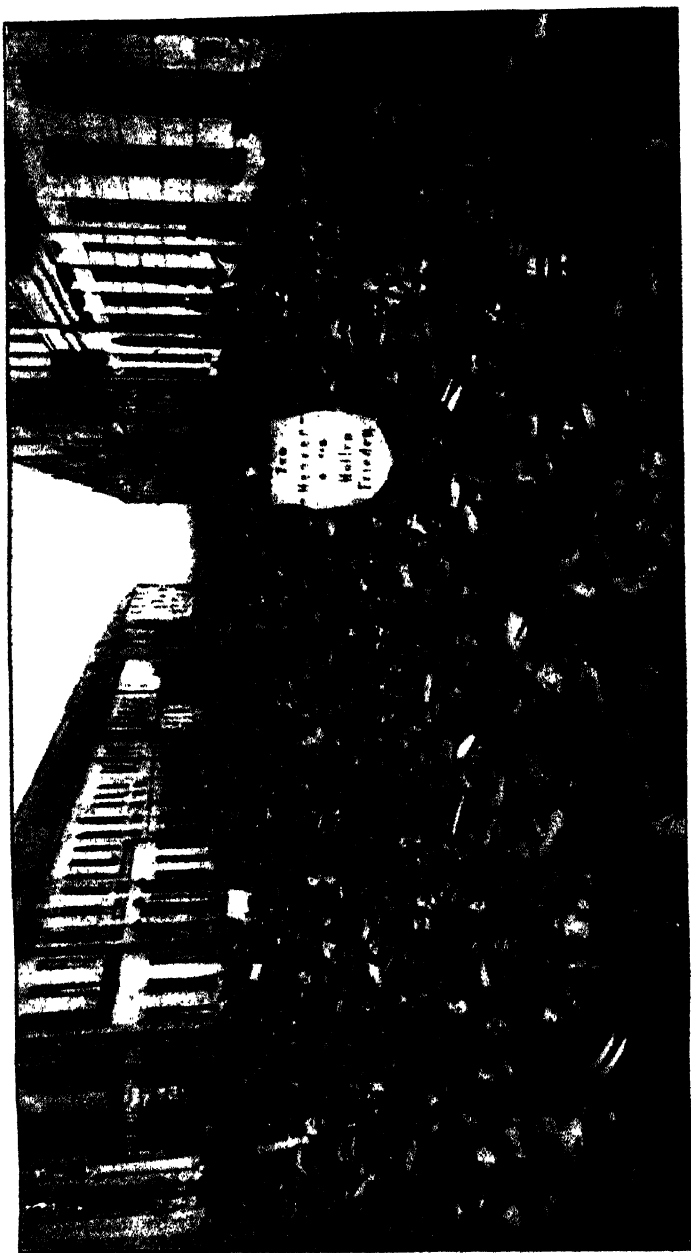
**Number of Powers Involved.** — The Great War from 1914 to 1919 was on a vaster scale than any other in history. Sixteen established States (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France, the British Empire, Italy, the United States, Japan, Belgium, Turkey, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, and Portugal) and three new ones which the war brought into being (Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hedjaz) threw their forces into the conflict, fifteen on one side, and four on the other. Eleven other nations formally declared war but engaged in it less actively (Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, and Siam). Only fourteen independent

States on the earth's surface preserved neutrality, and these were relatively small and unimportant. All States, neutral as well as belligerent, were seriously affected by the Great War.

**Human Losses.** — The Allies put over forty million soldiers under arms, and the Teutonic Confederates over twenty million — a total of about sixty-five millions! Of this huge number, almost nine millions lost their lives and approximately twenty millions were wounded. The soldiers killed were mostly youthful, the ablest, strongest, most spirited, and most promising members of the human family. Besides, millions of civilians perished from starvation and violence. And throughout the world there was a noticeable decline in the birth-rate.

**Financial Losses.** — To defray the prodigious expenses of the military conflict, staggering public debts were accumulated by the warring nations. Every country raised enormous loans by selling war-bonds to its citizens, and the Allies borrowed about ten billion dollars from the United States. While public debts grew rapidly, the world's production of wealth decreased, for it should be remembered that for more than four years of war the chief nations of Europe took millions of men away from productive work and either sent them into the field as soldiers or put them into munition-factories. Everywhere the cost of living increased, and in some countries the Governments were reduced to the verge of bankruptcy and the people to the utmost misery.

Economic losses left a dreadful heritage to the years after the war. Trade recovered very slowly and only partially. Terrible destruction of property had accompanied the struggle, especially in Belgium, northern France, and Poland, and on the high seas. After the war it was necessary to repair this destruction as well as to meet the interest on the war-debts. All Governments encountered great difficulty in balancing their budgets; and despite continued high taxes, expenditures long exceeded income. In Russia, Austria, Germany, Poland,



**A PROTEST MEETING IN BERLIN**

This is one of the crowds that gathered in the German capital to protest against the Treaty of Versailles. The placard reads: "To the devil with the infernal peace."

and several other countries, the Governments attempted to pay their bills by printing more and more paper-money, with the result that their currency became almost worthless, prices rose alarmingly, and the suffering of the common people increased. Besides, most of the new nations which had been created by the war established tariffs, which also hindered the revival of international commerce.

The problem of economic reconstruction was further complicated by the problem of "reparations." The Treaty of Versailles provided that Germany should pay a huge sum to the Allies as compensation or reparation for the damage which had been done to civilians and their property during the war and for pensions to Allied soldiers. How much Germany could pay was not certain in 1919, but she was to pay as much as she could. In 1921 the Allies decided upon the figure of thirty-two billion dollars as the total amount of "reparations" to be collected from Germany. The German Government, however, claimed that it was practically bankrupt and could not pay such a large sum. Endless negotiations and quarrels ensued, not only between Germany and the Allies, but likewise among the Allies, France holding out for the full amount and England appearing willing to compromise. In 1923 France occupied the valuable coal mining district of the Ruhr Valley, east of the Rhine, to compel Germany to pay reparations. In 1924, however, a committee of experts headed by General Dawes proposed a new plan, whereby Germany would mortgage her railways and industries and pay a little less than two thirds of a billion dollars a year, after the first four years. This plan was adopted and France agreed to evacuate the Ruhr.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What nation was best prepared for the Great War? Did this nation win the war?
2. What was Germany's plan of campaign? What were the immediate results of the German invasion of Belgium?
3. What was the significance of the First Battle of the Marne?

4. Who was Hindenburg? What was the significance of the Battle of Tannenberg?

5. What was the outcome of the fighting between Russia and Austria in 1914 and the early part of 1915?

6. How did the opposing coalitions of Powers in the Great War compare in strength? In resources? How did the methods of warfare differ from earlier methods?

7. What was the Pact of London?

8. What were the German war-aims? What were the aims of the Allies?

9. What were the special contributions of Great Britain to the winning of the Great War by the Allies? What were the special contributions of France? Of Russia?

10. How did Germany lose her colonies? Her commerce?

11. How and why did Japan enter the war? Turkey? Italy?

12. What was the importance of the struggle for the Dardanelles?

13. Explain the importance of the submarine in the war. Who used it most? Why? Why was the Lusitania sunk? What were the results?

14. What gains were made by the Teutonic Powers in 1915 at Russia's expense? Explain the weakness of Russia.

15. How and why did Bulgaria enter the war? Rumania? What was the attitude of Greece in 1915-1916?

16. What was the territorial extent of the German-directed confederacy of Middle Europe at the beginning of 1917? What elements of strength did it possess? What elements of weakness?

17. Who was Pétain? What was the significance of the Battle of Verdun?

18. How and why did the United States enter the Great War?

19. In 1917 was it easy to foresee who would win the war? Were there any signs that pointed to victory for Germany? Were there any signs pointing to an Allied victory?

20. How and why did Russia withdraw from the war? What were the provisions of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk? Did this treaty show greed or did it indicate a spirit of fairness and generosity on the part of Germany?

21. What gains did the Teutonic Powers make in the autumn of 1917 at Italy's expense? In the winter of 1917-1918, at Russia's expense? In the spring of 1918, at France's expense? Who was Ludendorff?

22. How were the Allies strengthened in 1918?

23. Who was Foch? What was the significance of the Second Battle of the Marne?

24. Why did Bulgaria surrender to the Allies? Why did Turkey surrender? Why did Austria-Hungary capitulate?

25. What were the special contributions of the United States to the winning of the war by the Allies?

26. What were the Fourteen Points? Why and on what terms did Germany consent to make peace?

27. What was the Congress of Paris? What parts were taken in it by Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson, and Orlando? What were the chief treaties concluded?

28. What were the losses of the Great War?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Invasion of Belgium.** USHER, *Story of the Great War*, 47-59; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, I, 86-114.

**The Battle of the Marne.** HAYES, *Great War*, 30-34; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, I, 115-145.

**America's entry into the war.** BEARD, *History of the United States*, 596-612; HAYES, *Great War*, ch. x; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, IV, 11-83.

**Italy's entry.** HAYES, *Great War*, 89-97; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, II, 110-125.

**Russia's defeat.** HAYES, *Great War*, 99-112; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, II, 147-163.

**Battle of Verdun.** HAYES, *Great War*, 143-155; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, III, 13-69.

**Rumania's tragedy.** HAYES, *Great War*, 181-191; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, III, 246-270.

**America's part in the fighting.** USHER, *Story of the Great War*, 286-310; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, V, 176-199, 217-234, 267-318.

**The "peace" of Brest-Litovsk.** HAYES, *Great War*, 252-260; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, IV, 336-348.

**The Battle of Picardy.** HAYES, *Great War*, 299-313; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, V, 35-80.

**Second Battle of the Marne.** HAYES, *Great War*, 320-325; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, V, 151-175.

**Submarines.** SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, II, 79-96, IV, 194-216.

**The armistice.** HAYES, *Great War*, 331-334, 356-359; HOUSE AND SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*, 8-14; SIMONDS, *History of the World War*, V, 319-354.

**Peace negotiations.** HAYES, *Great War*, 365-373; HOUSE AND SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*, esp. 15-36.

**Significance of the War.** HAYES, *Great War*, 396-411.

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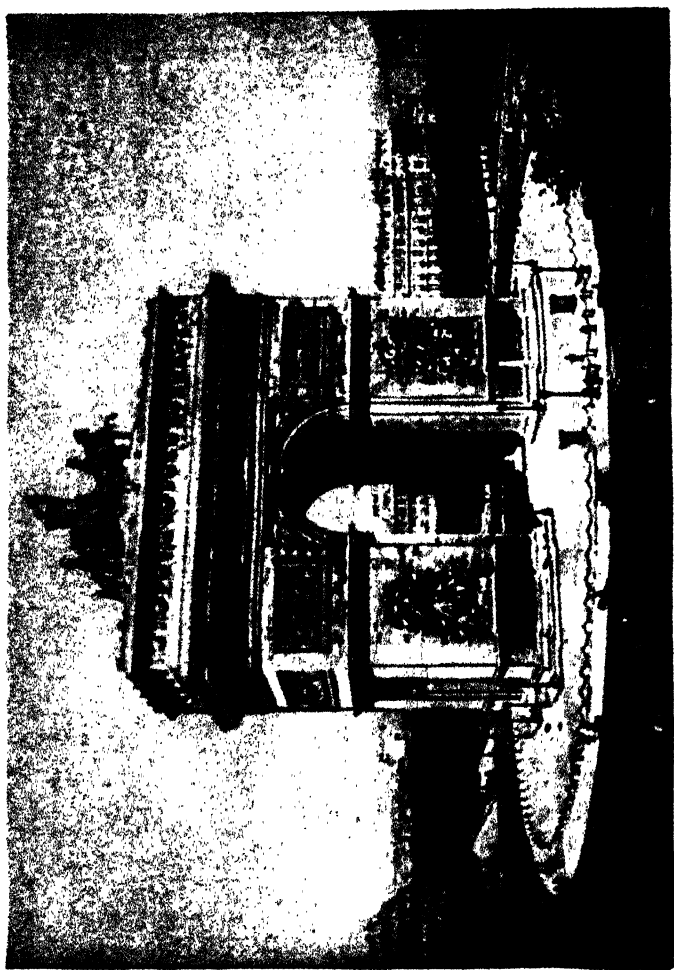
A. E. MCKINLEY, *Collected Materials for the Study of the War*; HAYES, *Brief History of the Great War*; HARDING, *Syllabus of the Great War*; T. G. FROTHINGHAM, *A Guide to the Military History of the Great War*; POLLARD, *Short History of the Great War*; USHER, *Story of the Great War*; MCKINLEY, COULOMB AND GERSON, *A School History of the Great War* (elementary); *The Times Diary and Index of the War* and *The Times Documentary History of the War*, for reference.

### **THE ARCH OF TRIUMPH IN PARIS**

**The Arch of Triumph, the largest triumphal arch in the world, was built in the reign of Louis Philippe (1830-1848) to commemorate the military triumphs of the armies of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Beneath it was buried in 1919 the body of an unknown soldier, the symbol of the hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen who lost their lives in assuring to their country the military triumph of the Great War (1914-1918).**

**The Arch stands in the Place de l'Étoile (Place of the Star), which is the center of twelve broad avenues radiating from it in all directions. The chief of these is the Avenue des Champs Élysées, which passes the residence of the President of the French Republic and terminates in the Place de la Concorde (where Louis XVI was executed in 1793).**





## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE WORLD IS REORGANIZED AND CENTRAL EUROPE BECOMES DEMOCRATIC

#### A NEW MAP IS DRAWN

**Cessions by Germany.** — The Peace of Paris (1919–1920) resulted in the territorial reorganization of most of the European States on the basis of nationality. Germany was shorn of her non-German provinces. Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France, from whom they had been taken in 1871. The Danish region of northern Schleswig was reunited with Denmark, from whom it had been conquered in 1864. The Polish districts in Prussia, namely Posen, most of West Prussia, and a part of Upper Silesia, were surrendered to the new Polish Republic. Danzig became a free, international city in which Poland was to have special commercial rights, since Poland had no other seaport.<sup>1</sup>

**Dismemberment of Austria-Hungary.** — The Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary ceased to exist, its dominions being partitioned among its several nationalities.<sup>2</sup> Austria and Hungary became small separate States on the Danube River, the former inhabited entirely by Germans and the latter by Hungarians (Magyars). The Czechoslovak provinces (Bohemia, Moravia, and the northwestern part of Hungary) were united to form the new independent Republic of Czechoslovakia. The province of Galicia was handed over to Poland. The

<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Germany lost two small places on her western frontier, namely, Eupen and Malmédy, to Belgium. Also, Memel, in East Prussia, was taken from Germany by the Allies, who planned to give it to Lithuania. See map on p. 784.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XX, pp. 603–612.

province of Transylvania and several neighboring districts were ceded to Rumania. Trent and Trieste and a small strip of territory (Istria) at the northern tip of the Adriatic, besides a few islands in the Adriatic, were surrendered to Italy.<sup>1</sup> The Yugoslav regions of Slovenia, Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina were united with Serbia to form the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," which is now known as Yugoslavia.

**Partition of the Ottoman Empire.** — The Peace of Paris also provided for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The important country of Egypt and the little Arab state of Hedjaz became "independent" kingdoms under British protection and pretty much under British control. Armenia received her independence, but was given no assistance in defending it, with the result that most of Armenia remained in Turkey's actual possession. Palestine became a separate State under British supervision; it was planned to make Palestine a "national home" for the Jews, in order to please the "Zionists" or Jewish nationalists who desired to have this ancient home of the Jews once more a Jewish country. Syria was to be administered by the French, who had built several railways and established Christian missions there. Mesopotamia, with its valuable supply of petroleum, was given to Great Britain, who renamed it "Irak" and placed it under an Arab King subject to British control.

It was also provided that Greece should take Thrace (in Europe, west and north of Constantinople) and Smyrna (in Asia Minor), and that all Turkish fortifications should be removed from the Straits (the Dardanelles and Bosphorus). These plans, however, were upset by the Turkish "National-

<sup>1</sup> There was a bitter dispute about the city of Fiume and several other districts on the northeastern shore of the Adriatic which were claimed both by Italy and by the Yugoslavs. The Peace Conference left the dispute to be settled by the two contending nations, and finally, in accordance with the Treaty of Rapallo between Italy and Yugoslavia, Fiume was made a free city. By a new treaty in 1924 it was annexed to Italy.

ists," under the leadership of Kemal Pasha, who established a republican government in Asia Minor. As France and Italy were favorable to him, while England was opposed, Kemal was able to take advantage of their disagreement. He drove the Greeks out of Smyrna,<sup>1</sup> took possession of Constantinople and Thrace, deposed the Sultan, and demanded a revision of the peace treaty. Accordingly an international conference at Lausanne in 1922-1923 drew up a new treaty, allowing Turkey to retain Smyrna and Eastern Thrace.

**Losses of Russian Empire.** — Russia, too, though not a party to the Peace of Paris, lost extensive territories in Europe. Her Polish provinces were united with the Polish provinces of Prussia and Austria to reconstitute the independent State of Poland. Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania became independent of Russia. Bessarabia was annexed by Rumania. Ukrainia (Little Russia) established a semi-independent government of its own at Kiev, while more or less self-governing republics were set up in the Caucasus.

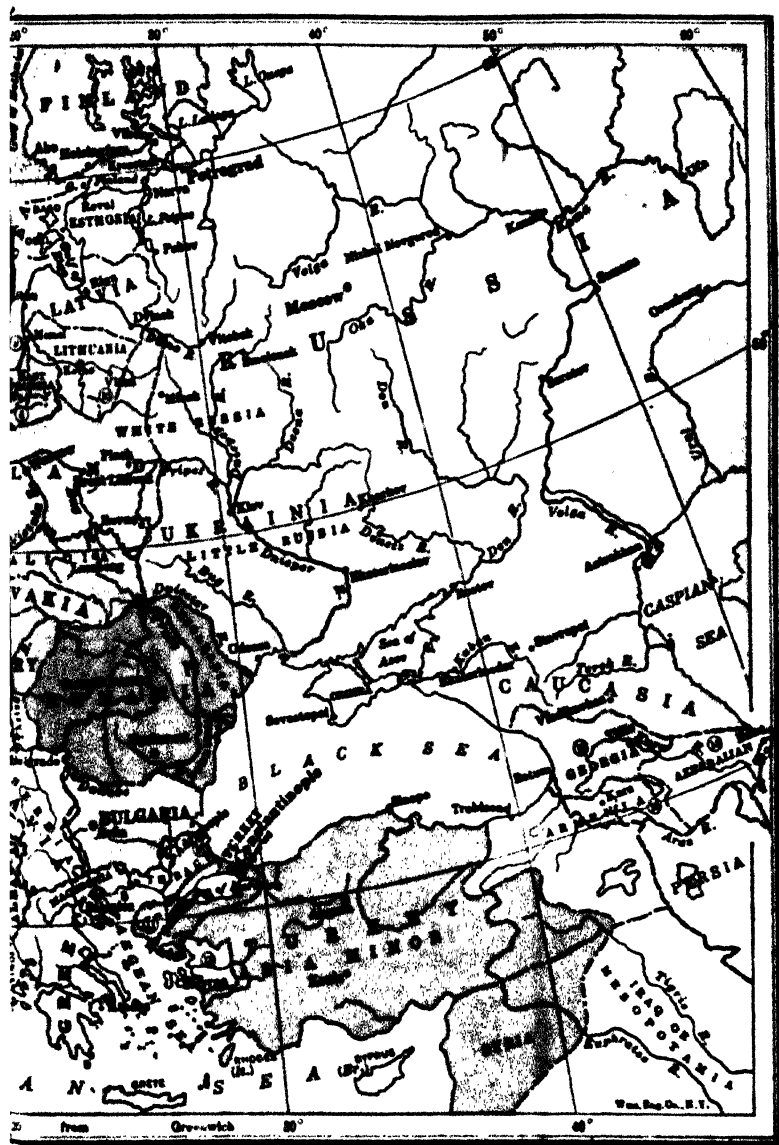
**National States in Eastern and Central Europe.** — Thus with the defeat and dismemberment of Russia, Turkey, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, the map of eastern and central Europe underwent a radical change. Germany became a strictly National State, and so did Russia, Hungary, and Turkey. Italy completed her national unification at the expense of Austria. Rumania completed her national unification at the expense of Russia and Hungary. Serbia, by incorporating Montenegro as well as Austro-Hungarian provinces, became the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," a unified National State of Yugoslavs. And Poland rose again as a free and independent National State, recovering

<sup>1</sup> The Allies were disgusted by the action of the Greeks in throwing Venizelos out of office and restoring (1920) their pro-German King Constantine (whom the Allies had deposed in 1917); and when Constantine attempted to assert the Greek treaty rights to Smyrna and Asia Minor by waging war against the Turkish "Nationalists," he received no assistance from the Allies. The Turkish successes in 1922 led the Greeks to dethrone Constantine. A republic was declared in 1924.



#### EUROPE ACCORDING TO THE

(1) Saar Basin under League of Nations until 1935, then plebiscite; coal mines to France. (2) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland. (3) Danzig, free city under Polish protection. (4) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland. (5) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland. (6) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland. (7) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland. (8) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland. (9) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland. (10) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland. (11) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland. (12) Upper Silesia, rich mining district divided between Germany and Poland.



FACE OF PARIS, 1919-1920

(1) Malm dy to Belgium. (3) Northern Schleswig annexed by Denmark after plebiscite. (4) Plebiscite. (5) Klagenfurt, voted to remain in Austria. (7) Free State of Fiume, established 1920, but (10) Vilna was part of Lithuania but was annexed by Poland, 1922. (11) Zone of the Straits 1920, regained by Turkey in 1922. (13) and (14) Republics federated with Russia. (15) Armenia not federated with Russia, 1921. (16) Ceded to Greece, 1920; regained by Turkey, 1923.

most of the territories of which she had been despoiled in the eighteenth century<sup>1</sup> by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

**Self-determination.** — The Treaties of Paris of 1919–1920 recognized to a very large extent what the Treaties of Vienna of 1815 had failed to recognize — the right of national self-determination. In several disputed districts, plebiscites (popular votings) were held to determine what State the populations wished to join. Almost all the new States were obliged to guarantee religious toleration and civil equality for the Jews and other racial minorities. The defeated countries of Europe, at any rate, were made over territorially in accordance with the principle of nationality.

**Gains of the Victorious Great Powers.** — While the nationalities of eastern and central Europe secured unity and independence from the Great War, the triumphant Great Powers of western Europe enormously strengthened themselves. They saw to it that Germany was reduced to the position of a second-rate Power and rendered impotent either to compete on equal terms with them in industry or commerce or to defend herself against aggression. They deprived Germany of all her colonies. They confiscated her whole navy and most of her merchant vessels. They compelled her to abandon compulsory military training and to abolish the manufacture of munitions of war. They forced her to agree to pay them billions of dollars' worth of coal and cash<sup>2</sup> and to submit to the occupation of the left bank of the Rhine by their troops until she should have fulfilled all her obligations. The world-domination, which Germany failed to win, was gained by the Allies, especially by Great Britain and France.

**Great Britain.** — Great Britain emerged from the Peace of Paris as the foremost maritime and colonial and industrial

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter VIII, pp. 209–211, and Chapter XII, pp. 329–331.

<sup>2</sup> In 1921 the total amount of reparation that Germany must pay was put at the sum of 132 billion gold marks (almost 32 billion dollars), but this figure was reduced to about 10 billion dollars by the Young Plan, adopted in 1930.

Power in the world, for she had humbled Germany, her latest rival, as completely as in earlier eras she had vanquished the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the French. In Asia, she established a veiled protectorate over Hedjaz, enlarged her "sphere of influence" in Persia,<sup>1</sup> and assumed the government of Palestine and Mesopotamia. In Africa, she strengthened her protectorate over Egypt, divided the German colonies of Togoland and Kamerun with France, and took German Southwest Africa for the British Union of South Africa and most of German East Africa for herself. In the Pacific Ocean, she parceled out the German islands south of the equator among New Zealand, Australia, and herself.

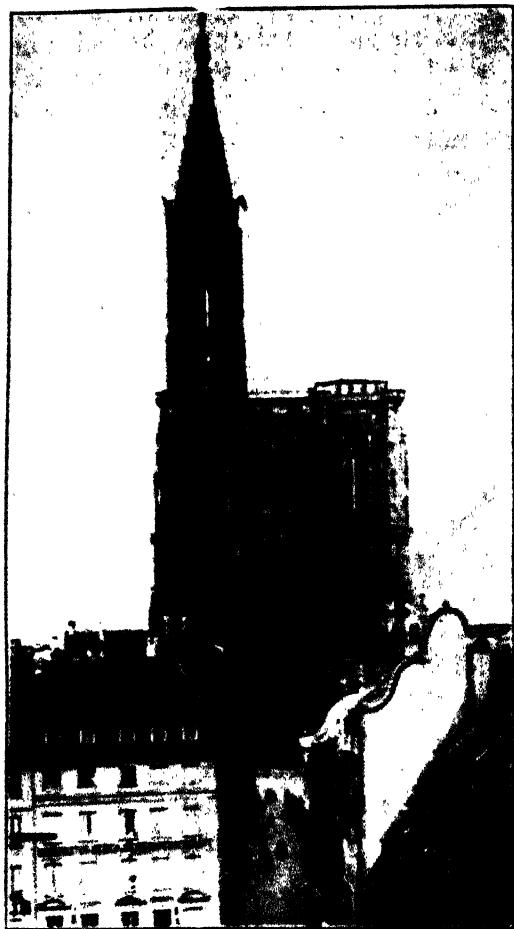
*France.* — France, too, was exalted as Germany was abased. France obtained in Europe not only the ownership of Alsace-Lorraine but also possession of the rich coal mines in the small but valuable valley of the Saar River, which had previously been German;<sup>2</sup> and outside of Europe, she secured the administration of Syria and of major portions of Kamerun and Togoland. By maintaining a large standing army and by contracting alliances with Poland and Czechoslovakia, France emerged from the Peace of Paris as the foremost military Power on the Continent of Europe.

*Italy.* — Italy profited, as we have seen, by the completion of her national unification; her African colonies of Libya (Tripoli) and Somaliland were enlarged; and her efforts to dominate the Adriatic Sea brought her into acute rivalry with Greece and Yugoslavia.

<sup>1</sup> Persia later refused to accept a British protectorate and invited an American to supervise her finances.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking, the Saar Valley, containing 700,000 German inhabitants, was to be governed for fifteen years by a commission appointed by the League of Nations. The coal mines were to be the absolute property of France. After fifteen years a vote of the inhabitants would be taken to decide the future of the territory, whether it should be annexed to France, revert to Germany, or remain under the administration of the League of Nations.





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#### THE CATHEDRAL AT STRASBOURG

Strasbourg is the chief city of Alsace. It was annexed to France by Louis XIV in the seventeenth century. The French national anthem, the *Marseillaise*, was composed here during the Revolution. Strasbourg was captured by the Germans in 1870 and retained by them until 1918, when it was restored to France.

*Japan.* — Japan increased her power and prestige in the Far East. She took the German islands in the Pacific Ocean north of the equator and (despite the protests of China) the port of Kiao-chao<sup>1</sup> and German economic concessions in China. In fact, Japan utilized to her own advantage not only the defeat of Germany but the weakness of China and also the collapse of Russia.

*The United States.* — The United States, alone among the victorious Great Powers, asked and received no territorial gains from the Great War and the Peace of Paris.

#### A LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS FASHIONED

In an earlier chapter we have seen how the career of Napoleon Bonaparte (from 1796 to 1814) gave rise to a popular reaction against the terrors and horrors of war, and how the Tsar Alexander of Russia took advantage of this reaction to unite the divine-right monarchs of Europe in a Holy Alliance (1815) to preserve the peace of the world. The Holy Alliance proved a disastrous failure, largely because it was a league of autocrats opposed to popular aspirations for nationalism and democracy.

*Popular Desire for a League.* — The Great War (1914–1919) was vaster and productive of even greater terrors and horrors than the Napoleonic Wars a century earlier; and the resulting popular reaction against war was much more widespread and more determined. With the collapse of autocratic Russia in 1917 and the defeat of autocratic Germany in 1918, it seemed as though the ground were finally cleared for the establishment of a league of democratic nations which should not only preserve the peace of the world more effectually than the Holy Alliance but run less risk of thwarting popular aspirations.

The Allies in 1919 were ready to launch some scheme of world-organization. Their triumph in the Great War, they

<sup>1</sup> Kiao-chao was subsequently restored to China. See below, p. 781.

recognized, was due to *coöperation* — coöperation among all the parties and classes in each of the Allied countries, and the closest political, economic, and military coöperation among all the Allied nations. They also recognized that the preservation of the fruits of their present triumph and the future guarantee of the Peace of Paris depended upon continued coöperation among themselves. Besides, they had told their citizens that the Great War was "a war to end war," and their most eloquent spokesman, the President of the country which had given them decisive support in their supreme hour of need, was thoroughly committed to the idea of preventing future international wars by means of a democratic League of Nations. President Wilson desired that the Great War should give the United States not an extension of territory but a guarantee of peace.

**Woodrow Wilson's Championship of a League.** — In accepting renomination as President of the United States in 1916, Woodrow Wilson stated: "The nations of the world must unite in joint guarantee that whatever is done to disturb the whole world's life must be tested in the court of the whole world's opinion before it is attempted." In recommending the American declaration of war against Germany, he affirmed in 1917: "We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free." Speaking before Congress in 1918, he laid down as one of his famous "Fourteen Points": "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

**The Covenant of the League of Nations, 1919.** — It was primarily to form such a "general association of nations" that

President Wilson went to Europe and participated actively in the peace negotiations at Paris in 1919. He got what he desired. He himself wrote a large part of the Constitution of the League of Nations — the "Covenant," as the document was called — and had it inserted in all the major peace treaties concluded in 1919-1920.

*Membership and Organization of the League.* — According to the Covenant, the League of Nations was to comprise all the civilized States of the world except (at the start) Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Russia, Mexico, and Costa Rica. In the future any State, dominion, or colony might be admitted to membership by two-thirds' vote, and any State upon two years' notice might withdraw if it had fulfilled its international obligations. The organs of the League were: (1) a permanent Secretariat, with headquarters at Geneva in Switzerland; (2) an Assembly, consisting of representatives of the several members of the League (each member having one vote and not more than three representatives), and meeting at stated intervals; and (3) a Council, composed of representatives of the five Great Allied Powers — United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan — together with representatives of four other members selected by the Assembly.

*Its Plan to Preserve Peace.* — The members of the League agreed in the Covenant "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence" of one another. Furthermore, the members promised to submit matters of dispute to arbitration or inquiry and not to resort to war with one another until three months after the award. Members resorting to war in disregard of the Covenant would immediately be debarred from all intercourse with other members, and the Council in such a case would recommend what military or naval action should be taken by the League collectively against the offending party. Similarly, upon any war or threat of war by an outside Power against a member of the League, the Council

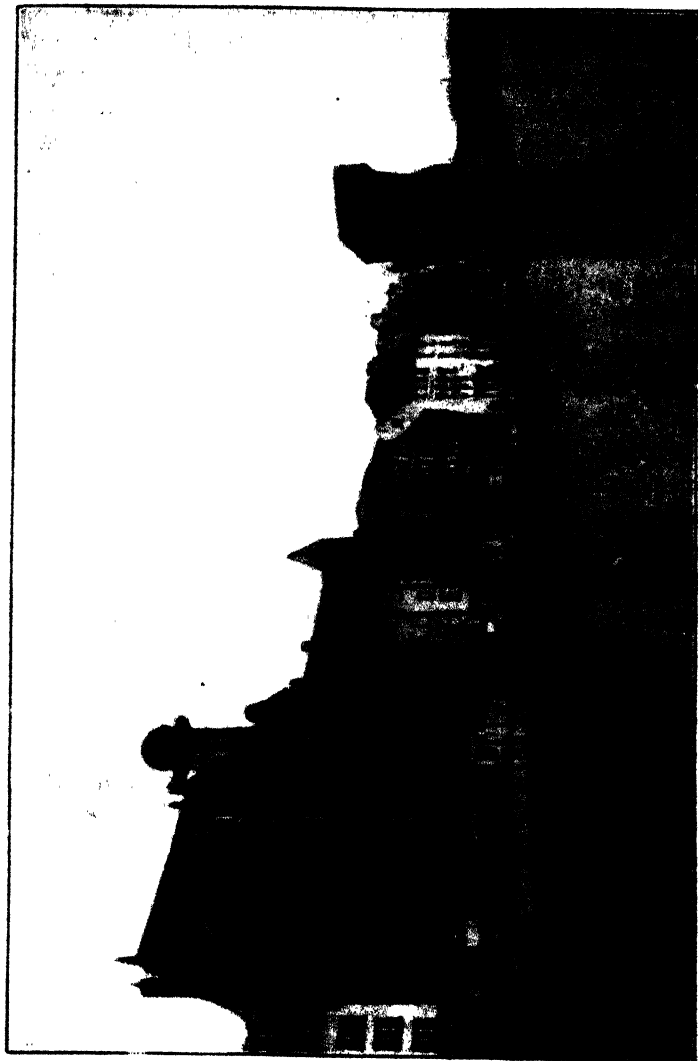
would recommend what common action should be taken.<sup>1</sup>

*Its Relation to Treaties.* — The Covenant nullified all treaties between members of the League inconsistent with its terms, but expressly confirmed "the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of the peace of the world." It provided likewise that all treaties concluded after the establishment of the League should be filed with the Secretariat and published, and that the Assembly might advise members to reconsider treaties which had become inapplicable or endangered peace.

*Its Special Duties.* — The League of Nations was entrusted with several specific duties. The administration of internationalized territories — to be specific, the Saar Valley and the free port of Danzig — was placed under its supervision. International bureaus and commissions, already established, were subordinated to it, as well as all those which might be established in the future. Then, too, each Power which received any portion of the German colonies was deemed a "mandatory" of the League and required to report to it regularly on the administration of such territory. The mandatory system was also applied to the territories taken from Turkey. Thus Great Britain received a "mandate" to administer Palestine and Mesopotamia, and France obtained a "mandate" for Syria.

*The League and International Labor Organizations.* — In addition to the foregoing specific duties, the League of Nations was empowered to study and submit to its members recommendations for the promotion of international health, international disarmament, and international law codification. For the general guidance of labor legislation, an International Labor Office was opened at Geneva, an International Labor Conference was created, and nine principles were laid down by the peace treaty as standards toward which all civil-

<sup>1</sup> In 1924 the League Assembly approved the "Geneva Protocol" to make these provisions more effective, but it was not ratified.



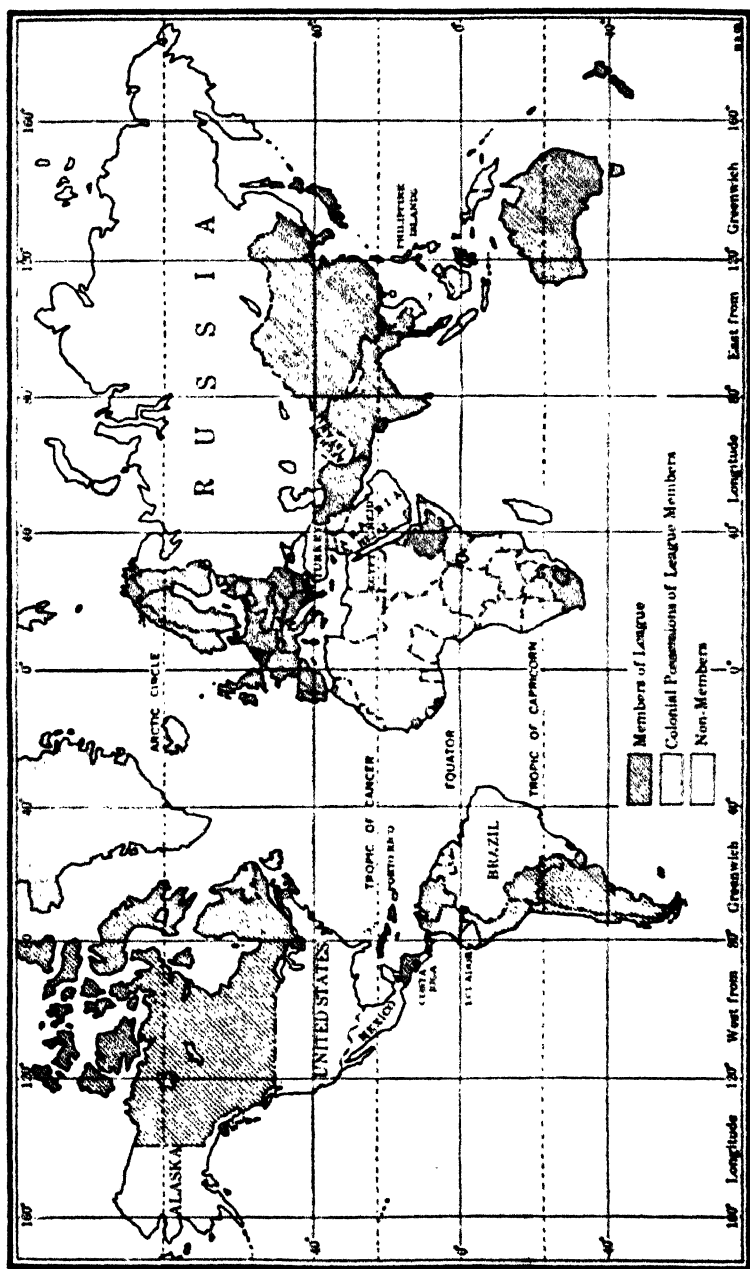
#### DANZIG

By the Peace of Paris, Danzig was taken from Germany in order to provide a port for Poland and internationalised under the administration of the League of Nations.

ized nations should strive: (1) labor not to be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; (2) right of combination of employers and workingmen; (3) a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; (4) the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week; (5) a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable; (6) abolition of child labor, and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; (7) equal pay for equal work as between men and women; (8) fair economic treatment of all workers, including foreigners; and (9) a system of inspection, in which women should share.

*The League of Nations and Disarmament.* — While the Treaties of Paris provided specifically for the disarmament of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, the League Covenant entrusted to the Council of the League of Nations the important function of preparing plans for a general reduction of armaments by other Powers. These plans were to be revised every ten years, and, once adopted, were not to be altered without the Council's consent.

**American Opposition to the League of Nations.** — The League of Nations, as established by the Covenant, was accepted and ratified by all the allied Powers except the United States. A large number of the people of the United States objected to the Covenant for one reason or another. Some thought it impaired American sovereignty and infringed the constitutional rights of the American Congress. Others feared it would further entangle the United States in Old-World diplomacy. Still others were bitterly disappointed with the Peace of Paris, particularly the concessions to Japan and Great Britain, and were unwilling that the United States should help to guarantee a "vicious" and "unjust" peace. Some felt that President Wilson was too visionary or too conceited or, as the leader of the Democratic Party in the United States, not conciliatory enough to the Republican Party. At any rate, President Wilson was unable to convince the United



# THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1930



States Senate of the need or desirability of the League of Nations, as he had convinced the European Governments. After he retired from office (in March, 1921), the new Republican Administration negotiated separate treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary, but the United States still held aloof from the League.

**League of Nations Established without the United States.**

— Meanwhile, in January, 1920, the League of Nations was actually organized and at once began to perform its manifold duties. Most of the countries that had been neutral during the war joined the League and the former enemy States of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria were admitted. The League soon had over fifty members. It was seriously handicapped by the abstention of the United States as well as by the exclusion of Germany and Russia, and sometimes it was too much dominated by the selfish interests of the three Great Powers which directed it — England, France, and Italy. Nevertheless, the League of Nations represented, even if faintly, a new world-organization and a popular desire in Europe for the preservation of national rights, democracy, and international peace. Under the League's auspices there was established in 1922 a Permanent Court of International Justice, to which disputes could be referred for judgment.

**The Washington Arms Conference.** — Even the United States, although unwilling to join the League, appreciated the danger of the world's returning to the condition of international anarchy and competitive armaments which had existed before the Great War. Accordingly, President Harding, who had succeeded Woodrow Wilson in 1921, invited Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to send delegates to a conference on the limitation of armaments. The Arms Conference, as it was called, met in Washington from November, 1921, to February, 1922. It agreed upon a wholesale reduction of navies and fixed the battleship strength of the three chief navies — the British, the American, and the Japanese — at the ratio of 5:5:3, approximately. For France and Italy the figure was

placed at 1.7. This reduction meant a saving of billions of dollars. Even more important, it meant a lessening of the naval rivalry, and therefore of the danger of war, between the Great Powers. The Conference also agreed that in future wars poisonous gas was not to be employed, nor were submarines to be used for the destruction of merchant vessels; but these agreements were not ratified.

Furthermore, the Conference drafted several important treaties regarding the Far East. China, Portugal, Belgium, and Holland were allowed to take part in the debates on this subject, since they had special interests in the Far East. After a long discussion, Japan agreed to give Kiao-chao<sup>1</sup> back to China and also to sell the Shantung Railway to her; this agreement settled, for a time at least, the bitter controversy that had been going on ever since Japan took Kiao-chao and the Shantung Railway from the Germans in spite of China's claims.

All the Powers participating in the Conference solemnly agreed to respect the independence of China and the "open door" policy in that country. In other words, they would cease striving for ports, "spheres of influence," and other special privileges in China and would adopt the principle that citizens of all nations ought to have equal freedom in doing business with the Chinese.

Finally, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan signed a Four-Power Treaty by which they promised to respect each other's possessions in the Pacific Ocean and agreed to hold conferences if any serious disputes should arise in the future with regard to the Pacific or the Far East. This Four-Power Treaty took the place of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was now dissolved. The purpose of all these agreements was to substitute coöperation and good will for rivalry and enmity among the Great Powers and to lessen the possible causes of war as well as to reduce the heavy burden of armaments.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 660, 731, and 773.

**The Locarno Pact.** — In Europe, the continued discussion of peace and disarmament led to a conference between the Allies and Germany in 1925, at Locarno, a picturesque Swiss lake resort. There the delegates of Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, and Great Britain drew up a treaty of mutual guarantee, the "Locarno Pact," which guaranteed the provisions of the Versailles Treaty regarding the western frontier of Germany and the demilitarized zone along the Rhine. But still more important was the provision that Germany, France, and Belgium "will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." This means that Germany promises never to fight France for revenge, or for Alsace-Lorraine. If Germany violates her pledge, Great Britain and Italy are to aid France; but if France attacks Germany, they will aid Germany. In short, the pact outlaws war in western Europe, and greatly strengthens the League of Nations. It did not become binding until Germany entered the League, in 1926. Besides this pact, Germany made arbitration treaties with France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. France, also, confirmed her defensive alliances with Czechoslovakia and Poland. When all these treaties were formally signed at London, on December 1, 1925, there was great rejoicing, for it was believed that genuine peace had at last been established, and that a long step had been taken toward disarmament and permanent peace. If this proves to be true, one of the most important dates in modern history will be December 1, 1925.

#### POLITICAL DEMOCRACY IS ESTABLISHED IN CENTRAL EUROPE

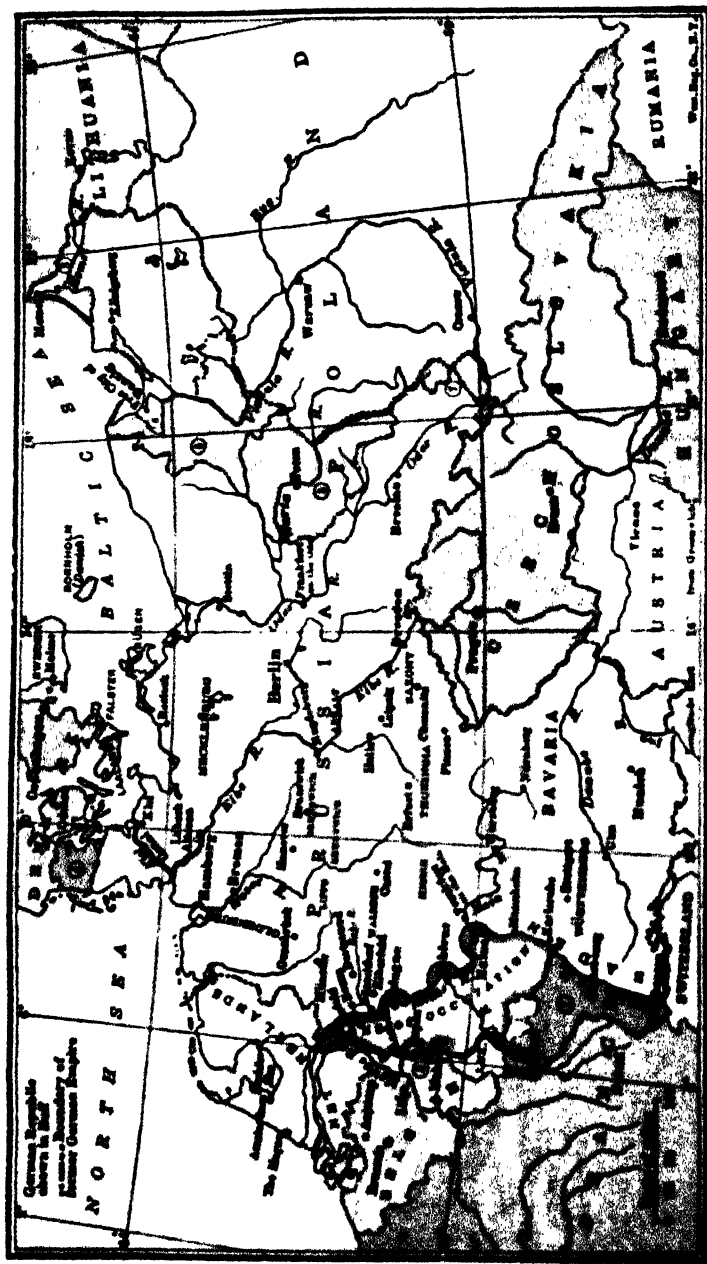
Another significant result of the Great War was the establishment of political democracy throughout central Europe. Germany lost her colonies and considerable territory in Europe, but she secured political democracy. Austria-Hungary was broken up, but each of the fragments obtained political democracy.

**German Autocracy Undermined by Military Defeat.** — The autocratic rule of the Hohenzollerns in Prussia and Germany had always depended in last analysis upon the strength and loyalty of their armies. When, in 1918, the German armies showed fatal weakness in the Second Battle of the Marne and failed to hold their positions in France and Belgium, certain groups of Germans at home, who had never fully accepted the institutions foisted on their country by Bismarck, spoke out frankly and forcefully not only in favor of immediate peace but also in behalf of democratic reformation within the several German States and within the Empire itself. These groups were the Socialists, the Catholics, and the Democrats.

**The German Revolution, 1918-1919.** — In vain Emperor William II appointed a Democrat, Prince Maximilian of Baden, as Chancellor of the Empire (October, 1918), and in vain the new Chancellor promised democratic reforms and opened negotiations with the Allies for a cessation of hostilities. It was too late. The Allies refused to treat with an autocratic Government, and the disaffected groups within Germany doubted Prince Maximilian's ability to effect real democratic reforms so long as William II remained in power. Meanwhile the German armies in the field suffered one reverse after another, and, as a climax, mutinies occurred in several regiments and likewise in the navy. When disloyalty as well as defeat stared William II in the face, autocracy ceased to function in Germany.

*Flight of William II in November, 1918.* — On November 9, 1918 — two days before the signing of the armistice between Germany and the Allies — William II fled across the frontier into Holland. Thither he was followed by the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick William and other members of the Hohenzollern family; and within a few days the Kings of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony either abdicated or were deposed.

It is a curious fact that the history of the Hohenzollern German Empire was almost entirely the history of two reigns



THE GERMAN REPUBLIC SINCE 1919

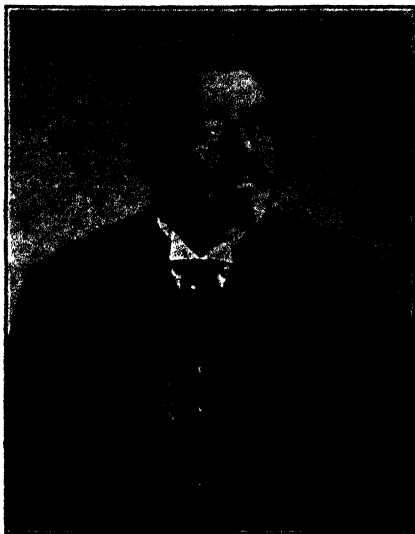
(1) Alsace-Lorraine to France. (2) Saar Basin under League of Nations until 1935, then plebiscite. (3) Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium. (4) Northern Schleswig to Denmark after plebiscite. (5) Prussian Poland to Poland. (6) Free City of Danzig under League of Nations. (7) Upper Silesia divided between Germany and Poland after plebiscite. (8) Memel to Allies, 1919; then to Lithuania, 1923.

— of William I (1871–1888), under whom the Empire had been built by Bismarck's "blood and iron," and of William II (1888–1918), under whom the Empire had fallen amid the iron and blood of the Great War.

*Establishment of Republican Government.* — With the flight of William II, an almost bloodless revolution was accomplished in Germany. Prince Maximilian of Baden handed over the Chancellorship of the Empire to Friedrich Ebert, an ex-workingman and a conspicuous leader of the Socialists, who authorized the signing of the armistice with the Allies and the election of a National Assembly by all German citizens, men and women, over twenty years of age. At the same time provisional republican governments were set up in Prussia, Bavaria, and all the other German States.

*The German National Assembly at Weimar.* —

The National Assembly, which met at Weimar in February, 1919, was dominated by a large coöperating majority of Socialists, Catholics, and Democrats. It proclaimed Germany a "Republican Empire," elected Ebert first President, ratified the Treaty of Versailles (July, 1919), and promulgated a democratic Constitution (August, 1919). Under the new Constitution, all Germans were declared equal before the law, and all privileges of birth, class, or creed were abolished. The government of



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FRIEDRICH EBERT

The saddler who became German Chancellor in 1918, and in 1919 first President of the German Republic. Succeeded by Von Hindenburg, 1925.

the Empire and of the several States was based on the doctrine of popular sovereignty and was rendered republican in form and democratic in spirit. The suffrage was extended alike in national and local elections to all German citizens, both men and women, and voting was made equal, direct, and secret. In the Empire, laws were to be determined by a Reichstag, representing the people, and by a Reichsrat, representing the States, and they were to be executed by a ministry responsible to the Reichstag. The President of the German Empire was to be elected by popular vote for a term of seven years and accorded a public position similar to the French President's. In each of the eighteen States which composed the German Empire, thoroughly democratic and republican Constitutions were adopted, Prussia completing the political transformation in November, 1920.

**Opposition to the Republican Government of Germany.** — The new régime in Germany was supremely tested during the first three years of its existence. It had to bear both the odium of concluding a highly unfavorable peace with the Allies and the burden of reconstructing the economic life of the nation. Besides, it had to overcome domestic opposition. On one hand, the reactionary Prussian landlords (Junkers) and German capitalists, forming respectively the "Conservative" and "German People's" Parties, intrigued for the restoration of the Hohenzollerns and for the abridgement of democracy. On the other hand, the radical wing of the Socialist Party (the Communists) agitated against any compromise with the middle-classes and in favor of a system of government modeled after the Soviet Republic of Russia.

*Popular Support of the Republican Government.* — Between these extremists the Republican Government steered a middle course. Backed by a coalition of Majority (Moderate) Socialists, Catholics, and Democrats, who together represented a substantial majority of the German people, it combated monarchist reaction on one side and socialist revolution on the other. In the name of the people, it resumed in 1919 the

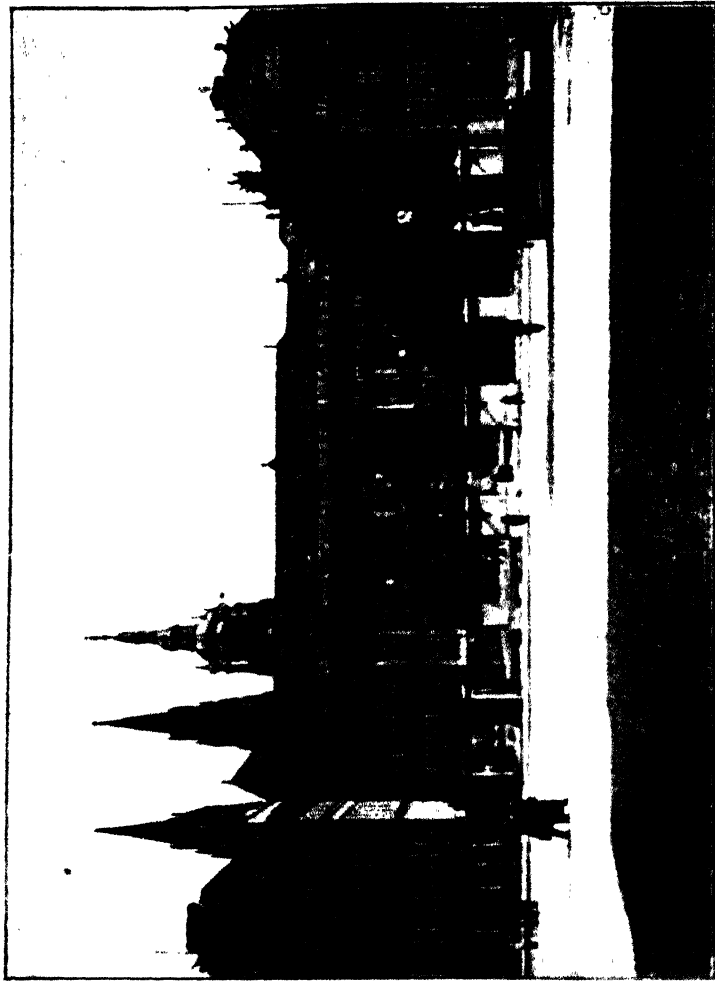
task of unifying and democratizing Germany at the point where the Frankfort Assembly had laid it down in 1849. Bismarck's achievements from 1866 to 1871 were undone, and the three Parties which he hated most were at last in power. Germany was a National State, but it was finally democratic and republican.

**Revolution in the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.** — Political revolution in Germany was paralleled by political and national revolution in the dominions of the Habsburg Emperor Charles (1916-1918). During the Great War disaffection was prominent among the subject nationalities of Austria-Hungary, especially among the Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs. Separatist propaganda was carried on openly and by stealth; riots of civilians and mutinies of soldiers became increasingly frequent; loyalty to the Habsburgs was undermined.

*Declaration of Corfu, 1917.* — In July, 1917, representatives of the Yugoslavs issued the Declaration of Corfu, promising that at the close of the war they would unite with Serbia and Montenegro to constitute a single independent and democratic State. In April, 1918, a Congress of "Oppressed Austrian Nationalities," held at Rome under the auspices of the Italian Government and attended by Rumanians and Poles as well as by Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks, adopted the following resolutions: "(1) Every people proclaims its right to determine its own nationality and to secure national unity and complete independence. (2) Every people knows that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is an instrument of German domination and a fundamental obstacle to the realization of its free development and self-government. (3) The Congress recognizes the necessity of fighting against the common oppressors."

*Independence of Subject Nationalities.* — The final defeat of the Austro-Hungarian armies in October, 1918, was the signal for widespread revolution throughout the Habsburg Empire. The Czechoslovaks, the Yugoslavs, and the Hungarians rose





*Prague* THE CAPITAL OF THE NEW REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

almost simultaneously, deposed the Emperor-King Charles, and proclaimed their national independence. The Yugoslavs joined the democratic Kingdom of Serbia, while the Czechoslovaks and Hungarians set up republics, the former under the democratic President Thomas Masaryk and the latter under the conservative Count Michael Karolyi.<sup>1</sup>

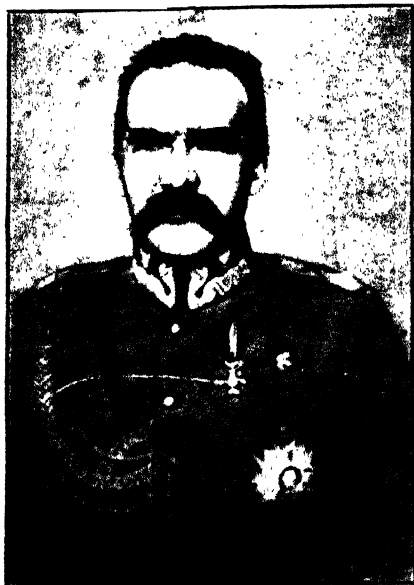
*Flight of Emperor Charles.* — The Germans in Austria proper (centering in Vienna), realizing their impotence to coerce the revolting nationalities of the Empire, contented themselves with organizing, in November, 1918, the small independent State of "German Austria." Emperor Charles, repudiated by the other nationalities and discredited even with his fellow countrymen of German Austria, took refuge in Switzerland. After two unsuccessful attempts to regain his crown, Charles was arrested and sent to the Madeira Islands, where he died soon afterwards. Charles (1916-1918) was the last of a long line of Habsburg Emperors. The Habsburgs of Austria followed the Hohenzollerns of Prussia off the stage of European politics.

**Republican Governments in Austria and Czechoslovakia.** — German Austria became a republic on November 12, 1918, and in 1920 adopted a Constitution as thoroughly democratic as that of Germany. The Constitution of the republic of Czechoslovakia, also adopted in 1920, was modeled after the Constitution of the Third French Republic, except that the suffrage was granted to women as well as to men.

**Restoration of Poland as an Independent Power.** — The restoration of Poland was still another landmark in the political transformation of central Europe. Poland was a consti-

<sup>1</sup> In Hungary the Government of Count Karolyi was overthrown in March, 1919, by Socialists under Bela Kun, who installed a Soviet Government modeled after Russia's. Through domestic insurrection and foreign intervention, this Soviet Government was supplanted in August, 1919, by a reactionary Government under Admiral von Horthy, who, in March, 1920, assumed the title of "Regent of the Hungarian Monarchy." The Habsburgs might then have been restored in Hungary if the Allies had consented.

tutional monarchy (like England) at the time of its final partition by the autocracies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria in 1795. Ever afterwards the Polish people kept alive their faith in eventual national independence and in political liberty and democracy. When the Great War broke out in 1914, they found themselves in the unhappy situation of



GENERAL PILSUDSKI

First President of the Polish Republic.

being obliged to fight one another in the opposing armies of their common oppressors. Some Poles fought on the Teutonic side, and others on the Russian side. Nevertheless, the Poles produced in their hour of need a devoted patriot and able leader — General Joseph Pilsudski.

Pilsudski threw the chief Polish support to Austria and Germany during the first three years of the war (1914–1917). But when Russia collapsed and withdrew from the conflict (1917–1918), the Polish leader urged his

fellow countrymen to support the Allies and to turn against the Teutonic Powers. Though he himself was imprisoned by the Germans, his advice was generally followed, with the result that when the Teutonic Powers suffered defeat and disaster, a unified Poland came into existence. The new State had an area as extensive as Italy's and a population almost as numerous as that of France.

**Republican Government in Poland and the Baltic States.** — In November, 1918, Poland became a free and independent

Republic, with General Pilsudski as President. A democratic constitution, with universal suffrage, was adopted by the Poles in 1921. Similarly, democratic republics were established in 1918-1919 in all the independent States carved out of the former Russian Empire — Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

**Spread of Political Democracy.** — Altogether, it may be said that the close of the Great War was marked by an amazing political revolution throughout eastern and central Europe. Autocracy fell in Russia, in Germany, and in Austria-Hungary; and the proud imperial families of Romanov, Hohenzollern, and Habsburg ceased to reign. Thoroughgoing political democracy, usually with woman suffrage, was established in all the German States (including Austria), in all the new Slavic States (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Lithuania), and likewise in the Baltic States, in Finland, and in Rumania.

**Growth of Republicanism.** — Most of the States of Central Europe became Republics. Henceforth not only were the American Continents almost wholly republican, but Europe was predominantly so, and such countries as remained monarchical in name were largely democratic in fact. Divine-right monarchy was at last extinct, except possibly in Japan. Democracy was triumphant.

#### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Woodrow Wilson promised that the peace treaty would not hand territories about from one ruler to another without the consent of the inhabitants. Did the Paris Peace Conference live up to this principle?
2. What districts were taken from Germany as a result of the Great War? From Austria? From Hungary? From Bulgaria? From Turkey? From Russia? What was done with each of these districts?
3. To what extent did the peace settlement complete the national unification of Italy? Of Serbia? Of Greece? Of Rumania?
4. What countries became independent as a result of the war?
5. Compare the boundaries of Poland in 1922 with those of Poland in 1763. Can you explain the difference?
6. What territories were gained by Great Britain? By France? By Italy? By Belgium? By Japan? By the United States?

7. What is a plebiscite? Were any plebiscites provided for by the peace treaties? For what purpose?

8. What is a mandate? What was the general nature of the mandates provided for in the peace treaties?

9. Did Germany lose anything besides territory? If so, what? Did she gain anything?

10. Had there ever been any attempt, before 1918, to form a League of Nations, or any organization like a League of Nations? Why did Woodrow Wilson champion the idea of a League?

11. How was the League of Nations established in 1920? Who were its members? What important nations were excluded? What purposes was the League supposed to fulfill?

12. Why did the United States refuse to join the League?

13. How were armaments limited by the Washington Conference of 1921? What else did this conference accomplish?

14. How did the reign of William II come to an end? When?

15. For what purpose was the Weimar Assembly held? What did it accomplish?

16. Contrast the present form of government in Germany with the form that existed in 1914. Compare it with our own.

17. How did the Declaration of Corfu and the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities help to cause the Revolution of 1918 in Austria-Hungary?

18. Who was the Emperor Charles? How and when did he lose his throne?

19. Who was Pilsudski? How did he help Poland to win independence?

20. What independent States were carved out of the former Russian Empire? How and when?

21. What European States are now republican? Which are really democratic? Did the Great War promote the growth of democracy? Does republicanism or monarchy seem to be winning out?

## SPECIAL TOPICS

**Germany's lost territories.** HOUSE AND SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*, 37-66; BOWMAN, *The New World*, 186-198.

**Division of Germany's African colonies.** BOWMAN, *The New World* 541-547.

**The Shantung question.** W. W. WILLOUGHBY, *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*, 228-236, 371-410; BUELL, *The Washington Conference*, 255-263.

**The German Revolution.** HAYES, *Great War*, 366-364; OGG, *Governments of Europe* (1920 edition), 703-736; BRUNET, *The New German Constitution*, 1-42.

**Free Poland.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 328-356; HOUSE AND SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*, ch. iv; *Record of Political Events* (*Political Science Quarterly*).

**Czechoslovakia.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 231-248; *Record of Political Events*.

**United Yugoslavia.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 249-259, 273-277; *Record of Political Events*; McBAIN AND ROGERS, *New Constitutions of Europe*, ch. xiv.

**The new Austria and Hungary.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 208-215, 216-230; *Record of Political Events*.

**Baltic states.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 357-375.

**Dismemberment of Turkey.** GIBBONS, *World Politics*, ch. xxxix; HOUSE AND SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*, ch. viii; BOWMAN, *The New World*, chs. xxvi-xxvii.

**Fiume and the Adriatic problem.** HOUSE AND SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*, ch. vi; BOWMAN, *The New World*, 259-272.

**Free Danzig.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 336-341; McBAIN AND ROGERS, *New Constitutions of Europe*, ch. xvii.

**Greater Rumania.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 278-294.

**Constantinople.** HOUSE AND SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*, 140-150; BOWMAN, *The New World*, 409-417.

**Armenia, a tragedy.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 458-460; HOUSE AND SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*, ch. viii.

**Reparations.** HOUSE AND SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*, ch. xi; KEYNES, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*; *Record of Political Events*.

**Palestine.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 418-424.

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## CHAPTER XXVII

### BOLSHEVISM REPLACES AUTOCRACY IN RUSSIA

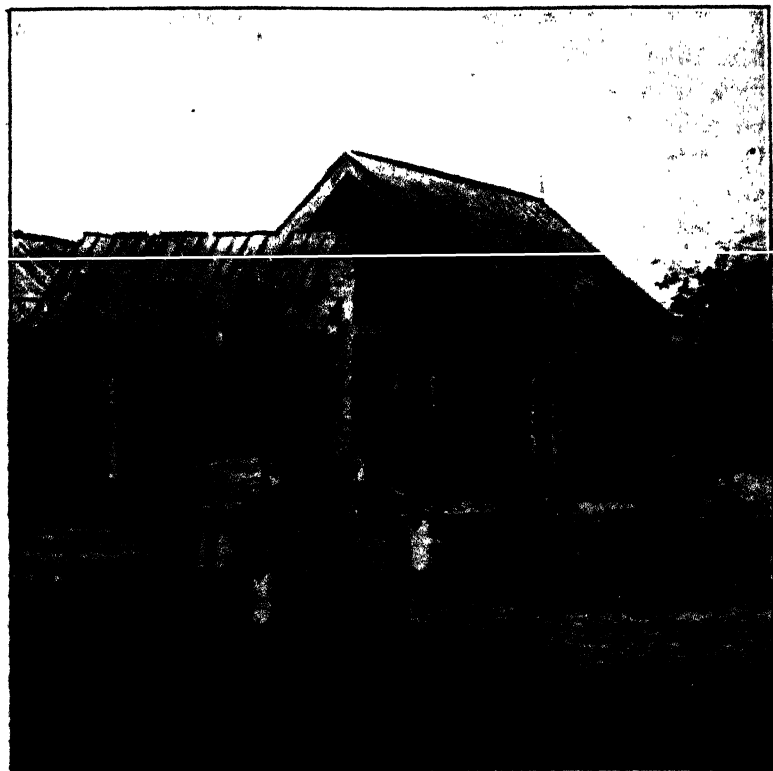
#### AUTOCRACY IS OVERTHROWN

The Great War (1914-1919) served to destroy autoeracy throughout central and eastern Europe, but while autoeracy was supplanted in central Europe by political democracy, in eastern Europe (that is, in Russia) it was supplanted by Bolshevism. The rise of Bolshevism and its vogue in Russia constituted one of the most significant effects of the Great War.

**The Tsar's Policies on the Eve of the Great War.** — In an earlier chapter<sup>1</sup> we have seen how, throughout the nineteenth century and down to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, the Russian Tsars pursued the threefold policy of (1) enlarging the Russian Empire by war and conquest, (2) "Russifying" the subject nationalities, and (3) upholding and strengthening social aristocracy and political autoeracy. Likewise we have seen how, prior to 1914, opposition to the Tsar's policy gradually developed among five elements of the population: (1) the conquered nationalities and the Jews, who objected to "Russification"; (2) the "intellectuals," that is, professors, writers, etc., who advocated individual liberty and radical political reform; (3) the capitalists and other middle-class people, who desired constitutional government and moderate political reform; (4) the peasants, who wanted more land; and (5) the workingmen in the towns, who were inclining toward Socialism. And finally we have seen how, when the Tsar's Government was embarrassed by military defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, these five elements engaged in revolutionary agitation and action.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XIX.

The Russian Revolution of 1905-1906 proved premature. The forces of revolution lacked able leaders and failed to hold together; they were repressed by the Tsar as soon as the for-



RUSSIAN PEASANTS

The woman in the foreground is carrying two buckets of water, which she has drawn from the well shown in the background. The large majority of the Russian people are peasants.

eign war was ended. The only lasting monument of the revolutionary movement of 1905-1906 in Russia was the Duma, a kind of make-believe parliament, which was elected by a restricted franchise and dominated by the Tsar's autocratic Government.



**Political Parties in Russia.** — Nevertheless, in and about the Duma, there grew up, prior to 1914, three radical political parties which represented as many shades of opposition to autocracy. (1) *The Constitutional Democratic Party* comprised most middle-class "intellectuals," professional men, and business-men; it championed political democracy of the English type, with supreme authority vested in a real popular parliament and with personal liberties guaranteed by an effective Constitution. (2) *The Social Revolutionary Party* was essentially a peasants' party, determined to transfer the land from the nobility to the peasantry and prepared to support any political program which promised to assure this fundamental social reform. (3) *The Social Democratic (Socialist) Party* embraced most of the workingmen in the towns; it accepted the principles and precepts of Karl Marx, the founder of international Socialism, and urged the confiscation of private property and the operation and control of industry and agriculture by the "workers." The Russian Socialists were split into two factions on questions of tactics: (a) *The Mensheviks* (or Menshevists) were the less radical faction; they were willing to await the eventual triumph of Socialism through a long process of evolution and education, and in the meantime to coöperate with the Social Revolutionaries and even with the Constitutional Democrats in securing political democracy in Russia. (b) *The Bolsheviks* (or Bolsheviks) were the more radical faction of Russian Socialists; they were eager to establish a Socialist Republic at the very first opportunity, by force and violence if necessary, and were hostile to any coöperation with middle-class political parties.

**Great War Supported by All Russian Parties Except Bolsheviks.** — The Bolshevik faction opposed the participation of Russia in the Great War, but for some time after 1914 its leaders were in exile and its numbers in Russia were too few to obstruct the Government and armies of the Tsar. With the exception of the Bolsheviks, the whole population of Russia at first supported the war loyally and enthusiastically.

Patriots, regardless of political affiliation, supported it because it appeared as a struggle for the freeing of Slavic peoples from Teutonic domination. Constitutional Democrats, Social Revolutionaries, and Menshevists supported it because it associated Russia with the democracies of France and England against the autoeracy of Germany and seemed likely to oblige the Tsar to consent to political reform. Subject nationalities, such as Poles, Finns, Jews, Lithuanians, etc., supported it because it held out to them the hope of respite from "Russification" and recognition of national rights and self-determination.

**Perversity of Tsar Nicholas II.** — The Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917) might have won undying fame and glory if he had had the farsighted genius to fulfill the expectations of his subjects. Unfortunately, he was narrow and stubborn. Surrounded by reactionary nobles and bureaucrats, he perceived in the popular enthusiasm for the Great War merely a favorable opportunity for enlarging Russia's boundaries and for strengthening autoeracy within his empire. He granted no practical favor to Poles, Finns, Jews, or other subject nationalities. He took counsel with no leader of any radical Party. He persistently refused to broaden the suffrage or to make the ministry responsible to the Duma or to consent to any other democratic reform. He similarly gave no heed to the demands for social and economic reform.

**Governmental Corruption and Russian Defeat.** — Nicholas II might still have succeeded in his policy if his Government had been efficient and his armies victorious. But the autocratic Government of Russia was notoriously inefficient and corrupt. It simply was not equal to the task of mobilizing huge armies, sending them to the front, equipping and feeding them, and at the same time of caring properly for the civilian population at home. Autoeracy of the Russian variety proved itself absolutely unfit to meet the supreme test of the Great War. The series of disastrous defeats and retreats which the Russian forces suffered in 1915, was due less

to German prowess and generalship than to corruption and inefficiency on the part of the Tsar's Government.

The Russian autocracy learned no lesson from military defeat and permitted no honest criticism of itself. Throughout 1916 it adhered to its traditions of secrecy, suspicion, repression, and intrigue. One nobleman followed another at the head of the Tsar's ministry, but the system remained unchanged.

**Spread of Popular Disaffection, 1916-1917.** — During the winter of 1916-1917 popular disaffection overspread Russia. Patriotic army officers and prominent members of the Duma complained openly that the Government was hampering the prosecution of the war and hinted that it was conducting treasonable negotiations with the enemy. The subject nationalities grew restless and rebellious. The Russian middle-classes were grumbling and faultfinding. There were riots of peasants in the country and strikes of workingmen in the cities. Besides, the winter was severe, and, while the upper classes feasted, many of the poorer people went hungry.

**The Revolution of March, 1917.** — On March 11, 1917, the autocratic Government of Nicholas II made its last attempt to suppress revolutionary agitation in Russia; it ordered the members of the Duma to go home and it directed the workingmen in Petrograd to cease their strikes and protests and return to work. These decrees precipitated the Russian Revolution.

On March 12, 1917, while railway employees sidetracked the Tsar's special train and prevented Nicholas II and his loyal army chieftains from reaching the capital, the workingmen won over to their cause part of the military garrison of Petrograd and established a "soviet" (or council) of "soldiers and workingmen," which proceeded to exercise the functions of local government. At the same time, the members of the Duma remained at their posts and their president sent an urgent request to the Tsar to form a new and liberal ministry.

*Abdication of Nicholas II.* — Within three days the Revolution triumphed in Petrograd and spread to the army and to the provinces. Autocracy collapsed promptly and utterly. On March 15, 1917, Nicholas II abdicated; and by temporary agreement between the Duma and the Petrograd Soviet, a Provisional Government was set up under the presidency of Prince George Lvov, a liberal landlord and a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party.

**The Provisional Government of Prince Lvov.** —

The Provisional Government of Prince Lvov was chiefly a middle-class Government, dominated by the Constitutional Democratic Party, and committed to the principles of political democracy. It speedily proclaimed freedom of speech, of association, of the press, and of religion. It liberated thousands of political prisoners and invited political

exiles to return to Russia. It restored the right of self-determination to Finland and promised to accord the same right to Poland. It announced that a National Constituent Assembly would shortly be elected by universal suffrage to determine the form of the permanent democratic government of Russia. Simultaneously, it sought to stimulate the patriotism of the masses and to infuse new energy into the conduct of the Great War.



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**TSAR NICHOLAS II**

in the historic costume of the Russian Tsars. Nicholas II was the last of the Tsars. He reigned from 1894 to 1917.

Thus, in March, 1917, the first stage of the Russian Revolution was accomplished with almost no bloodshed. Autocracy was overthrown. The Tsar Nicholas II was in custody. Some of the old officials and bureaucrats were in prison; others were in exile. A Provisional Government was in power, promising political democracy and individual liberty within Russia and close military cooperation with England, France, and Italy in a war to make the whole world "safe for democracy."

#### MIDDLE-CLASS GOVERNMENT FAILS

It was the misfortune of the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov that it did not truly represent the Russian people. It represented only the discredited Duma, and it was essentially a middle-class Government.

**Loss of Popular Support for the Provisional Government.** — The bulk of the Russian people were not of the middle-class. They were peasants or workingmen. They desired peace and could not understand why the Provisional Government urged them to continue the war. Besides, they were not satisfied with promises of political democracy and individual liberty; they wished the Revolution to go much farther and to accomplish radical social and economic changes.

From March to November, 1917, the story of the Russian Revolution is the story of the gradual transfer of influence and control from the middle-class Provisional Government of Prince Lvov to the masses of the people. For this transfer several factors were responsible.

(1) *Rise of the Soviets.* — As the Revolution spread throughout Russia, local "Soviets of Workingmen, Soldiers, and Peasants" sprang into existence everywhere — in towns and in provinces — modeled after the Petrograd Soviet. The Soviets speedily became centers of popular agitation and propaganda and forums for the expression of popular demands. The first National Congress of Soviets, held at Moscow in April, 1917, demanded sweeping land-reforms, the participation of work-

ingmen in the management of industry, the democratization of the army, and the continuation of the war only on condition that it involved "no annexations and no indemnities."

(2) *Undermining of Military Discipline.* — As the Revolution spread in the army, the soldiers formed Soviets and assumed military control. The result was a rapid decline of military discipline. Privates left the ranks and went home without leave. Unpopular officers were deposed by the men. Active fighting ceased, and Russian and German soldiers mingled together in friendly fashion.

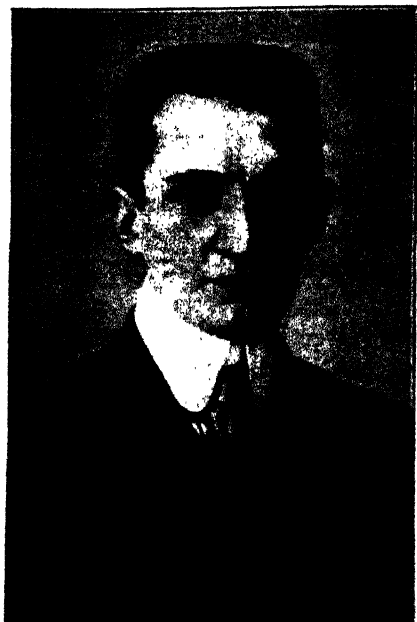
(3) *Spread of German Peace Propaganda.* — As the discipline of the Russian army declined, German agents busied themselves with urging the Russians to quit the war and to center their efforts on securing the full fruits of the Revolution within Russia.

(4) *Agitation of the Bolshevists.* — With the overthrow of Nicholas II and the grant of political liberty, revolutionary exiles returned to Russia and exerted a great influence. The most important were leaders of the Bolshevik faction of the Social Democratic Party, who urged the Soviets to supplant the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov, to establish a socialistic dictatorship, and to make immediate peace with Germany.

(5) *Failure of the Provisional Government.* — The Provisional Government failed to fulfill popular aspirations or to overcome opposition. At first (in March, 1917) it consisted almost wholly of Constitutional Democrats, who had little sympathy with the economic demands of the Social Revolutionary and Social Democratic Parties and who were resolved to subordinate internal reforms in Russia to the vigorous prosecution of foreign war. When it became apparent (in May, 1917) that the Soviets were popular and powerful and were controlled in the country districts by Social Revolutionaries and in the cities by the Menshevik faction of the Social Democrats, Prince Lvov associated several leaders of these two radical parties with his own Constitutional Democrats in

the Provisional Government, but it was like mixing oil with water. Compromise proved fatal.

**Kerensky and his Policies.** — The most interesting and intelligent member of the reconstructed Provisional Government was Alexander Kerensky, an ardent Social Revolution-



ALEXANDER KERENSKY

The dictator who was overthrown by the Bolsheviks in November, 1917.

ary. Backed at first by the peasants and by the Menshevist workingmen, he labored zealously to bring the war to a prompt but honorable conclusion and to assure to the Russian people both political democracy and social reform. Kerensky's labors were in vain. He was perpetually handicapped by the Constitutional Democrats in the Provisional Government, by the Bolsheviks in the Soviets, and by German agents in the army and throughout the country. He could not persuade the Allies to state clearly their war-aims or to consent to a general peace on the basis

of "no annexations and no indemnities," and without such an agreement he could not arouse any enthusiasm in the Russian Soviets for the prosecution of the war. He failed to restore discipline in the Russian armies; and when (in July, 1917) he attempted in person to direct a "drive" against the Teutonic invaders, his forces were repulsed and routed.

**Kerensky's Attempted Dictatorship.** — Prince Lvov and the other Constitutional Democrats withdrew from the Provi-

sional Government in August, 1917, and Kerensky assumed a kind of dictatorship. It was too late. Kerensky found himself in a tragic situation and his own influence rapidly waning. He was assailed by reactionaries and by the Constitutional Democrats because they thought him "radical" and "unpatriotic." He was assailed by the Bolsheviks because they thought him "conservative" and "militaristic." Foreign governments rebuffed him, and the Russian armies refused to obey him. He could not wage successful war, and he would not negotiate dishonorable peace. Yet he could not safely undertake social reconstruction within Russia until Russia was at peace with her neighbors. In the meantime he postponed the election of the promised National Constituent Assembly.

Under these circumstances, the propaganda of the Bolsheviks flourished and bore fruit. Gradually Bolsheviks supplanted Menshevists in control of the Soviets in the cities; and in the rural Soviets, many Social Revolutionaries transferred their affections from their own leader, Kerensky, to the leaders of the Bolsheviks.

**The Revolution of November, 1917.** — At length, on November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks rose in arms in Petrograd, overthrew Kerensky's Government, and seized supreme political power. Their action was ratified by the National Congress of Soviets on November 10. What remained of the Russian armies acquiesced, and most of the country submitted to the new régime.

*Overthrow of Kerensky and Triumph of the Bolsheviks.* — Thus, in November, 1917, the second stage of the Russian Revolution was reached. The reactionaries and middle-class reformers either fled or were imprisoned. Radical Socialists were in possession of the chief offices and had a working majority in the Soviets. Individual liberties, political democracy, and the prosecution of the war were all pushed into the background while the Bolsheviks inaugurated far-reaching economic experiments. The Revolution was to be social as well as political.



## THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS ESTABLISHED

**The Bolshevik Leaders.** — The head of the Bolshevik Government which took office in November, 1917, was a man who belonged by birth and training to the Russian nobility but who early interested himself in the Russian workingmen and became a zealous Socialist. His family name was Vladimir



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NICHOLAS LENIN

(Vladimir Ilich Ulianov). President of the Council of People's Commissioners of the Russian Soviet Republic until 1924.

Ulianov, but during a long exile in Switzerland (from 1900 to 1917) he adopted the pen-name of *Nicholas Lenin*. It was as Nicholas Lenin that he was venerated by the Russian masses and feared and hated by the Russian upper classes. He was courageous and highly intelligent.

Lenin's right-hand man was *Leo Trotsky*, a Jew by race and a member of the middle class by birth. Becoming a fanatical Socialist, he was imprisoned for political offenses and transported to Siberia.

Escaping thence, he lived some years in Vienna and in Paris. Expelled from France in 1916, he resided for a short time in New York and managed to get back to Russia in May, 1917. In November, 1917, he became "People's Commissioner for Military Affairs" in the Bolshevik Government headed by Nicholas Lenin.

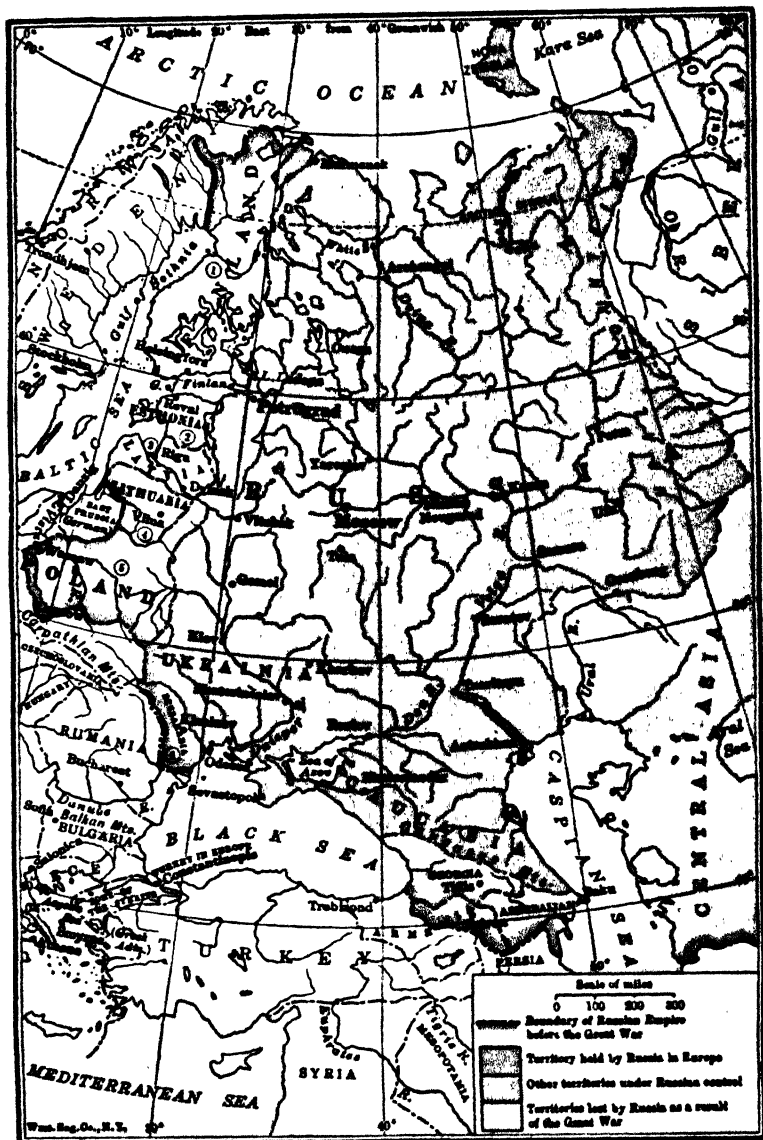
**Bolshevist Policies.** — The chief policies of Lenin and Trotsky were four: (1) to make peace with the Germans; (2) to establish a "dictatorship of the working class"; (3) to effect

radical economic and social changes; and (4) to suppress domestic opposition and ward off foreign intervention. These four policies were pushed simultaneously, but we may discuss them separately and in turn.

(1) **Peace with Germany.** — Immediately after seizing supreme power in Russia, the Bolshevik Government served notice on the Allies that it would not support them in an "imperialistic" war and that unless they would agree to an open statement of war-aims on the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities" it would at once negotiate a separate peace. The Allies made no answer, and in December, 1917, Russia signed a truce with the Germans. After stormy negotiations and despite Allied protests, peace was finally concluded at Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, between Russia, on the one side, and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, on the other.

*Territorial Losses of Russia.* — The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk deprived Russia of Finland, Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukrainia, Bessarabia, and Transcaucasia. Thereby Russia lost a fourth of her population, a fourth of her arable land, a third of her industries, and three-fourths of her iron and coal mines. It reduced the European territory of Russia practically to what it had been before the time of Peter the Great. It left Russia essentially a National State, inhabited almost wholly by Russians and freed from the problems of "subject nationalities." In March, 1918, the capital was transferred from Petrograd to Moscow.

Subsequently the collapse of Germany (November, 1918) enabled the Bolshevik Government of Russia to regain Ukrainia; and the Allies by the Treaty of Versailles (June, 1919) compelled Germany to repudiate the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Nevertheless, Russia acquiesced in the transfer of Bessarabia to Rumania and in the establishment of Finland, Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as independent republics. These developments were accepted by the Bolsheviks as in accordance with national self-determination.



### DISMEMBERMENT OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, 1918-1919

(1) Finland, independence declared, 1917; republic, 1919. (2) Estonia, independence 1918, republic 1920. (3) Latvia, independence 1918, republic 1921. (4) Lithuania, independence 1918; republic 1922. (5) Former Russian territory included in Polish Republic. (6) Bessarabia, annexed by Rumania, 1918.

(2) **Dictatorship of the Working Class.** — Shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution in November, 1917, the elections to the long-promised National Constituent Assembly were held throughout Russia on the democratic basis of equal, direct, universal, and secret suffrage. The result was the election of a large majority of persons identified with the Social Revolutionary Party rather than with the Bolshevik faction of the Social Democratic Party. It proved conclusively that the Bolshevik faction constituted a small minority of the Russian people, and it convinced Lenin and Trotsky that their only hope of remaining in power and carrying out their economic policies lay in sacrificing political democracy.

*Repudiation of Political Democracy.* — Consequently the Bolshevik Government dissolved the National Constituent Assembly on the grounds that it was a "reactionary" body and that the Social Revolutionary Party was "directing the fight of the bourgeoisie against the workingmen's revolution." Not only was the democratic Assembly suppressed, but local Soviets which could not be won over by the Bolsheviks were likewise dissolved and many of their leaders were imprisoned or exiled. Working-class dictatorship — not political democracy — was the instrument of Bolshevik rule in Russia.

*The Soviet Constitution, July, 1918.* — The National Congress of Soviets, "purified" by the exclusion of anti-Bolsheviks, adopted a Constitution for Russia in July, 1918. This Constitution promised freedom of conscience, of opinion, of the press, and of meeting, and provided definite organization for the "dictatorship of the working class." The whole country was proclaimed a "Federal Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Delegates"; and all central and local authority was vested in these Soviets. The franchise was granted to citizens over eighteen years of age, male and female, who earned their living by productive labor and to revolutionary soldiers and sailors, but it was denied to the clergy, the nobility, and most of the middle class. Final power was entrusted to the National Congress of Soviets, or-

ganized in such a way as to assure the preponderance of the delegates of town Soviets over those of rural Soviets. The making of laws and the choosing of ministers (called "People's Commissioners") were entrusted to a Central Executive Committee of some two hundred members elected by the National Congress of Soviets.

*Russia Controlled by Bolshevik Minority.* — In practice the "dictatorship of the working class" was a dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party (often called the Communist Party). The Party itself comprised (in 1923) some 600,000 persons, mostly workingmen in the towns, splendidly organized and disciplined. Though these workingmen were a small minority of the total population of Russia, they controlled most of the town soviets, and thereby, under the Constitution of 1918, they controlled the National Congress of Soviets, the Central Executive Committee, and the Council of People's Commissioners. Public policies were determined by the leaders of the Bolshevik Party (among whom the chief were Lenin and Trotsky), supported by the faithful Bolshevik majority in the Central Executive Committee, and carried into effect by the People's Commissioners (of whom the chief were Lenin and Trotsky).

The Constitution of 1918 made military service compulsory for all Russian citizens, but reserved to the laboring classes the privilege of defending the Revolution with arms. Gradually a revolutionary army was built up of workingmen and peasants, loyal to the Bolshevik Government and prepared to enforce its decrees.

(3) **Economic and Social Changes.** — The purpose of the Bolshevik Government in establishing the "dictatorship of the working class" and in withdrawing from the Great War was to hasten the transformation of Russia into a Socialist State. Toward this goal, many significant steps were taken during 1918.

*Toward Radical Socialism.* — All special privileges were abolished. Labor was made compulsory for all citizens. Local authorities were empowered to seize houses of the well-

to-do and to allow citizens who possessed no adequate dwelling to occupy them. Private ownership of land was abolished without compensation, and all real estate was declared the property of the State, the peasants being admitted to the occupation and use of the land which they actually cultivated. Mines, forests, and railways were appropriated by the State. Factories and workshops were seized, without compensation to former private owners, and handed over to the management and operation of workmen. All public debts contracted by previous Governments were canceled. All private banks were confiscated. Foreign trade was nationalized. The Russian Church was deprived of state support and reduced to the position of a voluntary and self-supporting society. Private schools were suppressed, and considerable attention was given to the development of a system of free State-directed education. The old Russian flag was superseded by the red flag of Socialism, and statues of Tsars and other worthies of the old autocracy were pulled down and replaced with statues of Karl Marx and other heroes of international Socialism. The calendar of western Europe was introduced into Russia. Moscow was confirmed as the capital of the Federal Socialist Republic of Russian Soviets.

*Bolshevik Propaganda in Foreign Countries.* — From Moscow, as the center of triumphant Socialism, Bolshevik agents were sent out to spread Socialist propaganda in foreign countries. The Bolsheviks hoped that the Russian Revolution of the twentieth century would be as sweeping and far-reaching in social consequences as the French Revolution of the eighteenth century had been in politics. They longed for the destruction of capitalism not only in Russia but throughout the world. Russia, they insisted, was setting an example for all nations to follow.

*Obstacles to Successful Social Reforms in Russia.* — Two great obstacles to the success of the Bolshevik social reforms in Russia were the ignorance of the lower classes and the fact that the reforms were attempted at the very time when the



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A RUSSIAN HOME IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

whole world was reeling from the effects of the Great War. Russia had suffered more from the Great War than any other country, and her commerce, industry, and agriculture were already in serious confusion before the Bolsheviks came into power. What the Bolsheviks did, after November, 1917, served at least temporarily to increase the confusion. The workingmen were too ignorant to manage and operate the great industries without technical assistance. The State was too nearly bankrupt to advance the capital necessary to keep industry and trade going at full speed. The peasants were too shortsighted to exert themselves to increase agricultural production. And the breakdown of the transportation system (railways and shipping) — an inevitable result of the Great War — not only deprived the peasants of needful agricultural implements and supplies, but also prevented the shipping of foodstuffs to the industrial cities.

The result was decreased production of Russian agriculture and industry and a decline of Russian trade, followed by shortage of food, scarcity of employment, suffering, famine, and disease. Thousands upon thousands of Russian people perished miserably in the six years from 1918 to 1924.

Gradually, however, the Bolshevik Government bettered conditions somewhat. The transportation system was improved. The peasants were taught better methods and encouraged to put forth greater efforts. Technical middle-class experts were hired at high salaries to supervise the management and operation of the larger industries, and capitalists were licensed to conduct lesser industrial plants.

*Increasing Moderation of the Bolsheviks.* — Ere long it appeared that the Bolsheviks were reaching a compromise between capitalism and Socialism. While private property was totally abolished in theory, the peasants were actually in possession of small farms of their own and the workingmen were sharing the profits of industry with middle-class persons who advanced capital and managed business. But this, if not pure Socialism, was at least fundamentally different from the eco-



conomic and social conditions in Russia under the Tsars. For better or for worse the Bolsheviks had accomplished a radical change.

(4) **Suppression of Domestic Opposition and Defeat of Foreign Intervention.** — Considerable numbers of Russian people opposed the rule of the Bolsheviks. Certain patriots protested against the desertion of the Allies and the conclusion of peace with Germany. Certain prominent leaders of the Social Revolutionary and Constitutional Democratic Parties protested against the repudiation of political democracy and the establishment of a dictatorship of the working class. Many landlords, business-men, and clergymen protested vehemently against the abolition of private property and against other radical reforms of the Bolshevik Government. Some of the domestic opponents of Bolshevism left Russia and as *émigrés* settled in foreign countries, where they organized and conducted propaganda against the Revolution. Others remained in Russia and sought to stir up popular revolts against the Bolsheviks. Foreign Governments took a hand in Russian affairs and added to the chaos.

*German Interference, 1918.* — After the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March, 1918), the Germans interfered in the internal affairs of Russia. They aimed at strengthening the military power of Germany and preventing the spread of Bolshevism. They inspired the Ukrainians and the "White Russians" to assert national independence, and they gave financial and military support to various Russian generals who opposed the Bolsheviks. In fact, the Germans contributed potently in 1918 to keeping Russia in disorder and turmoil.

*Allied Opposition to the Bolsheviks, 1918.* — With the collapse of Germany in November, 1918, the Bolsheviks were freed from the danger of further German interference in Russia. But already the Allies were intervening. Against Russian Bolshevism, the Allies were bitterly antagonistic; the actions of the Bolsheviks in withdrawing from the Great War, in making a separate peace with Germany, in canceling

Russia's foreign indebtedness, and in preaching a world-wide social revolution, infuriated the Governments and influential citizens of France, England, Italy, Japan, and the United States. Besides, the Russian émigrés in Allied countries kept up a constant agitation to obtain active foreign assistance against the Bolsheviks.

*Allied Intervention in Russia, 1918.* — Allied intervention in Russia began in March, 1918, as a war-measure against Germany. Refusing to acknowledge the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Allies not only declined to recognize the Bolshevik Government, which agreed to it, but also decreed and enforced a rigorous economic blockade against Russia, lest supplies intended for Russians should fall into German hands. For the same purpose, the Allies encouraged an army of Czechoslovaks (which had deserted from Austria earlier in the war) to disregard the peace of Brest-Litovsk, to establish itself on the Volga River in Russia, and to defy the Bolshevik Government. For the same purpose, too, Allied "expeditionary forces" were landed at Murmansk, the single ice-free port of Russia on the Arctic Ocean, and at Vladivostok, in eastern Siberia.

The exploits of the Czechoslovaks, combined with Allied military advance from Vladivostok and Murmansk, prompted anti-Bolshevist uprisings in Russia. Allied intervention, beginning as a war-measure against Germany, soon assumed the character of a crusade of the forces of democracy and capitalism against the forces of Bolshevik Socialism. For a time, toward the close of 1918, it looked as though the Government of Lenin and Trotsky would be unable to ward off foreign intervention and suppress domestic opposition. The Allies occupied northern Russia (including Archangel), the Crimea, and most of Siberia, while an anti-Bolshevist Russian Government was set up at Omsk (east of the Ural Mountains) and supplied liberally with men, money, and munitions.

*Failure of Domestic Insurrection and Foreign Intervention.* — As time went on, however, the Bolsheviks got the upper

hand in Russia. They struck terror into the hearts of many opponents by putting to death the Tsar Nicholas II and his



A STREET IN KIEV

Kiev is the chief city in Ukraina, a country which declared its independence of Russia in 1917 but which later became Socialist and is now federated with Soviet Russia and practically a part of Russia.

family (July 16, 1918) and by empowering special "Revolutionary Tribunals" to punish anti-Bolshevists. They rallied the bulk of the peasants and the workingmen to their support by pointing out that the most active leaders of the anti-Bol-

shevist forces were "reactionaries" who, if successful, would undo the social reforms of the Revolution and might even restore the old autocracy. Most of all, the Bolsheviks were aided in their propaganda and military efforts by the incessant quarrels and differences among their opponents and by the fact that they themselves were waging a patriotic struggle against foreign intervention. In this respect, the Russian Revolution of the twentieth century was similar to the French Revolution of the eighteenth century. Attempted intervention of foreigners served only to consolidate the revolutionaries and to render them more determined and more radical.

In 1919 the anti-Bolshevist Russian Government at Omsk collapsed and its chief was put to death; the Czechoslovaks withdrew; and the Allies abandoned all active direct intervention, except that the Japanese remained in possession of Vladivostok and eastern Siberia.<sup>1</sup> Still the Allies could not bring themselves to recognize the Government of Lenin and Trotsky or to remove the economic blockade of Russia; and they did not miss an opportunity to lend financial and moral support to ambitious persons who directed military expeditions against the Bolsheviks. In 1920 the Allies indirectly aided and abetted the efforts of several reactionary Russian generals to overthrow the Bolshevik Government by force of arms, and they permitted Poland to attack Russia. The Bolsheviks not only routed the Poles and compelled them to make peace, but also crushed in turn all the reactionary armies.

By 1921 the authority of the Bolsheviks was not seriously disputed in Russia. Domestic opposition was suppressed and foreign intervention defeated. Moreover, in 1921, Great Britain terminated the blockade and agreed to permit trade with Russia.

In 1922 the Great Powers of Europe invited Russia to take part in an International Conference at Genoa for the purpose of dealing with various economic problems. Russia accepted the invitation, but as Chapter XXVI showed, the Bolshevik

<sup>1</sup> In 1922, after the Washington Conference (page 780), Japan withdrew her troops from Siberia.

Government refused to consent to the Allies' terms regarding the payment of former Russian debts and the treatment of foreigners' property in Russia. The Allies, on the other hand, were unwilling to recognize the Bolshevik Government as the legitimate government of Russia or to make any new loans to it. They did recognize it, however, in 1924 and the Russian people were allowed to work out their experiment with Communism in their own way. In this chapter we have been concerned with the Russian Revolution as a very significant result of the Great War. How the Soviet government fared in later years will be considered in another chapter.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. In order to connect this chapter with what has gone before, ask yourself what were the chief characteristics of the government of Russia from 1814 to 1914. Can you tell very definitely what the Tsars accomplished from 1814 to 1914 as regards: (a) enlargement of the Empire, (b) Russification of subject nationalities, (c) maintenance of social aristocracy, (d) preservation of autocracy? (Consult Chapter XIX if your memory has grown rusty on these points.)

2. What groups or classes among the people opposed the Tsar's policies before 1914? What political parties opposed his policies? What was the attitude of these groups and parties toward the Great War?

3. How did Nicholas II lose his throne? When? Why?

4. What was achieved by the Revolution of March, 1917?

5. Explain why the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov was too weak to last long.

6. Who was Kerensky? What were his policies? Why did he fail?

7. Explain the causes and immediate results of the Russian Revolution of November, 1917.

8. Who were Lenin and Trotsky? What were their policies? Contrast their policies with those of Kerensky.

9. What are the Soviets? What is Bolshevism?

10. When and under what circumstances did the Soviet Government make peace with Germany? With what results? What did the Allies do about the Russo-German peace treaty?

11. Explain in what respects the Bolshevik Government is undemocratic.

12. What have been the chief obstacles to the complete socialization of Russia by the Bolsheviks?

13. In what matters have the Bolsheviks moderated their policies since coming into power?

14. What was the attitude of the Bolshevik Government toward foreign countries? What was the attitude of foreign countries toward it?

15. What did the Genoa Conference show about the relations between Russia and the other countries? (Consult p. 782.)

16. Can you give any reasons to explain why the Bolsheviks were able to keep the government of Russia in their own hands, in spite of opposition?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**Conditions before 1917.** OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 737-741; ROSS, *Russian Bolshevik Revolution*, ch. ii.

**The Revolution of March, 1917.** OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 741-744; OLGIN, *Soul of the Russian Revolution*, 392-411; HAYES, *Great War*, 225-231.

**Russia's border states.** BOWMAN, *The New World*, 395-408; ANTONELLI, *Bolshevik Russia*, 128-153.

**Kerensky's failure.** HAYES, *Great War*, 241-246; ROSS, *Russian Bolshevik Revolution*, ch. xvii.

**The Bolshevik Revolution.** OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 745-747; HAYES, *Great War*, 240-241, 246-252; ROSS, *Russian Bolshevik Revolution*, ch. xxv.

**The Soviet Constitution.** OGG, *Governments of Europe*, 748-754; SPARGO, *Greatest Failure in All History*, 38-46; ROSS, *Russian Bolshevik Revolution*, ch. iii on the Soviets.

**The land problem.** ANTONELLI, *Bolshevik Russia*, 224-246; SPARGO, *Greatest Failure in All History*, 67-89.

**Factories under the Bolsheviks.** ANTONELLI, *Bolshevik Russia*, 247-270; SPARGO, *Greatest Failure in All History*, 192-239.

**The Red Terror.** SPARGO, *Greatest Failure in All History*, 140-191.

**Allied intervention in Russia.** HAYES, *Great War*, 334-342.

### ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

HAYES, *Great War*, ch. xi; GIBBONS, *World Politics*, 457-473; BRAILSFORD, *The Russian Workers' Republic*; GOODE, *Bolshevism at Work*; RUSSELL, *Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*; RANSOME, *The Crisis in Russia*; *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1922, 1245-1265.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

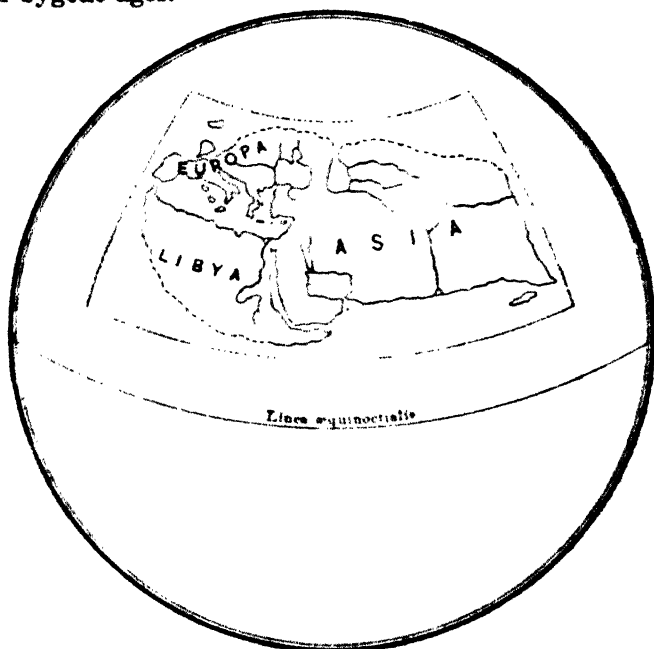
### THE WORLD OF TO-DAY

After reading eight hundred pages of history, it is quite natural to ask the question, "When all is said and done, what has been the net result of history?" How far has civilization progressed, and what are the obstacles that confront it? How does history help us to understand the problems with which the world must grapple to-day -- and to-morrow? These questions each student must answer for himself or herself as intelligently and honestly as he or she can. But perhaps the answers may be made more easily if in this concluding chapter we take a survey of the chief features of contemporary civilization, as they appear in the light of history. Let us take stock of the world of to-day.

#### OUR HORIZON IS BROADER

**Isolation a Thing of the Past.** -- At the very outset, it should be observed that we live in a larger world than that of our ancestors. The world of the ancient Greeks and Romans was the ring of lands around the Mediterranean Sea. Medieval Christendom included Europe and a little more. Each continent was a world in itself, for most of its inhabitants had little or no knowledge of the existence of other continents. However, since the Commercial Revolution of the sixteenth century, the people of all continents have been brought into communication with one another. The horizon of the civilized world is no longer limited to a single continent, but includes the entire globe. As a result of exploration, of travel, of oceanic steamships and world-commerce, of world-politics, and of the intermingling of races by migration, our mental

outlook has become incomparably broader. Moreover, we have built up an economic structure that is world-wide, with the result that each continent is dependent upon the others for everyday articles of food and commerce. No nation, no continent, can now shut itself off from the rest of the world as in bygone ages.



AN ANCIENT ROMAN MAP OF THE WORLD

This shows how little of the world was known in ancient times

#### THE GROWTH OF POPULATION CREATES PROBLEMS

**Enormous Increase of Population.** — Our world is not only larger than that of our forefathers. It is also more populous. The population of all England five centuries ago was only half as large as the population of the single city of London to-day. The population of France has doubled since the time of Louis XIV. The continent of Europe, at the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, had 450 million inhabitants as com-



pared with 175 million in the year 1800. In addition, one must remember that during the last three centuries millions of Europeans have poured into the waste spaces of America and Australia.

**Problem of Caring for Increased Population.** — To feed, clothe, and shelter this enormously increased number of human beings requires a far more intelligent use of the world's resources than our ancestors needed to make. That is the reason why each country tends more and more to specialize in producing the things for which it is best fitted. It is the reason why a financial panic in New York can create suffering in Chicago; why a blockade of Russia can cause hunger in western Europe; why a European war can injure the economic welfare of the whole world. It is also the reason why farsighted statesmen and economists are urging all nations not to waste their natural resources of coal, timber, petroleum, and metals.

*Conservation of Natural Resources.* — Conservation of natural resources is becoming more and more necessary, if we are not to leave our children in a worn-out world. More than one garden spot on the earth's surface has been transformed into a desert by reckless cutting of forests and wasteful exhaustion of the soil. Yet, if nature's wealth is carefully husbanded, there is more than enough. Wide areas still remain to be brought under cultivation. Even the areas now cultivated are producing only a small fraction of the harvest which a more scientific and careful tillage would make possible.

#### URBAN LIFE PRESENTS NEW PROBLEMS

**Increased Population chiefly in Cities.** — The increased population has been largely concentrated in cities. Back in 1790 nine out of ten Americans lived outside the towns, whereas in 1920 less than five out of ten were country dwellers. In England a century ago two persons out of ten lived in cities, but to-day eight out of ten are townfolk. All over the civilized world, people have shown the same tendency to

herd together in cities. The tendency is due partly to the rise of commerce and industries which attract workers, and partly to the theatres, conveniences, luxuries, and other advantages of urban life.

**Problems of Urban Life.** — The city slums, unfortunately, prove to be breeding-places of disease and vice. These evils



WHERE THE BRITISH WORKING CLASSES LIVE

This is a typical street in the poorer section of a British city. The only way you can tell where one house ends and another begins is by looking at the doorways; each house has a door and two windows. As a rule, each family has a separate house, but often several families have to live in a little house meant for one.

are corrected, to some extent, by elaborate systems of sanitation and police. But still there remains the evil of overcrowding. In London, often four or five families have to live in a house designed for one. Rents are so excessive that even well-to-do people cannot obtain spacious and well-lighted homes. The children often have no proper place for play. The noise and hurry of city life, and the lack of fresh air and outdoor exercise, have bad effects upon the health and nerves of city dwellers. In view of these facts, various reformers de-

clare that some way or other must be found to spread the population out more evenly so that all men may have real homes and fresh air and an opportunity for healthful work on the soil part of the time. This is one of the problems of tomorrow.

#### SOCIAL EQUALITY PROVES DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE

**Decay of Feudal Aristocracy.** — The growth of the cities has hastened the decline of the old feudal aristocracy, which was essentially an aristocracy of rural landlords. In France there are still titles of nobility, but the nobles have never regained the lands and the privileges which they lost in the French Revolution of 1789. In Russia feudalism was very strong, but it has been destroyed at least temporarily by the Revolution of 1917. The powerful feudal aristocracies in Germany (especially in Prussia) and Austria have been weakened by the democratic revolutions of 1918. In fact, as a general rule the nobility has lost much of its importance during the last century or so, although in many European countries the nobles still have titles, social rank, special privileges, and large estates. Everywhere the bourgeoisie has grown stronger and the aristocracy weaker.

**The Ideal of Social Equality.** — In place of the dying feudal aristocracy, democratic idealists have dreamed of establishing genuine social equality. Such was the hope voiced by the French revolutionists of 1789. Such was the aim of "Jacksonian Democracy" in America. The new ideal was a state where all men should have equality of opportunity, where there would be no classes or castes, where each man's standing in the community would depend on his brains, achievements, and character rather than on his birth.

Complete social equality, however, has proved difficult to realize in practice. In most European countries, the nobles, though shorn of many old privileges, have retained their hereditary titles and high social rank. Besides, fear has been expressed that a new aristocracy of wealth threatens to take the

place of the old aristocracy of birth. On the other hand, the spread of democracy and the extension of education have opened up many opportunities for ambitious and able individuals to rise in the world by achieving success in business, politics, science, literature, law, medicine, engineering, or art. By means of social legislation and educational reforms much progress has been made toward improving the condition of the lower classes and creating a greater measure of equality of opportunity.

#### WOMEN CLAIM NEW RIGHTS

**Women's Rights.** — The modern desire for equality has been strikingly exemplified in the case of women. Christianity has done much, in past ages, to raise women from the position of domestic animals to a place of respect and honor. But still, at the dawn of the nineteenth century, women could not vote, they were ineligible for most political offices and professions, and in many countries they were inferior to men in legal rights. About the middle of the century, an agitation for political equality began. The famous English philosopher, John Stuart Mill, stated the case for woman in his book on *The Subjection of Women* and in 1867 presented a petition to Parliament for the enfranchisement of women. England was too conservative to take the lead in this direction. Mill never lived to see his plan realized. For many years the movement in favor of woman suffrage was opposed by the majority of politicians. Becoming exasperated, some of the English "suffragettes" under Mrs. Pankhurst's leadership held mass meetings, exploded bombs, dropped acid in the mail boxes, and tried by every conceivable means to compel Parliament to grant their demands, but all in vain.

**Enfranchisement of Women.** — The suffrage was granted to women in a number of the western states of the United States, in New Zealand and Australia, in Finland, and in Norway, during the last part of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. After 1914 the movement made more rapid headway. Mexico adopted woman suffrage

in 1917. In Great Britain woman suffrage was achieved by the reform laws of 1918 and 1928. In the United States the efforts of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and the Woman's Suffrage Association were rewarded by the passing, in 1919-1920, of a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage. Complete political equality between men and women was recognized by the Soviet Constitution of Russia (1918), by the Scandinavian kingdoms, by Holland, and by the new republics of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland. In France, Italy, and Spain the movement made less headway; but in most of Europe women could vote.

**Economic Equality for Women.** — The movement for women's equality has not been confined to politics. During the nineteenth century, women entered industry and business in large numbers. Women's colleges were established. A few women were bold enough to demand — and obtain — permission to practice law, medicine, and other professions. Women who earned wages or salaries were not entirely dependent upon husbands, as their mothers had been, for support. They had made great strides toward economic equality.

**Transformation of the Home.** — The change in the status of women has been accompanied by a transformation in the character of the home. Thousands of married women spend their days in factory-work, business, politics, or some other outside occupation. The home neither requires nor receives as much attention as in earlier times, since, in the cities at any rate, a large part of the baking, cleaning, washing, and sewing that used to be women's work is now done by bakeries, laundries, tailors, etc. The children are taken care of by public schools or by day-nurseries during the daytime. In short, a considerable percentage of women in the twentieth century have ceased to be "housewives." They have become equals and rivals of men in the latter's own field. How this transformation of the most important of all our social institutions will affect civilization is another of the problems of to-morrow.

A SEQUEL OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: CAPITALISM  
CONTINUES TO DEVELOP

**Recent Development of Capitalism.** — Another distinctive feature of contemporary life is the importance of capitalism. Chapters II, XIV, and XV traced the development of capitalism down from the Middle Ages to the Industrial Revolution. Since the Industrial Revolution it has developed in five significant ways:

(1) *Growth in Bulk.* —

Capital grew in sheer bulk, because capitalists were continually adding profits to their original capital, and because many persons in moderate circumstances were saving some money. The amount of capital invested in manufacturing enterprises in the United States increased from two and three-fourths billion dollars in 1880 to twenty-two and three-fourths in 1915. Millionaire capitalists were scarce a century ago, but to-day they are commonplace. Besides, there are now a very large number of people with small savings.

(2) *Growth of Corporations.* — The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed an enormous growth of banks and of joint-stock companies or corporations. In Great Britain in 1910 there were about 40,000 companies, with a total capital of nine billion dollars. In Germany there were in 1927



THOMAS A. EDISON AS A YOUNG  
MAN

The newsboy who became a famous inventor and organizer of business corporations. A list of his many inventions may be found in *Who's Who in America*.

twelve thousand corporations with a total capital of over five billion dollars. In olden days the capital for an industrial enterprise was usually supplied by one or two individuals who, like Sir Richard Arkwright, personally superintended the business. But nowadays most large undertakings are financed by corporations or joint-stock enterprises which sell bonds and shares of stock to banks and to people who have no direct interest in the business. Thus a coal mine in Wales may be owned by London financiers. The effect has been a transfer of power from the old-fashioned "captain of industry" to the banker and the financier. Increasingly the control of European industry has become concentrated in great financial centers such as London, Paris, Berlin, Brussels, Amsterdam, and Rome.

(3) "*Trusts.*" — There has also been a tendency toward the formation of gigantic industrial and financial combinations, popularly known as "trusts" in America. Organizations similar to the American trusts sprang up in most European countries. For example, the German Steel Works Union, dating from 1904, controlled nearly the entire steel industry of Germany.

(4) *Foreign Investments.* — Another development has been the "export of capital," that is, the investment of surplus capital in colonies and foreign countries. For instance, in 1914 British capitalists had twenty billion dollars invested outside the British Isles. Since the War American foreign investments have rapidly approached this figure.

(5) *National Debts.* — Finally, national debts have stimulated capitalism. In order to pay for wars, nations issued interest-bearing bonds, which were bought by people who had money to invest. The Great War of 1914 caused an immense expansion of national debts. Great Britain's debt at the time of the American Revolution was less than two-thirds of a billion dollars; in 1914 it was still only some three billions; but in 1920 it was about forty billions. That of France was thirty-four billion francs before the war and two hundred and thirty-

eight billions afterward. As these debts are owed to private capitalists, large and small, it may easily be seen how tremendous has been the expansion of capitalism in this one department alone.

ANOTHER SEQUEL OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: INVENTION AND SCIENCE WORK NEW WONDERS

**Recent Development of Applied Science.** — Another sequel of the Industrial Revolution has been the amazing progress of machinery, inventions, and applied science. The English Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was but the dawn of the age of scientific invention. In this section we intend to continue the story from about 1850 down to the present in order to show how rapidly the "World of To-day" is being transformed by applied science. Each generation, nowadays, makes more mechanical progress than centuries made in olden times.

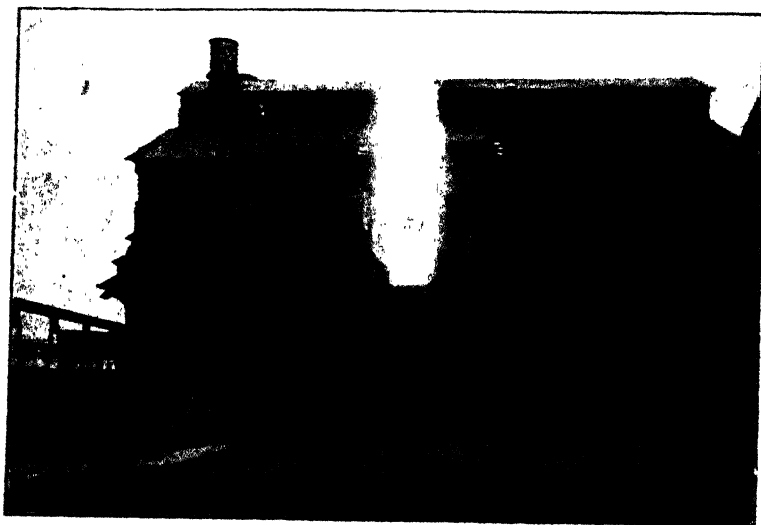
(1) **Iron and Steel.** — One of the chief features of the Industrial Revolution was the increased use of iron. But it was very difficult to convert impure "pig iron," which is too brittle for most purposes, into the purer and tougher form of steel.

*"The Bessemer Process."* — The difficulty was overcome in 1859 by an Englishman, Sir Henry Bessemer, who found a method of burning out the impurities by melting the pig iron in a large container or bucket and applying intense heat to it. Unfortunately, the richest iron fields of Europe (those in Lorraine) contained so much phosphorus mixed with the iron that the ore produced from them could not be converted into steel by the Bessemer process. However, another British inventor modified the process so that it could be used for Lorraine iron, and as a result Germany leaped into second place, surpassing even England in the production of steel.

*"The Open-hearth Process."* — An even better process, the "open-hearth" process, was developed in France and America. Still better, though more expensive, was the electric furnace



for making fine steel. Thanks to these three inventions, steel of good quality could be produced in large quantities for ship-building, railways, "skyscrapers," machinery, tools, guns, armor-plate, and a thousand other uses. The age of iron gave way to the age of steel.



A BESSEMER CONVERTER IN ACTION

The converter is the bucket-shaped affair in the center, out of which the blinding flash of flame is shooting. This converter transforms fifteen tons of iron into steel in about ten minutes.

(2) **Transportation.** — A second series of inventions brought about a veritable revolution in transportation and communication. As the student will remember, in the days of the Industrial Revolution Stephenson and Fulton had produced steam locomotives and steamboats of a pretty crude and inefficient type. Not until they had been improved by later inventors did railways and steamships become important.

*Railways.* — Railway building on a large scale began about 1840. For example, Great Britain had only 1331 miles of railway in 1840, but by 1900 she had almost 22,000 miles. The United

States had twenty-three miles in 1830, but almost 200,000 in 1900. In the United States and England railways were owned by private capitalists, whereas on the Continent of Europe they were generally owned by governments. In Latin America, Africa and Asia, too, thousands of miles of rails were laid, sometimes by European capitalists and sometimes by governments.

*Steamships and Ironclads.* — There was also a great development of steam navigation. The first ship to cross the Atlantic



THE "GREAT WESTERN"

The first steamship to cross the Atlantic.

entirely by steam was the *Great Western* (1838), a side-wheeler, like all the early steamships. Soon afterwards the screw propeller was substituted for paddle wheels on oceanic ships, and sheet iron began to replace wood as the material for shipbuilding. As late as 1870, however, Great Britain was still building more sailing vessels than steamships, and more wooden ships than iron ones. But by 1900, the great majority of large ships were being constructed of steel and equipped with steam engines and screw propellers. In other words, steam did not triumph over sails until the last quarter

of the nineteenth century, after steel-making had been improved by the Bessemer and open-hearth processes. In 1930 steel steamships represented 85 per cent of the world's total tonnage of shipping (68 million tons). The ships of the twentieth century were marvels, compared with those of a few centuries ago. The *Titanic*, built in 1910, was 435 times as big as the ship in which Columbus first crossed the Atlantic; it was about one-sixth of a mile long and its engines had the power of 50,000 horses. Even larger was the *Leviathan*, a monster of 60,000 tons. Longer and faster, but not quite so big, were the German ships *Bremen* and *Europa*, completed in 1929 and 1930. Columbus took ten weeks to cross the ocean; you can do it in five days. The effect of these improvements on commercial expansion and on naval warfare can be left to the reader's imagination.

*The Turbine.* — Many of the "ocean greyhounds" of the twentieth century were fitted with a new type of steam engine, the Parsons turbine, which was invented by an Englishman in the 1880's. The turbine consists of a series of rings or blades set in such a way that they are turned by the pressure of a jet of steam, and attached to an axle or shaft which is rotated by their movement.

*The Oil Industry.* — Another novelty, introduced toward the end of the nineteenth century, was the substitution in many steamships (and in some factories and locomotives) of oil for coal as fuel. Petroleum has the great advantage of being less bulky than coal and requiring fewer stokers.

The oil industry, which suddenly sprang up in America in the 1850's and 1860's, and subsequently in Russia, Poland, Rumania, Mexico, and Mesopotamia, helped to make possible another epochal advance in means of transportation — the invention of the gasoline-driven automobile.

*The Gasoline Engine.* — In 1885 a German invented an engine of the cylinder-and-piston type in which the explosion of gasoline was used instead of steam to supply pressure against the piston-heads in the cylinders.

*The Automobile.* — Almost immediately (1887) a Frenchman applied the new gasoline motor to a carriage. This was the origin of the automobile. France held the lead at first, but soon the United States won first place in the manufacture of automobiles. How important the automobile has become may be judged from the fact that in 1929 there were about twenty-five million cars in use in the United States alone, and in the one year, 1929, the United States produced five million new cars. The automobile transformed everyday life by facilitating travel and transportation, by making farm life more pleasant, by supplying farm tractors, by increasing extravagance, by providing a new form of amusement, and in many other ways. And its effects are probably just beginning to show themselves.

*The Airplane.* — From the automobile to the airplane was only one step, but a big one. Early in the nineteenth century there had been numerous experiments with flying machines held up by bird-like wings or by screw propellers. An American scientist, Langley, fitted a steam engine to an airplane which flew half a mile. The steam engine, however, was not well suited to avi-



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WILBUR AND ORVILLE WRIGHT

The two American inventors who made the first practical airplanes.

ation. French experimenters, early in the twentieth century, borrowed the gasoline motor which had been developed in the automobile industry, and found it better adapted to their purposes.

The first really successful airplanes, however, were made by two Americans, the Wright brothers. In 1908 one of their first machines flew forty-five miles in an hour and a quarter. The airplane may be said to date from 1908. It is still in its infancy, but it is an infant prodigy. In the Great War of 1914 the airplane proved to be one of the most important of war-machines. After the war, an American naval plane made the first flight across the Atlantic (1919). Airplanes made a speed record of 375 miles an hour and climbed to a dizzy height of more than eight miles. Regular airplane lines for passengers and mail were established. Manufacturers began to construct gigantic planes able to carry a large number of passengers. It is not improbable that this one invention, the airplane, will make even greater changes in modern civilization than were produced by the locomotive or by the steamboat.

(3) **Electricity.** — A third series of inventions converted electricity into a wonder-working servant of man. In this case scientific theories had to be developed before practical inventions were possible. Scientists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries discovered a number of interesting facts about electricity. For instance, Benjamin Franklin in 1752 identified lightning with electricity, by sending up a kite in a thunderstorm and bringing electricity down from the clouds along a kite-string.

*Faraday and the Dynamo.* — A British scientific genius, Michael Faraday, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, added so much to electrical knowledge that practical inventors were able to make the dynamo, a machine for the generation of electricity. By 1870 the dynamo had become a commercial success, and electricity generated by dynamos was being used — on a small scale — for lighting purposes.

*The Electric Motor.* — Next came the electric motor (1873) and the use of electricity to operate street cars and subways. Since the war a number of European countries have been electrifying their railroads and factories. Because elec-

tricity is so easily transmitted from one place to another, the use of electric machinery may perhaps decentralize industry and bring about a revival of home work.

*Morse and the Telegraph.* — With the aid of electricity, man has to some extent annihilated space as a barrier to communication. An American painter, Samuel Morse, hit upon the idea of transmitting messages over a wire by means of electricity. After twelve years of toil and poverty, he made the first successful telegraph, in 1844. To his efforts mainly we owe a means of rapid communication which seems an absolute necessity in modern business, diplomacy, and politics.

*Bell and the Telephone.* — About thirty years later (1876), the telephone was invented by Alexander Graham Bell, a Scot living in Boston.

*Marconi and the Wireless.* — A still more wonderful victory in man's battle against time and space was won in 1897 when an Italian electrician, Guglielmo Marconi, invented the wireless telegraph. Later inventors devised a wireless telephone, and instruments for transmitting pictures by wire or by wireless, and mechanisms for steering torpedoes and even automobiles by wireless electric waves.



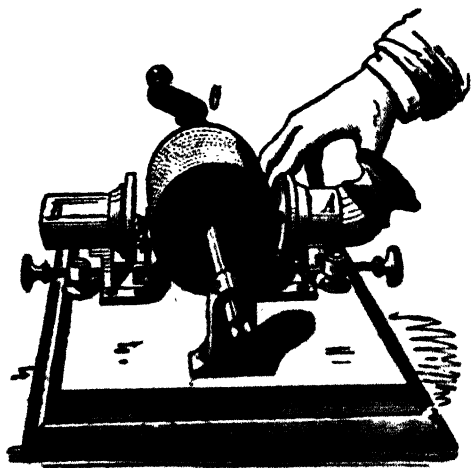
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GUGLIELMO MARCONI

Italian inventor of wireless telegraphy.

**Other Uses of Electricity.** — Electricity, already, has shown itself the most marvelous of man's slaves in industry and in communications. It has also become a household servant. It runs sewing-machines, mixes bread, washes clothes, heats irons, toasts bread, cooks food, does sweeping (by means of the vacuum cleaner), drives fans, runs the phonograph and the self-playing piano. A generation from now, our children will wonder how people ever lived without electrical appliances, and without telephones and electric lights. Yet none of these things existed a century ago.

**Other Important Applications of Science.** — The inventions which have been mentioned — the Bessemer process, the screw



**THE FIRST PHONOGRAPH**

This was the form of the first phonograph invented by Thomas A. Edison in 1877.

propeller, the turbine, the automobile, the airplane, the dynamo, the electric motor, the electric light, the telegraph, telephone, and wireless — are only a few of the thousands that have been made since the Industrial Revolution. The phonograph (invented by Thomas Edison, 1877), the photographic camera (invented early in the nineteenth century but not made very useful

until later), the McCormick reaper (1831), the submarine (which dates practically from the 1880's), the moving-pictures (about 1890), "radio" broadcasting (chiefly since 1919), the still newer "talkies," and dozens more might be mentioned.

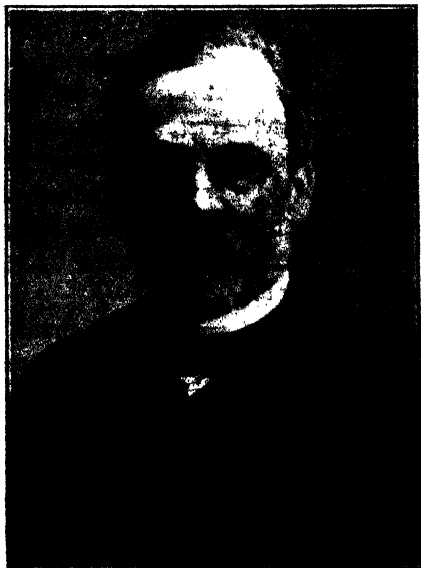
**Growth of Scientific Knowledge.** — Most recent inventions are based upon science. The nineteenth century was the great

century of applied science. *Mathematics and physics*, the sciences which provide the foundation of theories for civil and mechanical engineering, were well started before 1800, but since then they have been developed and, above all, have been introduced into the regular course of studies in high schools and colleges. *Chemistry*, one of the most useful of all sciences, is almost entirely a child of the last century, and the best part of *biology*, another useful science, is equally recent.

**Medicine and Surgery.** — *Pasteur and the Germ Theory of Disease.* — The progress made in the applied sciences of medicine and surgery is especially worth noting, for it affects all of us. Probably the greatest achievement in this line was made by Louis Pasteur, a French scientist whose work was done mostly in the period from 1850 to 1895. Starting out in life as a chemist, he happened to visit a brewery one day and found that good beer contains spherical globules (visible only under a microscope) while sour beer contains elongated ones. This led him to the discovery that fermentation is caused by microscopic living organisms, which to-day are popularly known as "germs." The discovery was of immense value to brewers and wine makers, but was not yet applied to medicine. A little later, Pasteur guessed that a terrible plague, which threatened to destroy the silk industry of France, was also due to germs. The guess was correct, and

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LOUIS PASTEUR

The great French scientist.



the plague was remedied. In the same way he found a cure for a deadly cattle disease. This discovery alone was probably worth more than the whole indemnity paid to Germany by France after the Franco-Prussian War. Probably the most celebrated of Pasteur's achievements was his discovery of a successful method of treating hydrophobia. All these accomplishments were based on the fundamental theory that many diseases, like fermentation, are caused by germs.

*Antiseptics, Anti-toxins, and Sanitation.* — The germ theory of disease made possible wonderful advances in medicine, surgery, and sanitation. Lord Lister, an Englishman, applied it to surgery (about 1860), by using carbolic acid to prevent germs from causing wounds to fester; this was the beginning of the use of antiseptics. In medicine, the same principle was used in preparing "anti-toxins" for the treatment of diphtheria, pneumonia, and many other diseases. The germ theory also led people to realize the importance of sanitation, and to instal proper sewage systems in cities. Probably more disease has been prevented by sanitation than has been cured by medicine.

*Anæsthetics.* — Another great achievement was the use of anæsthetics, such as laughing-gas, ether, and chloroform, to deaden the pain of dental and surgical operations. Laughing-gas was first used in 1844 by an American dentist, Horace Wells of Hartford; ether, in 1846, by a second American dentist, W. T. G. Norton of Boston; chloroform, by Sir James Simpson in 1847. These three men did more to relieve human suffering than Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon did to cause it, and if the names of the latter are remembered, then the names of the three great inventors of anæsthetics should not be forgotten.

*X-rays.* — To these discoveries one more may be added, namely, the X-ray. In 1896 a German scientist, Wilhelm Röntgen, found that an electric spark passing through a glass tube from which the air had been pumped gave off a peculiar light strong enough to shine through human flesh.

cloth, and even bone. He called these strange light-rays "X-rays," for want of a better name. By means of them, surgeons can take photographs of the body, showing the position of bones, or the condition of wounds. It need hardly be pointed out how useful such a device has been in surgery.

*Decline of Death Rate.* — The net results of the recent advances in medicine, sanitation, and surgery may be shown in figures. In 1881 the death rate in England was 21.2 per thousand; in 1914 it was less than 14. In other words, a person living in the year 1914 was considerably more likely to live through the year than a person living in 1881 would have been.

Perhaps the reader will dispute the foregoing statement, because a person living in 1914 had a good chance of being killed in the Great War. The objection is perfectly proper. The lower death rate would not hold good in case of war, because science has been applied to the art of killing as well as to the art of healing.

*Application of Science to Warfare.* — The advance of chemistry and physics, the progress of the steel industry, the invention of improved motors, of airplanes and submarines, of telephones and telegraphs, all helped to make warfare more deadly and more destructive. As was pointed out in Chapter XXIV, the application of science to war and the failure of Europe to find peaceful methods of settling international dis-



AN "X-RAY" PHOTOGRAPH OF A HUMAN HAND

The X-ray shows the bones, as though the flesh were transparent.

putes constituted two of the great perils of modern civilization. Inventors and scientists have given men wonder-working machines. How to use them for the good of mankind rather than for self-destruction is a major problem of present-day civilization.

#### GOVERNMENTS BECOME MORE DEMOCRATIC

**Definition of Political Democracy.** — The means by which mankind hopes to solve this, and many other problems, is political democracy. But democracy cannot be used very intelligently for the solution of our problems unless we understand clearly just what democracy is. A celebrated British writer has given a very good definition of it: "Democracy really means nothing more or less than the rule of the whole people expressing their sovereign will by their votes." Political institutions which enable the whole people to express their sovereign will by votes are of comparatively recent date and are still more or less in the experimental stage, as the following summary ought to make clear.

(1) **The Franchise.** — The foregoing definition of political democracy requires that the "whole people" should have the right to vote. A century ago there was not a single nation that could measure up to this standard. In the United States, the right to vote was limited to white men until the Civil War, and even to this day some negroes are excluded from the franchise in certain States of the Union. In Europe, France has had practically universal suffrage for men since 1848; the German Empire has had it since 1871 (for the Reichstag); Austria since 1907; Italy since 1912. Great Britain achieved a fairly democratic franchise by means of a series of cautious reforms (1832, 1867, 1884), but not until 1918 was complete manhood suffrage adopted. Russia, under the Bolsheviks, in 1918, restricted the vote to all persons over eighteen who earned their living by productive labor. In Japan the vote was denied to the poorer classes until 1925. The idea that every man should have a right to vote is a nov-

elty of recent years and has not yet been completely realized, although the tendency is strong in that direction. The idea that women have an equal right to vote is still more recent, as we have already seen.

*Compulsory Voting and Proportional Representation.* — Merely giving each citizen a vote would not solve the problem of democracy. In many countries a large percentage of citizens do not take the trouble of voting. To remedy this evil,



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#### THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

The democratic parliament of present-day Germany. It is elected by universal adult suffrage and with provision for proportional representation.

Belgium, Spain, and Austria made voting compulsory. Compelling voters to vote was not enough. The question often arose, Why should a Liberal vote if he lived in a district where the Conservative candidate was sure to be elected? Belgium answered this question by adopting proportional representation — a scheme which gave each party seats in parliament proportional to its voting strength in the country as a whole, instead of giving one representative to the majority party in each district and leaving the minority without representation.

Proportional representation was adopted also by Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and several other countries. Another question connected with the franchise is whether each voter should have only one vote. Belgium granted extra votes to men having families, or wealth, or higher education. England gave two votes to men owning or renting more than one building, and to university graduates. But the general tendency is toward the principle, "one man, one vote," or rather, "one adult, one vote."

(2) **Representative Government.** — Another general problem of democracy is, how much power the elected representatives of the people should possess. Seventy years ago, most nations were ruled by monarchs, some of whom had absolute and some only limited powers. The United States was the only large nation which had completely transferred authority to elected representatives, by abolishing monarchy.

*Growth of Republicanism.* — Since 1870, the republican form of government has been adopted in France (1875), Portugal (1910), China (1912), Russia (1917), and, at the close of the Great War, in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland, Turkey, and Greece. Republicanism thus became the prevailing form of government in the greater part of Europe; in Asia it was represented by China and in Africa by the negro republic of Liberia; and in the New World there were twenty-one republics. Some allowance must be made for the fact that the republics of China and Turkey and a few Latin American republics were really controlled by military dictators. In Europe, too, several military dictatorships appeared after the Great War, as we shall see in Chapter XXIX. Moreover, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and a few other nations still clung to their emperors, kings, or queens. In most cases, however, the monarch was shorn of power and the government was actually very much like that of a republic. Monarchies and republics alike had written constitutions to

guarantee democracy and liberty. In every case they had parliaments or congresses, and also cabinets of ministers.

*Democratizing of Parliaments.* — Regarding parliaments and cabinets, several differences of opinion existed. First, should the parliaments consist of a single house or of more? Following the English tradition, upper houses were established in most countries, and usually the upper house was aristocratic, while the lower was democratic, as in England. Reformers wished to convert these upper houses into democratic senates representing states or provinces, like the senates of Germany and the United States, or to transform them into democratic assemblies representing the various trades and professions, or to do away with them altogether, as was done in Austria, Finland, and the Russian Soviet Republic.

*Responsibility of Cabinets.* — Another question was, whether the cabinet of ministers should be responsible to the parliament. In democratic monarchies such as England, the ministers were responsible to Parliament. But in republics, opinions differed as to the advisability of giving the president the control of the cabinet, as in the United States, or making the cabinet responsible to the parliament, as in France.

(3) **Popular Control of Legislation.** — The third general problem concerning political democracy was in what manner the people should express their "sovereign will." The problem may be explained easily by a concrete illustration. When Mr. Harding was elected President of the United States in 1920, no one could say for certain whether it was because the voters disapproved the Peace Treaty, or disliked the League of Nations, or desired a high tariff, or simply wanted a change. If the people had been given an opportunity to vote on the ratification of the treaty, or on the League of Nations, or on the principle of a high tariff, their will could have been expressed more clearly. Such a vote, on a single issue, is called a *referendum*. Switzerland, Germany, and a number of other states have adopted the referendum as a means of finding out whether the people approve or disapprove of a par-

ticular law. Sometimes it was provided that a measure proposed by a certain number of voters must be submitted to a referendum. This provision was called the *initiative*. In addition, many reformers believed the people should have the right to *recall* their elected representatives in case the latter were unworthy or failed to represent the voters' view. It was even argued that judges and judicial decisions should be made subject to recall.

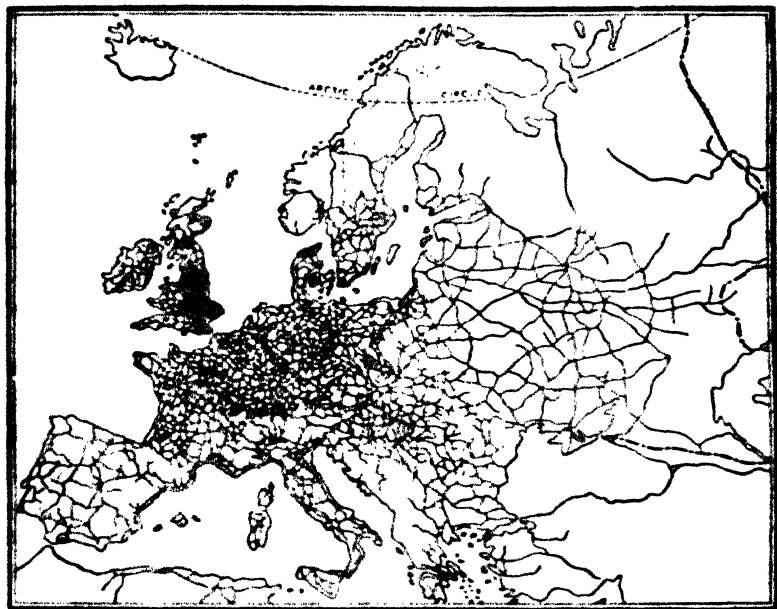
*Democracy in Experimental Stage.* — Opposition to these measures was based on the argument that the people could not or would not take an intelligent interest in such matters, and that direct popular voting would remove all checks on popular fads and outbursts of popular emotion. These arguments amount to saying that the common people are not fit for complete democracy, that is, for direct and complete control of their own affairs. There is much to be said for this point of view, and much against it. Democracy, as we have remarked, is still new and still in the experimental stage. How it will work in the long run, remains to be seen.

(4) **Publicity and Democracy.** — Still another problem of democracy had to do with publicity. As far as domestic affairs were concerned, democratic governments usually gave entire publicity to all measures that were being discussed or acted upon. But relations with foreign governments, diplomatic negotiations, and other international affairs were frequently kept secret, although they might be of vital importance to the nation. Many persons who believed in complete democracy demanded that foreign relations, like all other affairs, should be conducted in the full light of day. Whether or not the public should have the right to know what its elected representatives are doing, remains a question for time to decide.

#### DEMOCRACY FACES THE LABOR PROBLEM

**Democracy and the Modern Labor Problem.** — If political democracy is to be successful, it must find a solution of the

labor problem which has become so momentous in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This problem, like the growth of capitalism and the progress of inventions, is really a sequel of the Industrial Revolution. It is the result of capitalism, the factory system, and the wage system, created by that revolution.



EUROPEAN RAILWAYS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

It is such improved means of communication which makes modern democracy possible and which also gives special importance to modern labor problems.

(1) **Growth of Trade-Unionism.** — One phase of the labor problem is the growth of trade-unions and the increase of strikes. Chapter XIV showed how the workingmen early in the nineteenth century attempted to better their condition by organizing trade-unions and by striking. The trade-union movement grew very rapidly during the second half of the century. By 1920 there were 8,500,000 trade-unionists in



Germany, 8,000,000 in Great Britain, 2,300,000 in Italy, 1,500,000 in France, 1,000,000 in Poland, and hundreds of thousands in other countries, belonging to the International Federation of Trade-Unions. Besides, there were some 5,000,000 in the United States and an equal number in Russia not affiliated with the International Federation. These figures mean that trade-unionism had become an extremely powerful movement in the civilized world. It was the chief factor in improving the workingmen's condition by raising wages and by reducing the working day from seventeen or eighteen hours, as it was a century ago, to eight hours. The trouble was, that in case of a dispute between capital and labor, the only effective weapon the unions had was the strike. In Great Britain in one year almost three million workers were involved in strikes, and strikes often were a serious inconvenience to the general public as well as a hardship to the persons immediately concerned in them.

(2) **Growth of Socialism.** — A second phase of the labor problem was the growth of Socialism. We have seen how various kinds of Socialism originated, in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The kind of Socialism taught by Karl Marx became most popular. Marxian Socialist parties sprang up in every civilized country. Before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, the Socialist parties had won more than one-fourth of the seats in the German Reichstag, about one-fifth in the French Chamber of Deputies, almost one-sixth in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, and one-seventeenth in the British House of Commons.<sup>2</sup> These Socialist parties in general advocated collective (instead of private or capitalistic) ownership of factories, railways, mines, and land.

*Bolshevism.* — The Great War ushered in a new era. As we have seen, a faction of extremely radical Socialists, the Bolsheviks, obtained power in Russia in 1917, established a

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XV, pp. 457-459.

<sup>2</sup> This figure is for the British Labor Party, which was nearly as socialistic as the French or German Socialist Parties.

new form of government based on Soviets, and abolished private ownership of land and factories. Unlike the older Marxian Socialists, who strongly believed in democracy, the Bolshevists declared that political democracy was merely a disguised oligarchy of capitalists. For democracy they substituted a revolutionary "dictatorship of the proletariat." Bolshevism or Communism, as this revolutionary form of Socialism was called, soon won many adherents in other European countries.

*Recent Split in Socialism.* — In fact, the Socialist movement was split into two main factions (and many smaller ones). The moderates, who believed in gradual, peaceful reforms, usually went under the name of Social Democrats. The radicals, who advocated social revolution, and who sympathized with the Russian Bolshevists, generally styled themselves Communists.

*Strength and Weakness of Socialism.* — Socialists and Communists of one variety or another held almost half the seats in the British, German, Austrian, and Swedish parliaments and constituted strong minorities elsewhere, except in Italy. Russia was under Communist rule. The Socialists, however, were so badly divided, and differed so much among themselves, that the strength of Socialism was not so great as these figures would indicate. Indeed, it is hardly justifiable to use the word "Socialism" at all, because there are so many different kinds of Socialism.

(3) **Other Social Movements.** — Besides Socialism, there were several other important movements which aimed to solve the labor problem, in one way or another. The I. W. W. in America and the Syndicalist movement in France advocated a policy of "general strikes" and "sabotage,"<sup>1</sup> with the ultimate object of overthrowing the capitalist system, abolishing the government, and putting the workingmen in the saddle.

<sup>1</sup> "Sabotage" includes destruction of machinery, waste of property, and all acts on the part of employees aimed at the wilful reduction of output.

There were also moderate movements, favorable to reform without violence. In Europe the strongest of these was the *Social Catholic movement*. Large numbers of Catholics, in



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WIRELESS ("RADIO") OPERATORS. SENDING AND RECEIVING  
MESSAGES

almost every country, believed that the solution of the labor problem ought to be based on the Christian principles of justice and brotherly love. Hence, they proposed a number of immediate reforms, such as a "just wage," old age pensions, health insurance, workingmen's accident-compensation, and

the abolition of child labor. Many advocated joint councils of workers and employers, to give labor a voice in factory management and to settle industrial disputes peaceably. These joint councils would perhaps be a starting-point for a reorganization of industries into "guilds." Similar ideas were also urged by various other movements and were actually carried out by Fascist Italy, in modified form, as Chapter XXIX will explain.

*"Liberal" Social Reform.* — In addition, there were in all countries a considerable number of "Radicals" or "Liberals" (not to be confused with the Liberals of the early nineteenth century), who were willing to grant some of the reforms demanded by the trade-unions, Socialists, and other labor groups, but were unwilling to think of a social revolution or to go very far in reforms. In England these Liberals established old age pensions, sickness insurance, and various other measures of "social justice," as Chapter XXI has explained.

*Gradual Abandonment of Laissez-faire.* — On the whole, the tendency of modern civilization has been to abandon the *laissez-faire* doctrines of the early nineteenth century, and to recognize that something must be done to cure the evils of unrestrained economic individualism, the hardships of unemployment, the injustices and poverty suffered by millions of workers. What that "something" should be, is one of the most serious and difficult problems confronting democracy in the post-war world.

#### INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS DEMAND SOLUTION

**Problem of International Relations Rendered Acute by Great War.** — Almost as grave as the labor problem is the problem of international relations. Chapter XXIV has pointed out the reasons why modern nations, in spite of their progress along other lines, still continue to fight over international disputes. After the Great War of 1914, which cost three hundred billion dollars and the lives of nine million men, and almost destroyed civilization in eastern Europe, people began to think

about this problem more seriously. The League of Nations was established in the hope that it would prevent some wars, if not all. But Europe remained in a very dangerous situation, with small nations quarreling over boundaries and large nations vying with one another in militarism and imperialism.

*Pacifism.* — There were, however, a growing number of pacifists, who believed in disarmament, the peaceful settlement of international disputes by arbitration or conciliation, the settlement of boundary questions by plebiscites, the solution of imperialistic quarrels by placing "backward countries" and colonies under international control. In place of the old kind of national patriotism, which took pride chiefly in waging wars and conquering other peoples' territories, the pacifists hoped to create a new patriotism which would pride itself on seeking justice and on improving conditions at home. Which of these two points of view will finally triumph, remains a question for the future to answer.

#### THE CHURCHES READJUST THEMSELVES

Regarding the rôle of religion in modern life there are many different opinions, but a few of the undisputed historical facts may be stated.

(1) *New Varieties of Protestantism.* — A great many new forms of Protestant Christianity have come into existence since the sixteenth-century secession of northern Europe from the Catholic Church. From the original Protestant churches (Lutheranism in Germany and Scandinavia, Calvinism in Holland and Scotland, and Anglicanism or Episcopalianism in England), new denominations such as the Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Unitarians split off in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and still more in the nineteenth.

One of the most interesting churches founded in the nineteenth century was the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints" (popularly called *Mormons*), founded in New York State in 1830 by Joseph Smith, Jr. A second was Chris-



## GENEVA

Geneva is an old city in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, and is picturesquely situated at the foot of snow-capped mountains and on the shore of beautiful Lake Lemán. In the sixteenth century Geneva became the home of John Calvin and the center of Calvinism. In the eighteenth century it was the birthplace of Jean Jacques Rousseau and the residence of many famous scientists. It is now the capital of the League of Nations.

*tian Science*, founded by Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy in the year 1866, also in the United States. By the beginning of the twentieth century there were three or four hundred Protestant sects in the United States alone.

(2) **Coöperation among Protestants.** — On the other hand, there were several significant movements toward breaking down the barriers between the Protestant denominations. Much was done to destroy such barriers by the *Young Men's Christian Association*, which was founded in the nineteenth century and expanded very rapidly in the twentieth. The *Salvation Army*, founded about the year 1880 in England, placed emphasis on spiritual earnestness, on evangelical work among the poor, and on charitable endeavors, rather than on sectarian controversies. There were also various *federations of churches*, and in Canada, after the Great War, several of the Protestant denominations actually united. Such interdenominational and unifying movements were made easier by the fact that the original theological differences between the various denominations were no longer regarded as very important by a large number of church members. For instance, a considerable number of Presbyterians to-day do not even know what the doctrine of predestination means, although it was originally the fundamental principle separating Presbyterianism from other creeds.

(3) **The Catholic Church.** — On the part of the Catholic Church, the tendency was to hold fast to its historic doctrines even more firmly, if anything, than before. In 1870 a general council of bishops affirmed the doctrine that the Pope is divinely guided when he officially decides matters of faith and morals for the whole church. This doctrine of *papal infallibility* was strongly opposed by many non-Catholics and led to a number of political attacks on the Catholic Church. But it was maintained, along with the other Catholic doctrines. Though in 1870 the Pope was deprived of his "temporal" (that is, territorial) possessions in Italy, his spiritual authority in the Catholic Church increased steadily. Catholi-

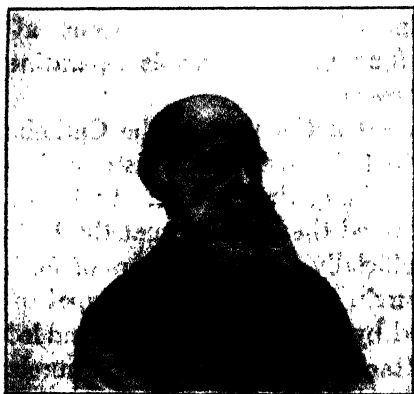


cism was undoubtedly much stronger and more united in the twentieth century than it had been in the eighteenth, despite the new difficulties created by anti-clericalism and Darwinism (explained in the following paragraphs).

(4) **Anti-clericalism.** — Anti-clericalism, which means opposition to the clergy and the supporters of the Church, was very prominent in the politics of most countries during the last century. France and several other nations “disestablished” the Catholic Church — that is, deprived it of its privileged position as the official national church — and also enacted laws against monastic orders and religious schools. Similarly in Prussia, the Evangelical (Protestant) State Church was disestablished, after the democratic German Revolution of 1918. In England, likewise, there was a campaign, but an unsuccessful one, against the privileges of the Anglican Church. Even where the established Churches retained their official position, there was generally an increase of religious liberty. Viewed as a whole, the tendency everywhere seemed to be towards a situation like that in the United States, where all Churches were free and no one Church enjoyed any special privileges.

This was not entirely a loss to the churches, because it relieved them of political interference.

(5) **“Darwinism” and “Higher Criticism.”** — “Darwinism” was a scientific theory, set forth in 1859 by Charles Darwin, to the effect that the various species of plants and animals had not been separately created, but



CHARLES DARWIN

had been evolved gradually by a process of “natural selection.” Many Christians, especially Protestant Christians who believed

in the literal interpretation of the Bible, regarded this theory of evolution as contrary to the Book of Genesis. Closely associated with Darwinism was the theory of scientists that the earth was very old, much older than had been supposed. This theory also alarmed a number of Christians. In the Protestant Churches some people found their faith shaken by these new scientific theories, while others reconciled science and religion in one way or another. Among Catholics there was a somewhat similar situation, but there was less difficulty in accepting the new theories (as theories) since the literal interpretation of the Old Testament had never been a point of Catholic theology. Undoubtedly Darwinism weakened the faith of many Catholics and Protestants alike. In later years, however, confidence was restored by the fact that a number of eminent scientists such as Pasteur and Lord Lister found it possible to be scientists and devout Christians at the same time.

(6) **Social Work in the Churches.** — Most of the Christian Churches have devoted an increasing amount of attention to social reform, educational and charitable work, hospitals, asylums, and various other activities which are generally summed up in the words "social service."

(7) **Growth of Foreign Missions.** — There was a remarkable development of foreign missions. Protestant missionary societies in the nineteenth century sent thousands of evangelists to heathen lands. Meanwhile the Catholic Church, which had been converting pagans from the beginning, redoubled its missionary activities in Asia and Africa. The Mohammedans, too, made rapid progress in Africa.

#### EDUCATION BECOMES VITALLY IMPORTANT

**Recent Development of Popular Education.** — Finally, attention needs to be called to the increased importance of education. Universal education is a very recent thing, as recent as democracy. Free primary schools for the common people were not established on a large scale until the latter part of the nineteenth century. In many "civilised" countries, even

to this day, a large percentage of the population can neither read nor write. But progress in education has been very rapid.

**Influence of the Press.** — The growth of popular education has had a profound influence on politics and on culture. Thanks to the invention of steam and electric printing presses, of typesetting machines, and of linotypes, it has become possible to print books, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers so cheaply that rich and poor alike can afford them. As one result, the press has become enormously powerful in politics. During the Great War a British Prime Minister was overthrown by a newspaper owner. The power of the press is not without dangers. Unscrupulous newspaper owners can play upon the ignorance of readers, and can fill their minds with misinformation. How to safeguard against this evil is a grave problem.

On culture, universal education has also had a marked effect. Cheap printing and free public libraries have given enormous circulation not only to textbooks and respectable works of literature but also to trashy novels, which destroy good literary taste.

**Influence of the Screen.** — Moving and talking pictures are a very recent instrument of education. Their use for instructive purposes, either in the schools or in the theaters, has just begun, and no one can predict how far the screen will replace or aid the textbook. The "radio" also aids education. On the other hand, cheap and sensational "movies" and "talkies" have taken the place of good reading, for many people, and have had injurious as well as beneficial effects.

**The Fundamental Problem of Education.** — All these things are like machinery, and like democracy, in the sense that they have enormous power for good or evil, depending on their use. In our democratic civilization of the twentieth century, the fundamental problem is really one of education. Unless people learn how to use their votes, their money, their machinery, their printing presses, and their moving pictures wisely, terrible disasters are in store for democracy. An intel-



THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN MODERN CIVILIZATION. A TWENTIETH-CENTURY  
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ligent understanding of these new features of modern civilization is a necessity and a duty.

*Morality and Education.* — And in addition to an intelligent understanding something else is required. Knowledge alone will not make a man good, or even successful. There are highly educated criminals in our prisons. Knowledge is dangerous unless it goes hand in hand with a desire to do good, and, vice versa, good intentions are often harmful if they are not guided by knowledge. In short, the world to-day needs both knowledge and morality. Men and women who combine these two qualities are the best citizens. Without such citizens, our country's future would be dark indeed. If we have many such citizens, we can hope for a to-morrow that will be better than anything known in all the thousands of years men have lived on this earth.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What was the territorial extent of European civilization at the time of the Roman Empire? In the Middle Ages? In the year 1500? Now? Can you show why this expansion has been important? Has it made any difference in the life of the people? Would it make any difference to you if the civilized world should again be restricted to one or two continents?

2. How did the population of Europe in the year 1800 compare with the population of the same continent in 1914? What special problems have resulted from the increase of population throughout the world? Is the increase chiefly in the cities or in the country?

3. What was feudal aristocracy? What is social equality? Why is it difficult to achieve complete social equality?

4. How has the position of women been altered in the last hundred years? What new rights have women demanded? What have they obtained? How have these changes affected home life?

5. In what ways has capitalism developed in recent times?

6. In the field of applied science, what progress has been made in the production of iron? Of steamboats? Of automobiles? Of airplanes?

7. What uses have been found for electricity? When and by whom was the telegraph invented? The telephone? The wireless?

8. Mention some of the other inventions that have been made during the last hundred years.

9. What did Pasteur do for mankind? How did Lord Lister improve surgery? What other great improvements have been made in medicine and surgery?

10. How has warfare been affected by scientific progress?

11. How has political democracy been increased in comparatively recent times?

12. In general, what changes have been made during the last hundred years with regard to: (a) the franchise, (b) republicanism.

13. What is proportional representation? Where has it been tried?

14. Is a House of Lords a democratic institution? Mention two countries that have democratic senates. Are there any countries that have no senate or upper house?

15. What is the difference between our government and the governments of England and France as regards the responsibility of the cabinet?

16. Explain the nature and purpose of the initiative. The referendum. The recall.

17. How has trade-unionism developed in recent times? Why? What problem or problems has it created?

18. In what countries did Marxian Socialist parties become very strong? What did these parties advocate?

19. What is Syndicalism? "Liberal" social reform? The Social Catholic Movement?

20. What is the labor problem? How is it connected with political democracy?

21. What are the basic problems of international relations?

22. What important developments have occurred in Protestant Christianity in recent times? In the Catholic Church? What is anti-clericalism? Has religious liberty increased or decreased?

23. Why is education the most fundamental problem of democracy?

24. What is the relation of morality to education?

### SPECIAL TOPICS

**The telegraph.** THOMPSON, *Age of Invention*, 128-144; BYRN, *Progress of Invention*, 15-24.

**The telephone.** BYRN, *Progress of Invention*, 76-87; H. N. CASSON, *History of the Telephone*.

**The sewing machine.** THOMPSON, *Age of Invention*, 97-109; BYRN, *Progress of Invention*, 183-194.

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## CHAPTER XXIX

### RECENT TRENDS IN WORLD POLITICS

The preceding chapter supplies a general background for certain recent events which require closer study. We are now prepared to examine more in detail the history of European politics and economic problems in the post-war period. We shall see how democracy has grappled with grave economic difficulties, especially in England, France, and Germany. On the other hand, we shall note how democracy broke down under the strain of post-war burdens and was replaced by dictatorships in Italy and in several other European countries. The operation of Russia's Soviet Government must also be described. From Russia we shall turn toward Asia, where the movement for national self-determination and independence has made remarkable progress. Finally, it will be worth while to observe the steps that have been taken, in the field of international relations, toward the settlement of disputes, the reduction of armaments, and the firmer establishment of peace.

#### LABOR WINS POWER IN ENGLAND

**Economic Problems.** — The World War crippled England's business life, aggravated her labor problems, and revolutionized her politics. Her national debt was multiplied by ten. It amounted, at the end of the war, to thirty-nine billion dollars or almost eight billion pounds sterling. Merely paying interest on this huge indebtedness cost more than the whole national government had cost before the war. In order to carry this burden in addition to providing for normal government expenses, the people of England submitted to extremely heavy taxes. The standard income tax rate, just after the war, was



thirty per cent, or six shillings for every pound of income, and on large incomes there were heavy supertaxes. On "excess profits," the tax was eighty per cent.

Even worse were the effects of the war upon trade and industry. England relied mainly on her exports of coal, cotton goods, steel, and other manufactures to pay for the bulk of her



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STANLEY BALDWIN

Conservative premier, 1923-1924, 1924-1929.

imports of food and raw materials. As a result of the war, however, Germany and France were unable to buy as much as usual, while Bolshevik Russia was boycotted, and India and China reduced their purchases. The quantity of British exports dropped below the pre-war figure. As a result, many British factories closed down entirely and many operated on part time.

*Unemployment.* — The closing of factories threw hundreds of thousands of workers out of employment. By 1921 the number of men and women asking for work reached the appalling

total of two and a half millions. One out of every seven workers was idle. Realizing that if millions were left without help, the situation would lead to wholesale starvation and perhaps to revolution, the government provided a system of payments to unemployed workers. These payments were often described as "doles" or charity, but they were really insurance benefits. Compulsory insurance against unemployment had been adopted in 1911 for a small minority of workers. In 1920 a new law was passed extending this insurance system to all

employees except domestic servants and farm laborers. Each employee paid eight cents a week, his employer paid the same amount, and the government added four cents, to cover the insurance premiums. Then, if any insured workingman lost his position and no other work could be found for him, he received an unemployment benefit of \$3.75 a week, just enough to keep him from starving. With so many out of work, these payments cost the government many millions of pounds. Some employers complained that this system encouraged idleness on the part of labor. Nevertheless, the plan was continued, because the number of unemployed remained high, ranging between one and two millions. The only real solution of the problem would be to revive British industry, and that in turn would depend on finding markets for more British manufactures.

*The Miners and the General Strike.* -- The labor problem was especially acute in the coal industry. The miners demanded higher wages to keep pace with the increased cost of living. By means of strikes in 1920 and 1921 they gained part of their demands. The mine owners, on the other hand, complained of hard times. Exporting coal at a profit had become very difficult. Coal prices were so low that some of the mines were being operated at a loss. In 1925 the miners were asked to work eight hours a day instead of seven, and for lower wages. When the miners refused, the government agreed to pay the difference between the wages offered by the owners and the wages demanded by the miners, until an investigation could be made. The commission which investigated the situation reported that three-quarters of the coal mined was produced at a loss. The report recommended national ownership and private operation of the mines, the closing of unprofitable mines, and a reduction of wages. When the mining companies announced a cut in wages, a million miners went on strike, in May, 1926. To aid them, the Trades Union Congress called a "general strike" in other industries. About a million and a half workers joined in the strike, but the great majority never

took part in it. The government took charge of the situation; volunteers ran the trains and buses, and in nine days the general strike was ended. Although the coal strike continued about six months longer, the miners finally went back to work, defeated. The coal industry remained an unsolved problem. Moreover, in 1927 the Conservative government passed a Trades Disputes Bill making general strikes illegal and restricting the activities of trade unions in various other ways.

*Remedies.* — As remedies for economic ills, the Labor party proposed national ownership of coal mines, railways, power plants, and life insurance; the gradual transfer of surplus workers from mining to other industries; large-scale development of electric power; high inheritance taxes; repeal of the Trades Disputes Act; and appointment of a committee to advise the government on economic problems. The Liberals offered a more moderate program of labor reforms and suggested that by building roads, constructing houses, and undertaking other public works, the government could make work for the unemployed. The Conservatives were more inclined to let business work out its own salvation; law and order must be maintained; Socialism and Communism must be avoided. To aid industry, however, the Conservatives reduced the burden of local taxation on the chief industries and proposed the adoption of protective tariff duties.

*Protectionism versus Free Trade.* — This brings us to the conflict between protectionism and free trade. From 1846 until the World War, England had pursued a policy of free trade. During the war, however, the Lloyd George cabinet had imposed some emergency customs duties, and in 1921 a Safeguarding of Industries Act had been adopted, proclaiming the principle that tariff protection could be given to "key industries" manufacturing articles necessary for war. In 1923 the Conservatives, led by Stanley Baldwin, declared that the true solution for unemployment was to encourage industry by a protective tariff on manufactured goods. This measure would also strengthen the economic bond between England and her Domin-

ions, because it would be possible to give a preference, in the form of reduced tariff rates, to goods made in the British Empire. To obtain approval for this plan, Mr. Baldwin dissolved Parliament and held elections in December, 1923. The result was a decisive defeat for his party. Nevertheless, when the Conservatives returned to power after another election, they revived the Safeguarding of Industries plan and began to establish protective duties for the benefit of various industries. The tariff thus became one of the burning issues in British politics, with Conservatives standing for protection, while the Labor and Liberal parties defended free trade.

**Increased Democracy.** — Meanwhile, very striking political changes were taking place. England's gradual progress toward complete democracy was carried farther by two important electoral reforms in 1918 and in 1928. The Representation of the People Act of 1918 extended the right of voting for members of the House of Commons to all men over twenty-one and women over thirty who had residences or places of business for six months, and also to war veterans over eighteen. Altogether, the number of new voters was thirteen millions. The same Act declared that no person could vote in more than two constituencies. It also redistributed the seats in the House of Commons so that members would represent constituencies of equal size. The second great reform, in 1928, extended the vote to all women over twenty-one, on the same terms as for men. This added five million women to the register of voters and completed the victory of the woman suffrage movement. Women were also allowed to sit in the House of Commons after 1918, but not in the House of Lords. In 1929 a woman became a member of the cabinet for the first time.

*The House of Lords.* — The House of Lords was the one important remaining stronghold of aristocracy and privilege, as opposed to democracy. In 1927 the Conservatives proposed to strengthen this upper house by reducing its membership from 800 to 350 and increasing its powers. The proposal, however, met with little favor, and the House of Lords remained unchanged.

**Parties and Cabinets.** — One of the characteristic features of the British government, namely the two-party system, was temporarily suspended during the war and for a few years thereafter. In the name of patriotic unity, all parties agreed to support the government during the war, and in 1915 representatives of the Conservative and Labor parties were included in the cabinet, besides the Liberals. This combination of parties was known as the Coalition. From 1916 to 1922 it was led by David Lloyd George as prime minister. Formerly the most ardent of democratic and social reformers, this vigorous Welshman had become the most fiery of patriots. Increasingly he depended upon the Conservatives, rather than upon the Liberals, for support. After the armistice in 1918, Herbert Asquith and some of the Liberals seceded from the Coalition. The Labor party also opposed the ministry. Lloyd George, however, held the Conservatives and many of the Liberals together in the Coalition, and by his appeals to patriotism won an overwhelming victory in the elections of December, 1918. With this backing, he remained in power four years longer.

At last the Conservatives grew weary of serving under a Liberal premier, especially after he granted self-government to the Irish Free State. Besides, his foreign policies met with disappointment, and he was accused of exercising too much personal power. The Conservative party voted to withdraw from the Coalition. Lloyd George at once resigned, in October, 1922, and elections in November gave the Conservatives a comfortable majority. Andrew Bonar Law, long prominent as a Conservative leader, became prime minister, only to resign after seven months, because of failing health. The leadership was then taken by Stanley Baldwin, a millionaire who had managed the great Baldwin iron, steel, and coal business for twenty years, and who had then devoted himself to politics. He had shown his patriotism in 1919 by making the national treasury a present of three-quarters of a million dollars of war bonds, a fifth of his fortune. By his expert knowledge in financial affairs, by his advocacy of a protective tariff, and by

his negotiation of an agreement with the United States in 1923 for repayment of the war debt to America, he had won a commanding influence in his party. As premier, however, he led his party to defeat in the elections of December, 1923, on the tariff issue.

When the new House of Commons met in January, 1924, no party had a majority. The Conservatives had 258, Labor had 191, and the Liberals had 158 members. The Liberals joined with Labor to overthrow the Baldwin cabinet. The King then asked Ramsay MacDonald, as the leader of the second strongest party, to form a cabinet. For nine months England was ruled by her first Labor cabinet, headed by a man who had once been a poor clerk and who had been regarded as a dangerous "pacifist" during the war. The MacDonald cabinet did not attempt to introduce Socialism. MacDonald himself was no believer in "short cuts to the millennium." Moreover, as

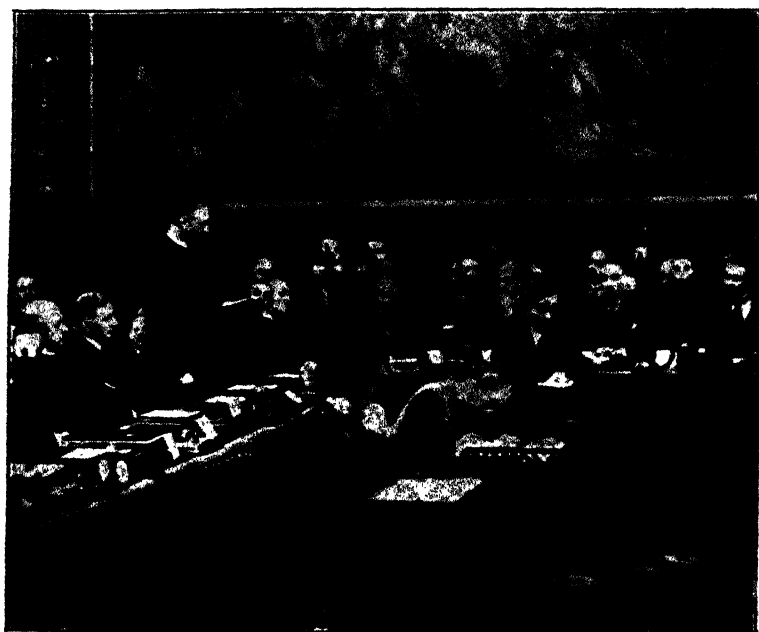


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RAMSAY MACDONALD  
England's first Labor premier.

Labor had less than a third of the House of Commons, he could pass no legislation unless some of the Liberals or Conservatives voted for it. In foreign affairs, however, he boldly embarked on a policy of peace and reconciliation. The reparations controversy was eased by the adoption of the Dawes Plan; France was persuaded to evacuate the Ruhr; MacDonald himself represented Great Britain at the Assembly of the League of Nations and helped draft a plan for compulsory arbitration; he stopped work

on the great naval base at Singapore; and he recognized the Soviet government of Russia. When, however, he negotiated treaties with Soviet Russia, holding out the hope of a British loan in return for recognition of Russian debts to British investors, the Conservatives and Liberals felt that he had gone



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#### THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE, 1930

Secretary Stimson, leader of the American delegation, is speaking. The figure on the extreme right is M. Briand. Note the microphones on the table. The speeches were broadcast throughout the world.

too far. He was overthrown in October, and in the ensuing elections the Conservatives gained a thumping majority, while Labor lost forty seats and the Liberals were reduced to forty.

Once more the Conservatives formed a cabinet headed by Stanley Baldwin, in November, 1924. This time Baldwin held power for almost five years. The proposed Russian treaties were dropped, and two years later all relations with Russia were

severed. Austen Chamberlain, the new foreign minister, rejected the compulsory arbitration plan which MacDonald had approved. Work was resumed on the Singapore naval base, and the building of cruisers went on apace. But when Parliament's five-year term drew to a close in 1929, and the choice between Labor and Conservatism was referred to Britain's twenty-seven million voters, Baldwin's policy was repudiated by a majority.

The elections of May, 1929, returned Labor to power. The Labor vote exceeded eight millions (slightly less than the Conservative vote) and in the new House of Commons Labor had 289 members, almost a majority, while the Conservatives had only 260. In June Ramsay MacDonald formed a new cabinet, the second Labor ministry. Again he opened negotiations with Russia. Again he attended the League Assembly. To promote disarmament, he visited America in October, 1929, and joined with President Hoover in convoking at London, in January, 1930, a disarmament conference of the five chief naval powers. On the other hand, in domestic affairs he still had to rely, as in 1924, on the support of Liberals or Conservatives, to convert his minority into a working majority, and he was therefore unable to carry out the Labor party's program of moderate socialism.

The Liberal party had dwindled to a mere handful, but it was still sufficient to hold the balance of power between Labor and Conservatism. England's two-party system, disturbed by the war, had become in effect a three-party system.

**The Irish Free State.** — The story of the Sinn Fein revolution in Ireland and of the birth of the Irish Free State has already been told.<sup>1</sup> Under its new constitution, adopted in 1922, the Irish Free State took its place as a democratic commonwealth, a republic in all but name, enjoying the same freedom as Canada and the other British Dominions. The governor-general, as the representative of the British King, had almost no power. The real head of the government was William Cosgrave, the presi-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 642-645.



dent of the executive council or cabinet. The council was responsible to a Chamber of Deputies (*Dáil*) elected by all men and women over twenty-one years of age. The Senate consisted of sixty senators, one-third of whom were elected by the deputies and senators every three years, for a nine-year term. After struggling for several years with the armed opposition of De Valera's Republican followers, and with difficult economic problems, President Cosgrave brought civil war to an end, induced the Republicans to take their places in the *Dáil*, and embarked on a policy of economic progress. New industries, such as the production of beet sugar, were introduced. Work was begun on dams and power plants to convert the River Shannon into a source of electric power for the country. Farmers were assisted to purchase land, and loans were made to industrial enterprises. Meanwhile, in external affairs, Ireland took the lead in asserting the practical independence of the Dominions.

**The Dominions.** — At an Imperial Conference in 1923 representatives of Great Britain, the Irish Free State, and the Dominions (Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand) agreed that each should have the right to negotiate treaties separately, with due regard for the interests of the others. In 1926 another Imperial Conference went still farther, declaring that Great Britain and the Dominions were equal in status, all being self-governing members of the "British Commonwealth of Nations," loyal to the British Crown, but free to conduct their own affairs. Several of the Dominions began to show their independence by appointing separate ministers to foreign countries, instead of allowing the British ambassadors to handle their interests. On various questions of foreign policy the Dominions refused to follow the lead of Great Britain. In short, it was recognized that the "mother country" must treat her "daughter nations" as independent equals, held together by family loyalty. Over India<sup>1</sup> and her other colonies, however, Great Britain retained her control.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 893-894.

The colored races in the British Empire were still regarded as subject peoples.

#### FRANCE STRUGGLES FOR SOLVENCY AND SECURITY

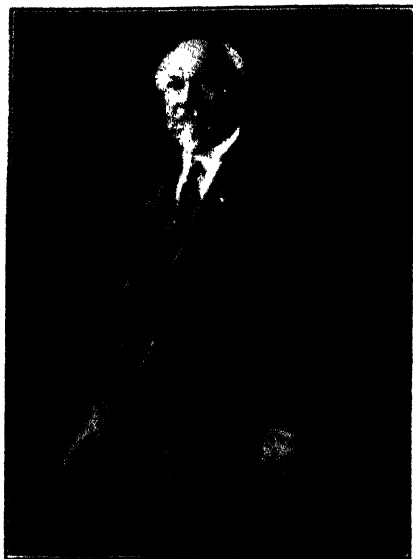
**The Bloc and the Cartel.** — After the World War French politics were very confusing in appearance but fairly simple in reality. There were more than a dozen different parties or groups in the Chamber of Deputies and a different set of parties in the Senate. Cabinets rose and fell with bewildering rapidity at the rate of almost two a year. In one year, the cabinet was changed five times. Through all these complications, however, certain general tendencies can be traced.

The Chamber of Deputies elected in 1919 just after the war, had a strong conservative and patriotic majority, known as the National Bloc. This was not a real party, but a group or alliance of small parties, all more or less determined to suppress Communism, make Germany pay for war damages, and uphold the strength and prestige of France. It opposed Communist agitation in France, refused to recognize the Communist government of Soviet Russia, and aided Poland in the latter's war against Russia. To increase French power, military alliances were made with Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Any attempt to reduce Germany's reparation payments was stubbornly resisted, and in 1923, as the climax of this policy, Premier Poincaré<sup>1</sup> sent French troops across the Rhine to seize the German coal mines in the Ruhr valley as a means of collecting reparations.

A more liberal spirit showed itself in the elections of 1924, when the Radical and Socialist parties formed an alliance

<sup>1</sup> Raymond Poincaré's term as president had expired in 1920 and he had become premier in 1922. Clemenceau, who hoped to follow Poincaré as president, was defeated by Paul Deschanel and retired from politics (he died in 1929). Illness compelled Deschanel to retire in September, 1920. His successor, Alexandre Millerand, attempted to make the presidency a real force in politics, but encountered such opposition that he resigned in 1924. He was succeeded by Gaston Doumergue, the first Protestant president of France.

known as the "Cartel" and won a large number of seats from the National Bloc. Cartel and Bloc were almost evenly balanced in the new Chamber, but both groups were so lacking in unity and loyalty that the balance of power could easily be tipped back and forth by the shifting of a few votes. At first the Cartel had the upper hand. Under Herriot and Painlevé



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RAYMOND POINCARÉ

The premier who "saved the franc."

as premiers, in 1924 and 1925, it agreed to the reduction of German reparations under the Dawes Plan, and it withdrew French troops from the Ruhr. The Locarno peace pact with Germany was signed in 1925.<sup>1</sup> The Cartel failed, however, in its financial policy.

#### **The Financial Problem.**

—The financial problem grew out of the World War. During the war the government had borrowed 111 billion francs (about twenty billion dollars) at home, besides two billion dollars from America and two and a half billion

dollars from England. After the armistice France continued borrowing in order to rebuild her devastated northern provinces and to meet budget deficits. By the end of 1925 the internal debt was almost 300 billion francs and the foreign debt was eight billion dollars. Moreover, so much paper money had been printed, without gold to back it up, that the paper franc was no longer accepted at its par value of 19.3 cents. The franc fell as low as two cents in 1926. France was heading

<sup>1</sup> See p. 782.

toward bankruptcy. At enormous cost she had rebuilt or repaired over 8000 factories and half a million dwellings and farm buildings, which had been destroyed in the war. She was paying four billion francs a year in pensions. But the strain seemed more than she could bear.

In this emergency Raymond Poincaré again became premier, in 1926. By increasing taxes and cutting down expenses he balanced the budget. He increased the value of the paper franc to four cents and kept it stabilized at that level. In the elections of 1928 his policies were endorsed. He remained in power until ill health compelled him to resign in July, 1928. He had been premier for the unusually long term of three years. After him, Aristide Briand held office for three months, and then André Tardieu, a younger man, in sympathy with Poincaré's policies, became premier.

**Communism and Labor.** — Through all these years the wealthier classes expressed considerable fear of Communism. Although only a handful of Communists were elected to the Chamber in 1924 and 1928, there was enough Communist agitation to alarm the conservative parties. It was partly through fear of Communist labor agitation that parliament voted an eight-hour-day law in 1919 and passed various other laws for the benefit of labor.

**Anti-clericalism and Alsace-Lorraine.** — Another factor in French politics was anti-clericalism<sup>1</sup>, that is, opposition to the Church. The World War temporarily lessened anti-clericalism. Exiled monks were allowed to return to France. France appointed an ambassador to the Vatican in 1921. But after the elections of 1924 the strongly anti-clerical Cartel renewed the battle by threatening to withdraw the ambassador and by beginning to expel monks. Feeling ran high when the Cartel attempted to apply French anti-clerical legislation to Alsace-Lorraine. In these provinces the Catholics, Protestants, and Jews had been allowed to have their own separate schools. Great was the indignation when the government at Paris

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 489, 850.

proposed the abolition of these schools. This blow aggravated the ill feeling caused by French attempts to substitute French for German as the language in the schools. The opposition to these measures was so strong that the Paris government had to modify its policy and allow religious instruction in the schools of Alsace-Lorraine. Moreover, the threatened with-



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ARISTIDE BRIAND

Eleven times premier and thirteen times  
foreign minister of France

drawal of the French ambassador from the Vatican was not carried out. Nevertheless, the religious question continued to be one of the main issues in French politics.

**Armaments, Security, and Peace.** - More important than anti-clericalism has been the problem of security. The National Bloc tried to obtain security for France by insisting upon the disarmament of Germany, by making military alliances, by maintaining a large army, and by building up the strongest air force in Europe. The Cartel, however, put more emphasis on strengthening

the League of Nations, negotiating arbitration treaties and peace pacts, and achieving a reconciliation between France and Germany. The foremost champion of this policy of peace and reconciliation was Aristide Briand, a sagacious statesman who had been premier more frequently than any other man in France, and who served as foreign minister in one cabinet after another from 1925 to 1930. By signing the Locarno Pact of 1925, by reducing French reparation claims.

and by withdrawing French troops from the Rhineland, he endeavored to end the enmity between France and Germany. The Paris Pact renouncing war<sup>1</sup> grew out of a suggestion he made to the United States. The League of Nations had no stronger supporter than Briand. In 1929, moreover, he proposed that the nations of Europe should cease their quarrels and work toward a federation in the interests of peace and prosperity. On the other hand, Briand agreed with most Frenchmen in feeling that France should not go too far in disarming until peace and security were more firmly established by peace pacts and by the League.

#### THE GERMAN REPUBLIC SURVIVES

**Post-War Germany.** — The German Republic<sup>2</sup> passed through five anxious years from 1919 to 1924. Germany was a defeated and a crippled nation. She had lost almost two million men killed and over four millions wounded. Allied inspectors were supervising the reduction of her army to one hundred thousand men. The expenses of the Allied troops occupying the German Rhineland were being charged to her account. All her colonies, an eighth of her European territory, a third of her coal, and two-thirds of her iron ore had been ceded to the Allies. Her merchant vessels had been taken and her foreign investments had been lost. Her national debt was thirty times as large as in 1913, and in addition the Allies were demanding 32 billion dollars in reparations.

**Communist and Monarchist Outbreaks.** — While the German government was waging heated controversies with the Allies in hope of moderating these severe peace terms, it was also faced by serious opposition at home. Even after Communist outbreaks in Berlin, in Munich, and in the Rhineland had been quelled by government troops, there still seemed to be danger of revolution. There was danger, too, from the extreme conservatives, who seized Berlin in 1920 and were speedily overthrown, but who still cherished the hope of restoring the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 905.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 782-787.

**monarchy.** The republican government was accused of weakness and lack of patriotism because it had accepted humiliating peace terms. Millions of voters turned against the moderate parties, namely, the Social Democrats, the Democrats, and the Catholics. The first Reichstag election, in 1920, reduced these three republican parties to a minority and strengthened the anti-republican Nationalists and the extreme radicals. The outlook for the republic was indeed dark.

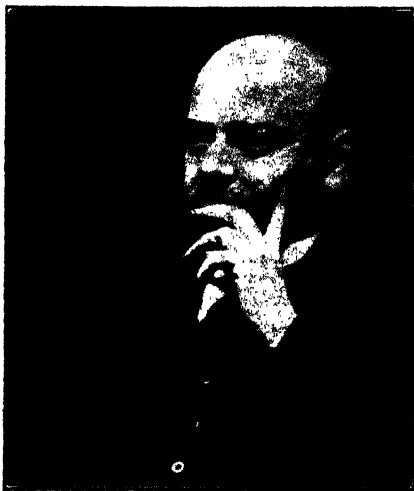
**Paper Money and the Ruhr.** — Conscious of its weakness, the government did not dare to levy the heavy taxes that would be needed if the Allies' reparation claims were to be paid in full. Rich capitalists opposed or evaded attempts to tax their wealth. From 1919 to 1923 the tax receipts averaged only one-fourth as much as the government spent. The government borrowed recklessly from the National Bank, while the bank obtained money by the simple process of printing it. As a result, German paper money became worth less and less.

In the meantime, Germany's failure to make reparation payments had so exasperated the Allies that France and Belgium seized the coal mines in Germany's chief industrial district, the Ruhr Valley. When French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr in January, 1923, the Berlin government ordered "passive resistance" and began to pay out billions of marks to the German owners of the occupied mines and steel mills, as well as to the German miners who refused to work for the French invaders. More paper money had to be printed, and in such huge quantities that it became almost worthless. At one time, it took more than four trillions of paper marks to buy a dollar's worth of food. Germany was staggering into bankruptcy. To make matters worse, a monarchist revolt was brewing in Bavaria, Communism was winning control of Saxony, and French officials were encouraging a conspiracy to set up a separate republic in the Rhineland. Was the German Republic about to fall in ruins?

**Stresemann and Germany's Recovery.** — In this crisis, Dr. Gustav Stresemann took the helm. As the leader of the German

People's Party, Stresemann had hitherto been regarded as a monarchist, a conservative, a representative of big business, and an arch-patriot. Inspired by patriotism, he now brought his party into a "grand coalition" with the Catholics, the Democrats, and even the Social Democrats. Taking office as chancellor (head of the cabinet) from August to November, 1923, he ended the "passive resistance" in the Ruhr, because it was bankrupting Germany. To replace the worthless paper money, he established a new paper currency, the "Rentenmark," guaranteed by a mortgage on all real estate in Germany. He sent national troops to suppress the monarchist rebellion in Bavaria and to overthrow Communism in Saxony. Although he had to resign the chancellorship in November, he held the office of foreign minister in every cabinet until his death, in October, 1929. By skilful diplomacy he persuaded France and Belgium to recall their troops from the Ruhr, after Germany accepted the Dawes Plan of reparation payments, and he obtained an international loan of two hundred million dollars to stabilize the currency.

**Stresemann and Peace.** — Conservative and patriotic as he was, Stresemann saw clearly that what Germany most needed was peace, at home and abroad. He therefore accepted the republic and strove to reconcile the various parties within Germany. His chief task, however, was to conciliate the



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**DR. GUSTAV STRESEMANN**

The patriot who received the Nobel Prize for his services to peace. He was Germany's foreign minister from 1923 to 1929.



Allies. At Locarno in 1925 he signed treaties by which Germany promised never to attack France, Belgium, Poland, or Czechoslovakia, and by which these neighbors promised not to attack her. The next year he brought Germany into the League of Nations. He signed the Paris Pact renouncing war. In general, he endeavored to substitute peaceful diplomacy for



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#### VON HINDENBURG

The military leader who became President of the German Republic in 1925.

military force. Finally, he had the great satisfaction of securing a promise from France to evacuate the German Rhineland in 1930. At the same time his persistent efforts to settle the reparations problem were rewarded by the adoption of the Young Plan,<sup>1</sup> which reduced Germany's debt to the Allies. When Stresemann died in 1929 Germany was well started on the path toward recovery.

**Increased Strength of the Republic.**—In the meantime, the republic had grown more popular at home. Its popularity had been at a low ebb in 1924

and 1925. The moderate republican parties were defeated in the Reichstag elections of 1924. Still more striking was the presidential election of 1925 in which the moderates fell short of a majority, while the candidate of the Nationalist or monarchist party, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, was chosen president of the republic for the next seven years. As president, however, this famous war leader proved to be as devoted to peace and as loyal to the republic as any republican could have wished.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 900.

The republic was further strengthened by the success of Stresemann's foreign policies and by the revival of industry. By means of "rationalization" (reorganization to promote efficiency) the leading German industries had begun to make remarkable progress. The republic had brilliant successes to its credit. Consequently the voters showed their increased confidence in democracy by giving the republican parties an overwhelming majority in the Reichstag elections of 1928. The Nationalists polled less than five million votes and the Communists only three and one-third millions out of a total of more than thirty millions. From these figures it was clear that the parties opposed to the peaceful, middle-class republican government were still strong; but it was also apparent that the majority of the German people approved of democracy and peace.

#### DEMOCRACY IS CHALLENGED BY DICTATORS

**Democracy and Post-War Difficulties.**—The wave of democracy which swept over Europe at the close of the World War overturned many a throne. Democratic republics were established in Germany, Austria, Russia, and half a dozen new nations in eastern Europe.<sup>1</sup> Usually the triumph of political democracy over hereditary monarchy was paralleled by attempts to achieve economic democracy by dividing among the peasants the vast estates of former feudal aristocrats. The land reforms in eastern Europe were an important gain for peasant democracy.

There were losses, however, as well as gains for democracy. The short-lived Russian Republic of 1917 gave way to a Communist dictatorship.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, in a number of nations in eastern and southern Europe democracy was overthrown by dictators. A dictator, as we use the word nowadays, is a ruler who has usurped supreme authority by unconstitutional means and who curbs or destroys the ordinary liberty of representative government. As a rule, dictators established themselves in

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 789-791, 840.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 794-816.

agricultural countries which had very little experience in democratic self-government. Moreover, in some instances democratic parliamentary government proved pitifully weak because there were so many small political parties quarrelling among themselves, unwilling to combine in support of the courageous policies needed in troublous times. Such governments afforded little security against the violent nationalistic passions aroused by the World War or against the militarism to which the war had accustomed Europe.

The most important and interesting dictatorships were those of Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia.<sup>1</sup> Before describing these, it is worth while to observe how dictatorship worked in other countries.

**Poland and Lithuania.** — The Polish nation, freed and reunited as a result of the World War, was at the outset involved in violent conflicts with its neighbors. By military force it seized the disputed borderlands claimed by Polish patriots, namely, eastern Galicia, Upper Silesia, Vilna, and a wide band of Russian territory. The dispute over Upper Silesia almost caused war with Germany but was settled by the League. The Polish annexation of Vilna created dangerous enmity between Poland and Lithuania. With Russia the Poles fought a war, in 1919 and 1920, in the course of which Poland narrowly escaped defeat; but in the end, with French munitions and French military advice, Poland succeeded in conquering part of the disputed territory. Not until 1921 did Poland settle down to the task of framing a constitution, and not until the end of the following year was the constitution put into effect. The constitution, quite similar to that of France, failed to produce a strong government capable of solving Poland's grave financial problems, reconciling the numerous political parties, and holding the militarists in check. At length, asserting that the country needed a stronger government, General Pilsudski organized a force which marched on Warsaw in the spring of 1926, and compelled the president and premier to resign.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 878-890.

Pilsudski, it will be remembered, was the popular military leader who had led Poland to freedom and had been head of the government in the republic's early years. In 1926 he did not make himself president, but was content to be the power behind the government, holding the office of war minister and for a time that of premier. He became a dictator, in power, but he ruled Poland through the existing republican forms of government. Under his control, the administration was certainly firmer, and the economic condition of the country was materially improved.

Poland's neighbor, *Lithuania*, likewise submitted to a dictator in 1926, when the Socialist cabinet ministers were arrested by conservative army officers. Professor Voldemaras, acting as premier with dictatorial powers, gave the country a conservative and ultra-patriotic government for three years, sternly suppressing Communism and stubbornly opposing Poland's territorial claims.

**Hungary.** — In Hungary the republic founded at the close of the World War was overthrown in 1919 by a Communist dictator, Bela Kun, who gave way in turn to a conservative dictator, Admiral Horthy. The conservatives crushed their enemies by the "White Terror," that is to say, by a ruthless persecution of Communists and Jews. Hungary became a monarchy without a king. Twice in 1921 the former Habsburg Emperor, Charles, attempted to seat himself on the vacant throne, but he was twice expelled, and Admiral Horthy continued to act as regent, presiding over the government until such time as a king might be chosen. Like most other countries, Hungary had a parliament and a cabinet, but the parliament was only moderately democratic and the cabinet was decidedly conservative.

**Dictators in Southern Europe.** — In southern Europe dictators were plentiful. *Greece*, having declared herself a republic in 1924, fell under a dictator the next year, but soon deposed him and returned to constitutional government under the leadership of her famous statesman, Venizelos. *Bulgaria* for

a few years was ruled by a peasant premier who suppressed opposition as sternly as any dictator, but in the end he was overthrown and shot. *Albania* had a dictator who assumed the title of king. In *Yugoslavia*, it was a king who assumed the powers of a dictator. The conflict between the Croats, who desired a federal form of government, and the Serbs, who desired a centralized nation, reached such a point in 1929 that the Croats were attempting to set up a separate Croatian legislature. At that point King Alexander suddenly cancelled the constitution, dismissed the parliament, appointed a general as premier, ordered political parties to disband, and subjected the press to rigorous censorship.

In *Spain* the constitutional government was overturned in 1923 by General Primo de Rivera, in order to prevent the Spanish parliament from investigating the responsibility of the military authorities (and perhaps even of King Alphonso) for the bloody defeats which Spain had suffered in the Spanish zone of northern Morocco. For more than six years Primo de Rivera kept Spain under a military dictatorship, with the support of army officers and business men, and apparently with the approval of the King, but against the protests of the universities, the labor leaders, and liberal politicians. When Primo de Rivera resigned in January, 1930, another general took the premiership.

## II. DUCE RULES ITALY

**A Disappointed Victor.** In Italy the downfall of democracy was due to the disappointments and discontent which followed the World War. Although Italy was one of the victorious Allies, she failed to obtain as large a share of the spoils as she desired. Indignantly Italian patriots complained that the nation had been robbed of the fruits of victory. There were also economic reasons for discontent. Italy was staggering under her war debt. People complained about the high cost of living. World War veterans, returning from the front, found work hard to obtain. Peasants were clamoring for

farms and in some localities were actually seizing the large estates of the rich. Factory workers showed their unrest by frequent strikes, by voting the Socialist ticket, or by joining the Communist movement. In 1920, indeed, workingmen took possession of six hundred factories, and tried to run them without employers, only to meet with failure and abandon the experiment.

For all these disorders and ills, people blamed the government, as they usually do. The government at this time was peculiarly weak, chiefly because no party in parliament had a majority, and no combination of parties could be found to follow any vigorous policy for any length of time.

**Mussolini and His Fascist Followers.** — Under such conditions, all sorts of discontented patriots, war veterans, peasants, and workingmen flocked to the legions of the Fascists. The Fascist movement had been founded in the spring of 1919 by Benito Mussolini, a newspaper editor who had formerly been a revolutionary Socialist, but who had become a patriot and had fought in the World War. At first Mussolini's *Fascio di Combattimento* (Union of Combat), as he called the organization, was composed chiefly of restless young men who had fought in the war. Wearing black shirts as a kind of uniform, adopting the salute and symbols of the ancient Roman legions, and striving to revive the martial spirit of Rome, these young men regarded themselves as the saviors of Italy but were not taken very seriously at first. In 1920, however, the Fascists took the lead in a violent campaign against Socialism and Communism. Armed with guns and clubs, they broke up Communist meetings, destroyed Communist printing plants, and fought street battles with the Reds. One of their favorite weapons was castor oil, administered in excessive doses to unhappy victims. By suppressing Communism in northern industrial Italy, the Fascists won the sympathy and financial support of wealthy employers and of the classes that feared social revolution. Moreover, thousands of workingmen and peasants hastened to join an organization which held out hope

of improving their condition without resorting to Communism. By October, 1922, the Fascists were so numerous that when they began a "march on Rome," threatening to seize power, the King humbly accepted their leader, Mussolini, as premier,



*Photo by Underwood and Underwood*

**BENITO MUSSOLINI**

The Fascist leader who became dictator of Italy.

and a terror-stricken parliament voted to give him dictatorial powers.

#### **Mussolini in Power.** -

Once in power, *il duce* ("the leader") ruled Italy with a rod of iron. Not only did Mussolini have a magnetic personality and unbounded self-confidence; he also had a newspaper editor's knowledge of popular hero-worship. Skillfully he revealed himself to the public as a hardy athlete, a fearless hero, a peerless patriot, a superman who could do his work as premier and at the same time serve as seven cabinet ministers in one person. On the other hand, he saw to it that no

unfavorable criticism of his actions was published in Italy. Newspapers had to praise him or go out of business. College professors who criticized him were discharged. Anti-Fascist leaders became exiles. Opposition parties were broken up. There was no longer any freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or freedom of meeting. For individual liberty Mussolini intended to substitute national discipline. Individuals must subordinate themselves to the will of the nation, and the will of the nation was Mussolini. As commander of the Fascists

and of the army and navy, he enjoyed absolute power. He was not responsible to parliament, nor did he depend upon parliamentary majorities. On the contrary, he treated parliament with contempt. His decrees had the force of law.

**Economic Reforms.** — Mussolini's first task was to relieve the economic distress. By drastic paring down of expenditures, he balanced the national budget and stabilized the value of the paper money, as Poincaré did in France. Marshy lands were drained so that Italy might produce more of her food supply. With foreign loans he began an ambitious plan to transform Italy's abundant water power into electricity as a substitute for expensive imported coal. Railroad trains, under the new régime of patriotic discipline, ran on time. Strikes were stopped. Nothing must interfere with national efficiency.

**Labor and Capital.** — Above all, Mussolini used his supreme power to end the strife between labor and capital. Socialist and Communist unions were destroyed. To take their place, the labor relations law of 1926 provided for official trade unions or syndicates under strict government control, excluding revolutionary agitators. Employers, too, were united in official syndicates. Wages, hours, and conditions of labor were thenceforth settled by collective contracts between employers' and workers' unions. Strikes and lockouts being prohibited, industrial disputes were referred to the courts for decision.

The formation of the unions was only a first step toward the Fascist ideal of a national state based on economic organization rather than on political parties. The next step was to federate the various unions on a nation-wide scale. A national confederation of employers' unions and a corresponding national confederation of workers' unions were formed for each of the following six departments of economic life: industry, commerce, banking, agriculture, railroad transportation, and air and maritime transportation. In addition, there was a thirteenth confederation including brain-workers such as teachers, lawyers, writers, and artists. "Corporations" (guilds) were planned to unite capital and labor in each industry.



**Economic Representation in Parliament.** — In most countries, political parties have the chief influence over the election of the parliaments or legislatures. In Italy, however, the Fascists tried the interesting experiment of substituting economic groups for political parties. The procedure laid down by the law of 1928 and put into practice in the elections of 1929 was as follows. First, each of the thirteen economic confederations proposed a certain number of candidates for the new Chamber of Deputies. From this list of eight hundred candidates, the Grand Fascist Council (representing the Fascist organization) selected four hundred. Then the list of four hundred official candidates was referred to a "plebiscite." There were campaign speeches, but only in favor of the official list. There were no opposing candidates to vote for. The voter had simply to choose between a ballot marked "yes," indicating his approval of the whole list, and a ballot marked "no." As the "yes" ballot was distinguished by the national colors while the "no" ballot was on plain paper, observant officials could detect any one who had the courage to vote against the government. The surprising feature of the election results was not the fact that 8,500,000 men voted "yes," but that as many as 136,000 dared to vote "no."

**The Roman Question.** — One of the most difficult problems which Mussolini attempted to solve was the Roman question. The seizure of Rome by Italian troops in 1870, followed by the Pope's refusal to accept compensation in money for the loss of his territory, had created much hostility between Church and State.<sup>1</sup> Mussolini, however, succeeded in reaching an agreement to end the dispute. By a treaty signed at the Lateran Palace on February 11, 1929, Italy recognized the Pope as sovereign of a tiny independent state, the Vatican City, and in return the Pope abandoned all claim to other possessions. Although the Vatican City included only the Vatican buildings, St. Peter's, and the adjoining gardens, about one hundred acres in all, with a population of only five hundred souls, it

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 506-509.

was enough to give the Pope an independent standing, free from Italian jurisdiction. By a concordat signed the same day, a friendly agreement was made regarding relations between Church and State in such matters as education, marriage laws, and appointment of bishops.<sup>1</sup>

**Foreign Policy.**—In his dealings with foreign countries Mussolini was more concerned with acquisitions of territory than with cultivating international goodwill. Italy, he said, must recall the glories of ancient Rome. She must expand. She must increase her population by taxing bachelors and by encouraging large families, and at the same time she must obtain more land for her overcrowded people. By negotiations with England and France Mussolini acquired Jubaland in eastern Africa and some French territory, mostly desert, adjoining the Italian colony of Libya. By a treaty with Yugoslavia in 1924 he gained the disputed port of Fiume on the Adriatic Sea. Albania became practically a protectorate. These morsels, however, seemed to do little more than whet the appetite of Fascist imperialists. The view was openly expressed that France ought to hand over to Italy a large area in central Africa and perhaps also Syria or Tunis. Frenchmen, of course, did not welcome such suggestions. Mussolini's frequent warlike utterances and his insistence upon naval parity with France increased the distrust with which Fascist Italy was regarded by her neighbor. Frenchmen wondered whether Mussolini would always be able and willing to hold in check the land hunger and the military spirit which he had aroused, and whether his dictatorship would end, as Napoleon's did, in war.

#### RUSSIA REMAINS COMMUNIST

**The Soviet Constitutions of 1918 and 1923.**—The greatest challenge to political democracy was offered by Soviet Russia.

<sup>1</sup> Religion was to be taught in elementary and secondary schools, but the Church was to have no control over public schools. Church marriages would be recognized by the State as being legally valid, but non-Catholics could be married by a civil magistrate without any religious ceremony.

The ill-fated attempt to transform Russia from an absolute monarchy into a democratic republic in March, 1917, had been followed by the Bolshevik revolution of November, 1917, the adoption of a Soviet constitution in 1918, and the establishment of a Communist "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the largest country of Europe.<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, Soviet Russia (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic) was only one of the seven Soviet republics which were members of the U. S. S. R. (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics). Russia, however, included all Siberia and had nine-tenths of the total area and two-thirds of the population of the U. S. S. R. Next in importance was the Ukrainian Republic, with its twenty-nine million people, its rich soil, and its mineral wealth. White Russia was a relatively small state on the extreme west. The Transcaucasian Republic comprised Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan in the Caucasus region. The Turkmen and Uzbek republics in central Asia were the fifth and sixth members, added to the U. S. S. R. in 1925; and the Tajik Republic, likewise in central Asia, brought the membership up to seven in 1929.<sup>2</sup> The U. S. S. R. was a federal state covering a vast area of eight million square miles, governing 147 million inhabitants, and embracing 168 different nationalities in addition to the Russians, who formed only about half the total population.

The federal government was established by a Treaty of Union in 1923 and was very similar in form to the system originally established for Russia alone by the constitution of 1918.<sup>3</sup> The administration of such departments as foreign affairs, war, commerce, transportation, labor, food, and finance was conducted by a cabinet of ministers known as the Union Council of People's Commissars. The cabinet was responsible to a bicameral legislature, the Union Central Executive Committee, consisting of one house representing the different nationalities and another house elected by the Union Congress

<sup>1</sup> On these events, see pp. 798-816.

<sup>2</sup> See maps on pp. 584-585, 648, 768-769.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 807-808.

of Soviets. The latter was an unwieldy body of twenty-five hundred delegates. As the city Soviets were allowed to choose one delegate to the Union Congress for every 25,000 city workers, while the rural village Soviets were represented only indirectly through provincial delegates in the proportion of one for every 125,000 inhabitants, the peasants had relatively little voice in the central government, although they formed eighty per cent of the population. In fact, the whole complicated pyramid of Soviets, congresses, and committees was so arranged that while it appeared to be based on the votes of the laboring classes in town and country it actually enabled the Communist party, a very small minority, to enjoy absolute control of the government.

There was a similar system of Soviets, congresses, and committees in each of the seven member republics. These republics retained self-government in such matters as education, health, social insurance, and agriculture, but they were somewhat less autonomous than the states in the United States, because their governments, like that of the U. S. S. R., were controlled by one strongly centralized party.

The real government of the Russian Union was the Communist party, which monopolized the highest offices and dictated policies. By 1930 its membership had increased to



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JOSEPH STALIN

The shoemaker's son who made himself master of the Communist government in Russia after Lenin's death.

1,500,000, but even then it was only one per cent of the total population. This small membership must not be regarded as a true gauge of the strength of Communism. As a matter of fact, the party tried to restrict the privilege of membership to simon-pure Communists, instead of welcoming doubtful recruits. Moreover, as no other parties were tolerated, no one could even guess what proportion of the common people really believed in Communism.

**The NEP.**—The first attempts to apply Communism to industry and agriculture were disastrous. The production of metals almost ceased and the factories produced only a fraction of their pre-war output. Worse still, the peasants were unwilling to hand their crops over to the government, as Communism required. Instead, they planted less. That meant famine in 1921-1922. There were signs, too, of mutiny and rebellion. To meet this situation in 1921 Lenin adopted the "New Economic Policy," popularly known as the NEP. The NEP was a compromise. Capitalism and private profit were allowed to return in some branches of production and trade, until Communism became strong enough to dominate them. As the NEP was developed after 1921 it presented the following features.

*In Agriculture.*—Instead of attempting to requisition or confiscate farm crops, the government simply imposed a tax on the peasants. Peasants were allowed to sell their surplus crops. Renting land and hiring farm labor were also permitted. Soon the most energetic peasants became prosperous, while others sank to the level of hired men. The Communists, however, regarded the rich peasants ("kulaks") as enemies of Communism. Wipe out the "kulak" class, cried the radical Communist leaders. Accordingly, heavier taxes were levied on the "kulaks," while the poorer peasants were freed of tax burdens. Moreover, large "state farms" were established to prove that communal farming could be more efficient than private farming. In many localities, also, the "kulaks" were compelled to pool their land and capital with the land of the poorer

peasants in order to form "collective farms" which were cultivated by joint labor with the aid of tractors and agricultural machinery borrowed from the government. In 1929 and 1930 the number of these "collective farms" grew very rapidly.

*In Industry.* -- In industry the NEP allowed small shops, employing less than twenty workers, to return to private management. It also invited foreign capitalists to establish new industries in Russia under fifteen-year contracts or concessions. Government ownership, however, was preserved in the big, well-established industries which produced the bulk of Russia's metals and manufactures. Even in these industries, however, there was a compromise between communistic and capitalist methods after 1921. No longer could the labor unions manage the factories. Instead, the Supreme Economic Council of the government established "trusts," that is to say, corporations directed by boards of trustees who were appointed by the Council. The trustees in turn appointed expert managers for the factories. All profits, however, went to the government, and the amount of output was regulated by the government in accordance with plans drawn up by a board of experts. Instead of receiving rations from the government, the workers once more got wages, the amount of which was settled by collective bargaining between the unions and the managers. Under expert management industry revived rapidly and production increased until it exceeded pre-war figures.

*In Trade.* — A third feature of the NEP was the abandonment of communistic methods in retail trade. Private merchants ("Nepmen") were allowed to do business in the old way. Most of the retail business, however, was handled by coöperative societies. The wholesale business, on the other hand, was kept in the hands of the government trusts and syndicates (groups of trusts). Foreign trade also was conducted largely by the trusts and other agencies under government control, and foreign purchases were limited chiefly to machinery and other supplies needed for industrial and agricultural expansion.

*In Money and Banking.* — Finally, the NEP meant a return to the use of money for wages, purchases, and taxes. To replace the worthless paper bills, a new paper currency was issued, backed by gold. Banks were established. Deposits, loans, and interest were once more a feature of business life.

**Lenin's Death and Stalin's Strategy.** — While the NEP was being developed along these lines, the man who planned it was stricken with a fatal disease. Lenin's death in 1924 was mourned by millions. In his memory Petrograd was renamed Leningrad. No one could fully take his place. Alexis Rykov, who succeeded to the office of president of the Council of People's Commissars, allowed the leadership to fall into the hands of Joseph Stalin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party. Stalin was a clever politician who knew well how to overcome his rivals while adopting their policies. Trotzky and other influential leaders who accused him of being too moderate were expelled from the party and banished.

**The Five-Year Plan.** — Under Stalin's leadership the government decided in 1928 to embark upon a gigantic project, a five-year plan calling for an increase of 133% in industry and 55% in agricultural production. The state and collective farms were to be expanded until they produced a fifth of all the crops. Great quantities of machinery for industry and agriculture were to be imported at enormous cost. German and American experts were to be brought in to aid in developing industrial technique. The largest hydro-electric plant in all Europe was to be constructed to provide electric power. By almost superhuman efforts, the Communists hoped to industrialize Russia and make Communism an economic success.

**Education.** — Closely connected with the industrial program was the problem of extending education so as to provide a sufficient number of properly trained engineers, chemists, and other experts. Education was also regarded as a means of propaganda in favor of Communism. With great enthusiasm, therefore, the Communist leaders undertook to promote education.

More schools were founded, — schools for children, technical schools, schools for adults. The whole educational system was planned out in harmony with the purpose of serving the needs of the Communist state. Whereas three persons out of four in pre-war Russia had been illiterate, the proportion was reduced until two out of four could read, and it was hoped that within a few years the percentage of illiteracy would dwindle toward zero.

**Religion.** — Against religion the Communists waged a ruthless war. The Orthodox Church, which had been the official church of Russia, was separated from the state; its lands and buildings were confiscated; its schools were closed; many of its art treasures and golden vessels were seized; its religious processions were prohibited. While atheism was taught in the public schools, the teaching of the Christian religion in schools or churches was forbidden.

Many of the churches were turned into clubrooms, schools, or museums. In spite of such measures, a good many people continued to believe in religion and were allowed to worship in church buildings leased from the government. Indeed, the various Christian churches, including the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches, became so active that the Communists took alarm in 1929 and launched a more vigorous anti-religious



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**GEORGE CHICHERIN**

The Russian diplomat who became a revolutionist and an exile but returned to guide Russian foreign policy from 1918 to 1929.



campaign. In many towns and villages young Communists pillaged the churches, burned the sacred icons, and tried to stamp out Christianity.

**Chicherin's Foreign Policy.** — The foreign policy of the Communist government was inconsistent and confusing, because it had two conflicting purposes. The first purpose, prominent in the earlier years, was to encourage world revolution by fostering Communist agitation, aiding strikes, and promoting rebellions in foreign countries. These activities were conducted by the "Comintern" (the Communist International), an international Communist organization. On the other hand, Russia's need of foreign machinery and foreign capital compelled George Chicherin, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs from 1918 to 1929, to seek peace, security, and treaty agreements. In order to establish such relations with other countries he was willing to promise that Russia would not conduct propaganda against their governments; he was even willing to offer partial payment of Russia's former debts, which the Communists had repudiated. As the Comintern, however, continued to engage in propaganda and to foster Communism in foreign countries, Chicherin was involved in almost continual controversies both at home and abroad.

#### SUBJECT RACES STRIVE FOR FREEDOM

**Backward Peoples Aroused.** In the wake of the World War a veritable wave of rebellion swept over Asia and northern Africa. Egypt, Persia, and Afghanistan won independence. India demanded freedom. Turkey broke the bonds of European control, and China struggled against them. There were revolts in Morocco, Syria, Palestine, Indo-China, and the Dutch East Indies. In short, there was a very far-reaching upheaval. During the war the Allies had proclaimed the principle of national self-determination, that is, the idea that each people or nation should have the inalienable right to become an independent state. This doctrine went echoing round the world, awakening the spirit of emancipation. In Asia it was

reinforced by Russian Communist propaganda, for the Russians were busily spreading their gospel of world revolution against European capitalism and imperialism. More important than Communism, however, was the influence of the war, which had weakened the European powers and at the same time made the subject peoples less submissive to the white man.

**Upheaval in the Near East and Middle East.**—In the Mohammedan countries of the Near East and Middle East national self-determination made striking progress. *Egypt*, having been under British rule since 1882, became so rebellious that in 1922 Great Britain granted her “independence,” subject to several restrictions, and in 1929 a treaty was drawn up by which Egypt would become an ally of Great Britain and British troops would be withdrawn, except from the Suez Canal zone. Even this, however, failed to satisfy Egyptian Nationalists. Great Britain likewise yielded to nationalism in *Irak* (Mesopotamia), one of the countries over which the League of Nations had given her a “mandate.” There an Arab king was set up, with British advisers to guide his government. Moreover, Great Britain in 1929 requested the League of Nations to admit Irak as an independent state and to terminate the mandate “by 1932 at the latest.” In another British mandate, *Palestine*, where Great Britain was attempting to establish a “national home” for the Jews, there was a serious insurrection on the part of the Arab population in 1929. Meanwhile, in the French mandate of *Syria*, there was a revolt in 1925, and France found it wise to let a native assembly draw up a constitution for Syria.

**The Turkish Revolution.**—In the Ottoman Empire a thorough revolution was accomplished by Turkish Nationalists under the leadership of a bold young army officer, Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Defying the European powers, Kemal and his followers expelled a Greek army from Asiatic Turkey in 1922, tore up the peace treaty which the European Allies had written for Turkey, deprived foreigners of their special privileges in

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 766, 776.

Turkey, freed the country from European financial domination, and regained possession of almost all the lands inhabited by Turks.<sup>1</sup> Hostile as he was to European control, Kemal was not at all inclined to reject European civilization. On the contrary, he set out zealously to "Westernize" or Europeanize



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#### MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA

Nationalist leader and President of Turkey, who fought to make his country both independent and progressive.

his country. The Ottoman sultan was deposed in 1922, the capital was transferred from Constantinople to Angora, and a new constitution was adopted in 1924 transforming Turkey into a democratic republic. Kemal of course became president, but he was more than a president; he was practically a dictator. Eagerly he pressed on with Westernization. European law codes furnished the models for new Turkish legislation. The Roman alphabet was substituted for Arabic letters. The Western calendar was adopted. Polygamy was banned and women were given new rights. Even

clothes were changed to European styles. Above all, Kemal labored to make his country economically independent and progressive.

*Persia.* — Persia also had a military leader who refused submission to foreign domination. When the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1919 was signed, putting Persia under the guidance of British advisers, it seemed certain that Persia was about to become

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 766-767.

practically a protectorate of Britain's. A Persian army officer, however, by the name of Reza Khan Pahlavi, marched to the capital with his Cossack troops in 1921 and compelled the government to end the Anglo-Persian agreement. Great Britain withdrew her troops and advisers. Russia renounced her claims in northern Persia. Persia was now free. Reza Khan would have made himself president and dictator of a republic, as Kemal had done in Turkey, but he feared that the people would not welcome such a change. Instead, he deposed the ruling Shah and mounted the throne himself, in 1925. By cancelling the special treaty rights (capitulations) of foreigners he completed Persia's emancipation. He invited an American expert to reform the financial system. Roads were improved, air service was established, wireless stations were set up, and construction work was begun on a railway from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. Like Kemal in Turkey, Reza Khan intended to modernize as well as to emancipate his country.

*Afghanistan.* — East of Persia lies the mountainous kingdom of Afghanistan, whose amir (king) had long allowed the British to control his foreign policy. In 1919, however, the amir defied and fought the British. Although he was defeated in battle, he succeeded in making a new treaty which ended British control.

*India's Plea for "Swaraj."* — In India the plea of the Nationalists for "swaraj" (self-government) was so strong that the British government attempted to satisfy it in 1919 by a compromise. In each province the upper classes were allowed to elect a legislature which would have control over certain departments of the local government, such as education and public health. A central legislature, also representing the wealthiest inhabitants, was created to pass laws and vote taxes; but the British governor-general had power to override its decisions. This system of partial self-government fell far short of what the Nationalists desired. Bitter protests were raised. A Hindu "holy man," Mohandas Gandhi, declared that India must gain independence by a bloodless revolution.

Without resorting to violence, all India should unite in boycotting British cloth, ceasing to coöperate with the British administration, and refusing to pay taxes. Gandhi was arrested and imprisoned and his campaign of non-coöperation was checked for a time. Still the agitation continued. When a commission of eight members of the British Parliament was sent



*Photo from Evening Gleanings*

#### MAHATMA GANDHI

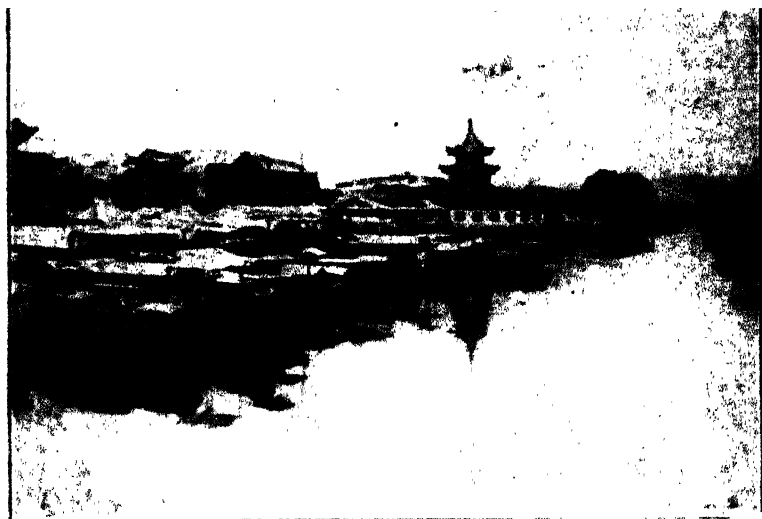
Leader of the "non-violent" revolution in India. "Mahatma" is a title meaning "great soul" or saint.

to India in 1928, to discover what constitutional reforms ought to be adopted, the Nationalists proposed a democratic, federal government with national independence. The British government's announcement in October, 1929, that at some future date India would be given "dominion status" (self-government without formal independence) was greeted by the Nationalists with the retort that what India desired was independence. Early in 1930 a new campaign of civil disobedience was launched by Gandhi, who still hoped to win India's freedom without shedding blood.

**Nationalism and Democracy in the Far East.** — The aims of the Nationalists in China were summarized in a book entitled "Three Principles of the People" by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Chinese revolution<sup>1</sup> and leader of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party). The three principles were inspired by Lincoln's Gettysburg address. The first was "government of the people," which Sun interpreted as complete national

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 665-666.

independence. The second was government "by the people," or democracy. Thirdly, government "for the people" implied improvement of the economic condition of the peasants and wage-earners. The first of these principles was promoted by China's recovery of Kiaochow and the Shantung Railway from Japan by the Washington treaty of 1922.<sup>1</sup> Another important step was taken in 1928, when China regained the right to adjust



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#### THE RIVER FRONT AT NANKING

The ancient city of Nanking ("southern capital") was made the capital of China by the Nationalist government.

her own customs tariff, which had previously been limited to five per cent by international treaties. A third step was the abolition of extraterritoriality, that is, the right of foreigners in China to be tried in their own courts under their own laws. China declared the end of extraterritoriality in 1930, but many of the foreign powers refused to yield on this point.

Toward the second of Dr. Sun's aims, democracy, less progress was made. The revolution of 1911 and the ill-starred

<sup>1</sup> See p. 781.

dictatorship of Yuan Shih-kai<sup>1</sup> had left China divided, a prey to corrupt politicians, ruthless military dictators, and incessant civil wars. The vast Manchurian provinces in the north were ruled by a military dictator, Chang Tso-lin, who defied the central government at Peking. In southern China Dr. Sun



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#### CHIANG KAI-SHEK

The brilliant Nationalist general who was inaugurated as President of China in 1928 at the age of forty-two.

and the Nationalists set up a rival government which looked to Soviet Russia for aid and advice. After Sun's death (1925), however, the Nationalists found a remarkably able leader in a young general, Chiang Kai-shek, who broke with Russian Communism and who led the Nationalist troops to one victory after another. Before the end of 1928 Chiang reunited all China, although several other generals continued to conspire and rebel against him. The capital was moved from Peking (re-named Peiping) to Nanking. Under the "Five-Power Constitution" adopted in 1928, the national govern-

ment was organized with five departments under a State Council. Chiang, of course, became president. The Nationalist party, however, was the real government, as the Communist party was in Russia and the Fascist party in Italy. Only in local government was a real start made toward democracy.

Dr. Sun's third principle, the welfare of the common people, was not forgotten. Chiang's government made elaborate

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 665-666.

plans to aid the farmers by means of irrigation, improved agricultural methods, and other measures. Industry, too, was to be encouraged, and laws were drafted to protect the wage-earners. Furthermore, modern education was stimulated, American experts were employed to plan financial reforms, the railway system was unified, better roads were made, and a contract was made with an American firm to provide air-mail service between the chief cities. Only by such measures as these could the foundations be laid for a really united and progressive China.

*Democracy in Japan.* — In the island empire east of China the battle was for democracy, since national independence and unity had been won long ago. Under the Japanese Constitution of 1889, the right of voting had been restricted to a small minority who could satisfy the property qualification. As the result of long agitation, a law was passed in 1925 sweeping away the property qualification and extending the franchise to all men, rich and poor alike. Moreover, the principle that the cabinet should be controlled by the majority in parliament was put into practice, although not legally adopted.

#### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES PROMOTE PEACE

*The Aftermath of War.* — The World War left Europe saddened by losses, burdened by debts, and torn by conflicting emotions. Many of the common people and some of the statesmen felt an intense horror at war and an equally keen desire for peace. Never in all history had there been so powerful a movement to end war forever. Business interests, too, had need of peace and coöperation. On the other hand, war had aroused angry passions, militarism, greed, and imperialism; no one was satisfied with the peace treaties; and there were bitter disputes and grievances.

*Boundary Conflicts.* — Boundary disputes were numerous and violent in the post-war world. Attempting to extend her eastern frontier, Poland came to blows with Russia in 1919-1920. Overlapping claims to the Vilna district kept Poland



and Lithuania on the verge of war for ten years. Over the rich mining district of Upper Silesia Poland and Germany might have fought, had not the League of Nations in 1921 persuaded



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#### SIR HENRY DETERDING

them to divide it on the basis of a plebiscite. The "Polish Corridor" connecting Poland with the Baltic Sea and separating East Prussia from the rest of Germany was a standing grievance to German patriots. The seaport of Fiume was a bone of contention between Italy and Yugoslavia until Mussolini annexed it in 1924. Italian rule over two hundred thousand German-speaking people in South Tyrol aroused resentment in Austria and Germany. Any suggestion that the German-speaking republic of Austria might attempt to unite with Germany was enough to alarm French statesmen. To prevent Hungary from attempting to recover her lost provinces, an alliance known as

the Little Entente was formed by Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. Acute boundary disputes were not restricted to Europe. In South America Peru and Chile wrangled over the districts of Tacna and Arica until 1928, when Chile restored Tacna to Peru. There was also a dangerous clash of arms between Bolivia and Paraguay in the disputed area of the Gran

One of the business leaders who play so important a rôle behind the scenes in international affairs. As head of a Dutch oil company, Deterding formed an Anglo-Dutch combine, the "Royal Dutch-Shell." Transferring his allegiance to Great Britain, he became the leader of British oil interests in a worldwide battle with Standard Oil.

Chaco in 1928. In Asia, too, there were sore spots such as Manchuria, where Chinese, Japanese, and Russian ambitions came into collision. A war between Greece and Turkey for possession of Smyrna, in Asia Minor, almost involved Great Britain, in 1922. Turkey's claims to the Mosul oil area nearly caused war in 1925 when the League of Nations awarded Mosul to the British.

**Reparations and Experts.** — Another important source of conflict was the reparations problem. In 1919 Allied statesmen talked of collecting the stupendous sum of 100 or even 200 billion dollars from Germany. After bitter disputes, the amount was scaled down to 54 billions and then, in May 1921, to 32 billions. Even this figure, complained the Germans, was more than they could pay. England agreed, for British statesmen had become convinced that having a prosperous Germany as a market for British manufactures was more important than collecting reparations. France and Belgium, however, sent troops across the Rhine early in 1923 to seize the valuable German coal mines in the Ruhr district and began to mine the coal themselves. This resort to violence plunged Germany into bankruptcy<sup>1</sup> but gave France and Belgium little profit over and above their expenses. A better method was found in 1924 when an international committee of financial experts with General Dawes as chairman worked out a detailed plan of payment based on a careful study of the economic facts. The Dawes Plan provided that Germany's payments should begin at 240 million dollars a year and increase gradually to 595 millions. The plan was officially adopted by the Allies and Germany at a conference in London; at the same time France and Belgium agreed to evacuate the Ruhr. All Europe sighed with relief. Germany made her payments promptly and faithfully lived up to the plan during the ensuing five years. Three faults, however, were found. First, the Dawes Plan did not state how many years Germany was to go on making payments. Second, the payments were too heavy, said the Germans.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 872.

Third, it gave the Allies too much control over German government finances.

*The Young Plan.* — For these reasons the Dawes Plan was revised in 1929 by a new committee of experts headed by Owen D. Young. The "Young Plan," as their report was called, did away with Allied control over German finances. It cancelled



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OWEN D. YOUNG

The American lawyer and financier who served as chairman of the committee of experts to settle the reparations problem in 1929.

the mortgages which the Dawes Plan had placed on German industries and railways. The total number of payments was fixed at 59, ending in 1988. The amount of each annual payment was reduced from 595 million to an average of 488 million dollars for the first 37 years and 372 millions after that. One of the most interesting features of the Young Plan was the provision for a Bank of International Settlements at Basel, through which reparation payments could be made. This international bank, the committee hoped, would gradually become a

very valuable link between the national banks of the various countries. Still another feature was added when Germany and the Allies met in conference at The Hague, in the winter of 1929-1930, to adopt the Young Plan. This was the promise of France to withdraw all her troops from the German Rhineland in 1930, thus removing one of Germany's most bitter grievances.

*Interallied Debts.* — Indirectly about two-thirds of Germany's reparation payments to the Allies were really intended to cover

the Allies' debts to the United States. By debt-funding agreements made in the years 1923 to 1929 the Allies promised to repay to the United States the ten billion dollars which they had borrowed during and immediately after the war, but the interest on these debts was reduced in the case of Great Britain to 3.3%, France 1.6%, and Italy 0.4%. Great Britain also had loaned her Allies large amounts and made agreements for repayment at reduced interest rates, but she expected to collect only enough to cover her payments to the United States.

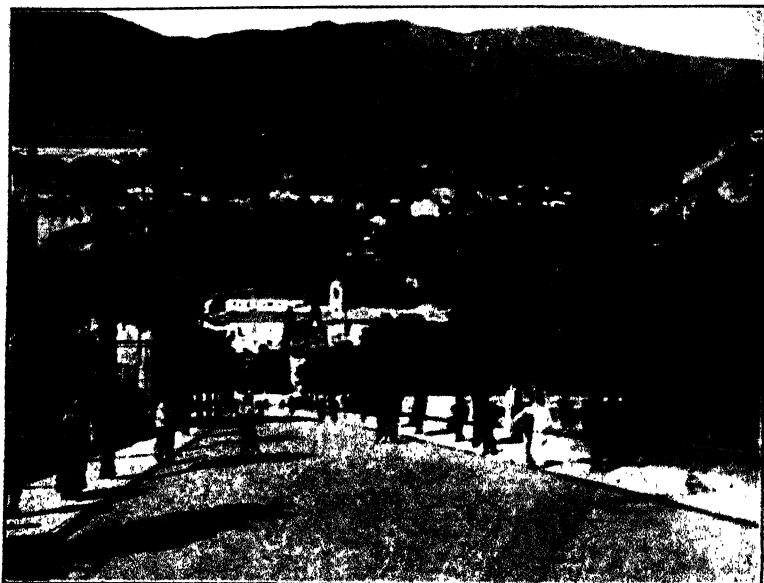
**Economic Coöperation in Europe.** — The international bank at Basel was one of many indications of a tendency toward economic coöperation among nations. The same tendency manifested itself in the formation of international "cartels." Of these the best known was the steel cartel, an alliance formed in 1926 by the steel industries of Germany, France, and several neighboring countries. The World Economic Conference held at Geneva in 1927 for a discussion of international economic problems was another important sign of the times. An increasing number of Europeans believed that some sort of European economic federation should be formed. This idea was voiced by Premier Briand of France at Geneva in 1929 and received hearty support from representatives of several other nations. There was even some talk of the possibility of a "United States of Europe." As a definite step toward economic coöperation, a conference was held in 1930 to plan a "tariff truce," that is, an agreement not to increase customs tariffs.

**The League of Nations.** — The League of Nations<sup>1</sup> was greatly strengthened by the signature of the Locarno Peace Pact<sup>2</sup> in 1925 and by the consequent admission of Germany to membership in 1926. When Germany was given a permanent seat in the Council of the League, Poland, Spain, and Brazil also demanded permanent seats, as if they too were Great Powers. On the refusal of their demands, Spain and Brazil threatened to leave the League, and Brazil actually carried out her threat. Thereafter the League had 54 members, including

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 773-780.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 782.

all the Great Powers except the United States and Russia.<sup>1</sup> The Council, which had originally been intended to consist of five Great Powers and four small nations, was enlarged in 1926; thenceforth it was to include nine small nations chosen by the Assembly in addition to the five permanent members representing the Great Powers.



LOCARNO

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In this picturesque Swiss health resort on Lake Maggiore the famous Locarno Pact was signed in 1925. See p. 782.

*Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.* — During the first four years of its existence, the League was not regarded with much confidence as a means of preserving peace and settling disputes. The premiers of the Allied powers took it upon themselves to deal with most of the dangerous disputes that arose. Poland fought Russia, and Greece fought Turkey, as we have seen.

<sup>1</sup> Other non-members were Afghanistan, Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Egypt, Mexico, Turkey, and Arabia (Nejd and Hejaz).

The crisis was reached in 1923, when France invaded the Ruhr and Italy seized the Greek island of Corfu. Mussolini made no effort to conceal his lack of respect for the organization at Geneva. The mere fact, however, that his seizure of Corfu was discussed and criticized at Geneva had some influence. Mussolini withdrew his troops from Corfu and accepted a peaceful settlement of his dispute with Greece.<sup>1</sup> After 1923 Italy



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#### SIGNING THE LOCARNO PEACE TREATY

showed a marked increase of respect toward the League, and the League displayed more confidence in performing its duties. For example, when Greece began to invade Bulgaria in October 1925, claiming that Bulgarian sentries on the frontier had fired on Greek sentries, the League Council promptly and firmly asked both nations to withdraw their troops to the frontier. Then an impartial investigation was made. Greece acknowl-

<sup>1</sup> The dispute was referred to the Allied Conference of Ambassadors, rather than to the League.

edged her mistake, and paid Bulgaria \$210,000 for damage done by the Greek invasion. Thus a spark of war in the Balkans was extinguished before it led to a great conflagration. A number of other international quarrels were settled peacefully by the League. It is worth noting that in none of these cases did the League call upon its members, under articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant, to use force against an offender. In practice the League relied upon investigations, conciliation, and public opinion rather than upon arms or boycotts.

*International Coöperation.* — Besides its primary task of preserving peace, the League had a secondary purpose of very great importance, namely, the promotion of international coöperation in economic, humanitarian, and scientific matters. For example, when Austria in 1922 faced bankruptcy and possibly revolution, the Austrian premier appealed to the League. Through committees of experts the League drew up a plan to save Austria by means of financial reforms and an international loan. This plan had such great advantages that Hungary and several other nations in following years asked and received similar aid from the League. Somewhat the same method was applied to Germany through the Dawes Plan, although that was adopted outside of the League. Another field of useful activity was the protection of health. In 1919 a deadly epidemic of typhus was spreading from Russia into central and southeastern Europe. No one nation could stop this dread plague. Through the Epidemic Commission of the League, however, an international campaign was conducted and the epidemic was checked. Many other illustrations could be given. One might mention the work of the League in promoting international coöperation among universities and scientists, or the efforts to suppress the traffic in opium and drugs, or the aid given to Greek and Bulgarian refugees, or the removal of various obstacles to international travel and trade, or the endeavor to bring about better legislation to protect women and children. Gradually these activities attracted such favorable attention that the United States, Russia, and

other non-members began to take part in them. The success of the League in these matters was due to two things: first, the real need of coöperation, and second, the development of a new method. The League method was to appoint committees of experts and specialists who could sit around a table with the facts and figures before them and talk problems over face to face, instead of sending stiff diplomatic notes to each other through ambassadors. The number of such committees was more than eighty in 1930. In addition, the League arranged for special international conferences to conclude treaties on specific topics such as the opium traffic. In a word, the League machinery of committees and conferences gave a powerful impulse to international coöperation.

**The World Court.** — The Permanent Court of International Justice established at The Hague in 1922 consisted of eleven judges (increased to fifteen in 1930) elected by the Assembly and Council of the League. The court proved to be even more useful than its founders expected. During its first eight years it decided sixteen cases and gave "advisory opinions" to the League in sixteen other cases. Fifty-four nations joined the court before 1930, and a majority of them agreed to accept its jurisdiction in all legal disputes. Arrangements for the United States to join were made in 1929, pending the Senate's approval.

**The Anti-War Pact of Paris.** — On the tenth anniversary of America's entry into the World War, M. Briand proposed that war should be outlawed between France and the United States. He followed this offer with a more definite proposal for a treaty. At Secretary Kellogg's suggestion, the other nations were invited to join in the proposed pact. Accordingly, Briand's proposal was incorporated in a general treaty or pact, signed at Paris on August 27, 1928, and put into force on July 24, 1929. By the beginning of 1930 it had been ratified by fifty-eight countries. Only Argentina and Brazil made no move toward accepting the invitation to sign. The Pact of Paris was one of the shortest as well as one of the most important treaties ever



signed. The nations signing it promised in article 1 to renounce war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. Article 2 bound them never to seek the solution of disputes except by pacific means. Secretary Kellogg explained that defensive war was still permissible; but if all



#### RENOUNCING WAR

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President Coolidge ratifying the Paris Pact for the renunciation of war. At his left is Secretary Kellogg.

nations lived up to the treaty, there would be no need for defensive war, since there could be no attack. Although the Pact provided no machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, most of its signers also belonged to the League, which did provide such machinery. After the signature of the Pact two problems arose. For the League of Nations, there was the task of amending the Covenant so that it would be in harmony

with the Pact. For the United States and Russia, the two Great Powers outside the League but in the Pact, there was the question whether it would be well to coöperate or consult with the League in the practical application of the Pact.

**Disarmament.** — To prove that the signing of the Paris Pact was not merely a pious gesture, England and America suspended work on several of the warships they were building.



H.M.S. RODNEY

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One of Britain's most powerful battleships.

Premier MacDonald of England visited President Hoover in October, 1929, and joined with him in proposing a conference of the five chief naval powers to consider how far they ought to reduce their navies. Battleships, it will be recalled, had already been limited by the Washington Arms Conference of 1921, which adopted the 5-5-3 ratio for them.<sup>1</sup> Now it was proposed to reduce the building of battleships still further and to limit also cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, which had not been restricted by the Washington agreement. When

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 780-781.

the delegates of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy met at London from January to April, 1930, they faced serious obstacles. England and America thought the French claims too high but were reluctant to accept the French offer of a security agreement as a substitute for naval increases. France in turn opposed Italy's demand for a navy equal to her own. As a result, the five-power treaty signed on April 22 did not limit the French and Italian navies. It did, however, limit the other three fleets. England was to scrap five old battleships, America three, and Japan one. That would leave England with fifteen, America fifteen, and Japan nine. No new battleships were to be built by these three powers from 1931 to 1936. Great Britain's cruisers, destroyers, and submarines were limited to a total of 541,700 tons; America could build an equal number if she desired; while Japan was restricted to 367,000. This meant little actual reduction of the existing fleets, but a considerable restriction of future naval construction and therefore a saving of perhaps a billion dollars. It enabled America to become Britain's equal on the seas. Most important of all, it marked another milestone on the road by which mankind is hopefully attempting, in the twentieth century, to escape from the perils of war and to enter upon an era of permanent world peace.



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#### FUTURE HOME OF THE LEAGUE

This picture shows the architects' plans for the building which is to be erected at Geneva to house the League of Nations.

## QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How did economic problems affect politics in England after the World War? How did the policies of Labor cabinets differ from those of Mr. Baldwin?
2. What changes were made in the relations between Great Britain, the Dominions, and Ireland?
3. To what extent was the British government democratized?
4. Contrast the policies of the National Bloc with those of the Cartel in France.
5. Explain Briand's foreign policies. Compare them with Stresemann's.
6. What reasons are there for believing that the German republic is more firmly established today than ten years ago?
7. Can you give any general reasons for the establishment of dictatorships in post-war Europe?
8. Balancing gains against losses, would you say that there is more democracy in Europe today than in 1914, or less?
9. What is meant by Fascism? How did the Fascists obtain control of Italy?
10. Compare Mussolini's economic reforms with those accomplished by democratic governments in France, Germany, and England.
11. Describe the government of the U.S.S.R. and contrast it with that of Germany.
12. To what extent was the Soviet government able to establish Communism in Russian industry and agriculture? What was the NEP? The Five-Year Plan?
13. Compare or contrast Kemal, Reza Khan, Gandhi, and Chiang Kai-shek as regards their methods of winning greater freedom for their fellow-countrymen.
14. How did boundary disputes endanger peace after 1918?
15. Compare the Dawes and Young plans.
16. Discuss the League of Nations as a means of preserving peace. As a means of promoting international coöperation.
17. How was the Pact of Paris framed? What were its provisions? Compare it with the League Covenant.
18. What progress toward disarmament was made by the Washington and London conferences?

## SPECIAL TOPICS

**England's struggle with unemployment.** BENNS, *Europe Since 1914*, ch. xiv; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (14th ed.), XXII, 687-697.

**Land reform in Eastern Europe.** BENNS, *Europe Since 1914*, 522-526; BOWMAN, *The New World* (4th ed.), 15-18, 343-344, 375-376, 423-424, 440-442; *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, I, 505-508.

**The Little Entente.** BUELL, *Europe*, ch. xvi; BENNS, *Europe Since 1914*, 558-560.

**Danzig and the Polish Corridor.** BOWMAN, *The New World* (4th ed.), 416-420; BUELL, *Europe*, 179-188.

**The Irish Free State.** BENNS, *Europe Since 1914*, ch. xv; BOWMAN, *The New World* (4th ed.), 56-63; *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th ed.), XII, 628-632.

**Alsace-Lorraine under French rule.** HAYES, *France, a Nation of Patriots*, ch. x; BOWMAN, *The New World* (4th ed.), 167-171.

**Fascism.** — BUELL, *Europe*, ch. xvii; BENNS, *Europe Since 1914*, ch. xvi; SCHNEIDER, *Making the Fascist State*.

**Soviet Foreign policy.** BENNS, *Europe Since 1914*, 483-492; BUELL, *Europe*, ch. xiv.

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**Foreign rights in China.** *Current History*, March, 1930, 1118-1127.

**The ideas of Sun Yat-sen.** HOLCOMBE, *The Chinese Revolution*, ch. v.

**The changing structure of the League.** BUELL, *Europe*, 406-413; BENNS, *Europe Since 1914*, 209-217; RAPPAUD, *Uniting Europe*, ch. iv.

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## APPENDIX

### TABLE OF RULERS SINCE 1600

#### **Albania**

*Part of Turkey, 1478-1913*

William of Wied, *prince*, 1913-1914

*Republic*, 1918-1928

Zogu I, *king*, 1928-

#### **Austria**

*Part of Holy Roman Empire, until 1806*

Francis I, 1804-1835 (*Holy Roman Emperor, as Francis II, 1792-1806*)

Ferdinand I, 1835-1848

Francis Joseph, 1848-1916

Charles, 1916-1918

*Republic*, 1918-

#### **Belgium**

*Part of Spanish Monarchy, 1516-1713*

*Part of Austrian Monarchy, 1713-1797*

*Part of France, 1797-1815*

*Part of Netherlands (Holland), 1815-1830*

Leopold I, 1831-1865

Leopold II, 1865-1909

Albert, 1909-

#### **Bohemia**

*See Czechoslovakia*

#### **Bulgaria**

*Part of Turkey, 1393-1878*

Alexander, *prince*, 1879-1886

Ferdinand I, *prince*, 1887-1908; *king*, 1908-1918

Boris III, 1918-

#### **China**

Kwang-su, 1875-1908

Hsuan Tung, 1908-1912

*Republic*, 1912-

#### **Croatia**

*Part of Hungary, 1102-1918*

*Part of Yugoslavia, 1918-*

**Czechoslovakia**

Ladislav II, 1471-1516

Louis, 1516-1526

*Part of Austrian Monarchy, 1526-1918**Republic, 1918-***Denmark**

John, 1841-1513

Christian II, 1513-1523

Frederick I, 1523-1533

Christian III, 1533-1559

Frederick II, 1559-1588

Christian IV, 1588-1648

Frederick III, 1648-1670

Christian V, 1670-1699

Frederick IV, 1699-1730

Christian VI, 1730-1746

Frederick V, 1746-1766

Christian VII, 1766-1808

Frederick VI, 1808-1839

Christian VIII, 1839-1848

Frederick VII, 1848-1863

Christian IX, 1863-1906

Frederick VIII, 1906-1912

Christian X, 1912-

**Dutch Netherlands***See Netherlands***England***See Great Britain***Estonia***Part of Estates of Teutonic Knights, 1346-1561**Part of Swedish Monarchy, 1561-1721**Part of Russian Empire, 1721-1918**Republic, 1918-***Finland***Part of Swedish Monarchy, 1290-1809**Part of Russian Empire, 1809-1918**Republic, 1918-***France**

Louis XI, 1461-1483

Charles VIII, 1483-1498

Louis XII, 1498-1515

Francis I, 1515-1547

Henry II, 1547-1559

Francis II, 1559-1560

Charles IX, 1560-1574

Henry III, 1574-1589

Henry IV, 1589-1610

Louis XIII, 1610-1643

Louis XIV, 1643-1715

Louis XV, 1715-1774

Louis XVI, 1774-1792

*First Republic, 1792-1804*

Napoleon I, emperor, 1804-1814

Louis XVIII, 1814-1824

Charles X, 1824-1830

Louis Philippe, 1830-1848

*Second Republic, 1848-1852*

Napoleon III, emperor, 1852-1870

*Third Republic, 1870-**Presidents:*

Adolphe Thiers, 1871-1873

Marshal MacMahon, 1873-1879

Jules Grévy, 1879-1887

F. Sadi Carnot, 1887-1894

Casimir-Périer, 1894-1895  
 Félix Faure, 1895-1899  
 Émile Loubet, 1899-1906  
 Armand Fallières, 1906-1913

Raymond Poincaré, 1913-1920  
 Paul Deschanel, 1920-1921  
 Alexandre Millerand, 1921-1924  
 Gaston Doumergue, 1924-

### Germany

*Part of the Holy Roman Empire,  
 until 1806*

*Part of the Germanic Confederation,  
 1815-1816*

William I, 1871-1888 (*King of  
 Prussia, 1861-1888*)

Frederick III, 1888

William II, 1888-1918

*Republic, 1918-*

Ebert, *president*, 1919-1925

Von Hindenburg, 1925-

*Chancellors of the German Empire  
 1871-1918:*

Prince Bismarck, 1871-1890

Count von Caprivi, 1890-1894

Prince Hohenlohe, 1894-1900

Count von Bülow, 1900-1909

T. von Bethmann-Hollweg, 1909-  
 1917

George Michaelis, 1917

Count von Hertling, 1917-1918

Prince Maximilian, 1918

### Great Britain

*Sovereigns of England, 1485-1707:*

Henry VII, 1485-1509

Henry VIII, 1509-1547

Edward VI, 1547-1553

Mary (Tudor), 1553-1558

Elizabeth, 1558-1603

James I (*VI of Scotland*), 1603-  
 1625

Charles I, 1625-1649

*Republic, 1649-1660*

Charles II, 1660-1685

James II (*VII of Scotland*),  
 1685-1688

William III and Mary II, 1689-  
 1694

William III, 1694-1702

Anne, 1702-1714 (*Queen of  
 Great Britain after 1707*)

*Sovereigns of Great Britain*

Anne, 1707-1714

George I, 1714-1727

George II, 1727-1760

George III, 1760-1820

George IV, 1820-1830

*Sovereigns of Scotland, 1488-1707:*

James IV, 1488-1513

James V, 1513-1542

Mary (Stuart), 1542-1567

James VI, 1567-1625 (*James I  
 of England, 1603-1625*)

[*Succession as in England, 1603-  
 1707*]

William IV, 1830-1837

Victoria, 1837-1901

Edward VII, 1901-1910

George V, 1910-



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